

A G E N E R A L
H I S T O R Y of the W O R L D,
F R O M T H E
C R E A T I O N to the present Time.

I N C L U D I N G

All the E M P I R E S, K I N G D O M S, and S T A T E S ; their R E V O -
L U T I O N S, F O R M S of G O V E R N M E N T, L A W S, R E L I G I O N S,
C U S T O M S and M A N N E R S ; the P R O G R E S S of their L E A R N -
I N G, A R T S, S C I E N C E S, C O M M E R C E and T R A D E ;

Together with

Their C H R O N O L O G Y, A N T I Q U I T I E S, P U B L I C B U I L D I N G S, and
C U R I O S I T I E S of N A T U R E and A R T.

By W I L L I A M G U T H R I E, Esq;
J O H N G R A Y, Esq;

And others eminent in this Branch of Literature.

*cui lecta potenter erit res
Nec facundia deseret hunc, nec lucidus ordo.*

HOR.

V O L U M E IV.

L O N D O N:

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M DCC LXIV.



A

GENERAL HISTORY
OF THE
WORLD.

BOOK XIII.

Containing the History of the ETRUSCANS.

THE people that inhabited *Etruria Propria* in the times of the *Roman* kings were antiently called *Tyrſenians*, *Tyrrhenians*, *Etruscans*, *Tuscans*, and sometimes, though very rarely, *Etruri*. It appears highly probable, that they were masters of almost all Italy many ages before the building of *Rome*: for, according to *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, the whole region called by the Latins *Italia*, was named *Tyrrhenia* by the more antient Greeks, which seems to imply that it was subject to the *Tyrrhenians*. The *Etruscans*, according to *Livy* and *Pliny*, antiently possessed the whole country, extending from the *Alps* to the *Apennines*. *Livy* even intimates, that they were in possession of the whole of *Italy* from the *Alps* to the straits of *Messina*; and *Plutarch* is of the same opinion. *Strabo* says that the *Etruscans* built twelve cities on the south side of the *Tiber*; and, according to *Cato*, *Silius*, *Italicus*, and *Virgil*, they were the founders of *Nola*, *Capua*, *Cæsena*, and *Mantua**.

Italy, though a very antient name, was only first applied to a small part of the region afterwards so called, namely to

* Dion. Hal. antiqu. Rom. l. i. Livy l. i. 5. Plin. l. iii. Plut. in Mar. Strab. l. v. Val. Pater. l. i. c. 7. Virg. & Sil. ap. Scip. Maffei. Cluver. Ital. antiqu.

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the Brutian territory, and part of *Lucania*. When the name of *Italy* prevailed over that of *Etruria* cannot be determined, though it is probable the change happened long before the building of *Rome*.

Their territories abridged by the *Gauls* and *Greeks*. After the *Etruscans* had been settled a long time in the tract between the *Alps* and the *Apennines*, they were expelled by the *Gauls*, from whom that country was denominated *Gallia Cisalpina*. Many colonies of the *Greeks* having settled in the southern parts of *Italy*, belonging to the *Etrurians*, by degrees enlarged their territories to a considerable extent, and from them the country acquired the name of *Magna Græcia*.

According to *Livy*, *Mela*, and *Strabo*, the *Etruscans* were also dispossessed of a large extent of territory by the *Sannites* and *Ligurians*; so that at last they found themselves confined within the bounds of *Etruria Propria*, where, for several ages, they made a very considerable figure.

Etruria Propria, or, as it is simply styled, *Etruria*, was bounded on the east by the *Tiber*, on the west by the *Macra*, on the south by the *Tyrrhenian sea*, and on the north by the *Appenines*. *Polybius*, and those who lived after him, called it *Tyrrhenia*, but the antient *Greeks* called it *Tyrsenia*, which name is supposed to be derived from *Tyrsenus*, a *Lydian* prince, who, according to *Herodotus*, (*lib. 1.*) conducted the *Tyrseni* into *Italy*. The *Etruscans* called themselves *Rasenæ*, from *Rafena*, one of their leaders, who perhaps was the same with *Tyrsenus*, the *Lydian* prince.

The *Etruscans* were divided into 12 tribes. *Etruria* was divided into twelve states, or tribes, each of which was governed by its own prince, called, in the *Etruscan* language, *Lucumo*, and received its denomination from the capital city. These cities were antiently very considerable, but several have been for many ages in ruins. Their names were *Volsinii*, *Camars* or *Clusium*, *Cortona*, *Perusia*, *Arretium*, *Falerii*, *Tarquinii*, *Volaterræ*, *Rusellæ*, *Vetulonii* or *Vetulonium*, *Cære*, and *Veii*. For a particular account of these antient cities, and others that were dependent on them in *Etruria*, we must refer our readers to the learned *Dempster*, in his description of *Etruria*, and to *Cluverius* and *Muratori*.

The rivers of *Etruria*. The principal rivers of *Etruria* were the *Macra* the *Æsar*, the *Arnus*, the *Cecina*, the *Umbro*, the *Albinia*, the *Armine* or *Arminia*, the *Marta*, and the *Tiberis*; now the *Magra*, the *Serchio*, the *Arno*, the *Cecina*, the *Ombrone*, the *Albegna*, the *Fiore*, the *Marta*, and the *Tevere*, or the *Tiber*.

Its lakes. *Etruria* contained a great number of lakes, the chief of which were the following : 1. The *Lacus Thrasimenus*, now *Il lago di Perugia*. 2. The *Lacus Prilis*, now *Il lago de Castiglione*. 3. The *Lacus Vadimonis*, now *Il lago di Bussano*. 4. The *Lacus Bacchani*, now *Il lago di Bacchano*. 5. The *Lacus Ciminus*, now *Il lago di Vico*. 6. The *Lacus Sabatius* or *Sabatinus*, now *Il lago di Bracciano*. 7. The *Lacus Volsiniensis*, now *Il lago di Bolsena*.

The

The following small islands in the Tyrrhenian sea also belong to Etruria. *Urgo*, or *Orgon*, now called *Gorgana*, is situated in the gulph of *Pisa*: the *Mecharia*, now *Meloria*, at a small distance from *Leghorn*: *Capraria* *Ægila*, or *Ægilum*, now *Capraia*, not far from the north point of *Corsica*. *Æthalia* or *Ilva*, now *Elba*, famous for its iron mines, lies off the promontory of *Piombino*. Near it was *Pandataria*, now *Pianosa*, whither *Augustus* banished *Agrippa*. East from thence lay *Oglasa*, *Igilium*, and *Artemisia*, now *Monte Christo*, *Giglio*, and *Giannuti*. Etruria antiently produced corn, wine, oil, fruits, &c. in great abundance, and has been always noted for its fertility. In the maritime parts the air is extremely noxious, and even pestilential; but no part of *Italy*, or even *Europe*, is reckoned more healthful than the inland and mountainous districts.

According to *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, the *Tyrsenians*, or Origin of *Etruscans*, were a branch of the *Pelasgi* that migrated into the *Europe* not many ages after the dispersion, under the conduct of *Tyrsenus*, who sailed from *Smyrna* to that part of *Italy* called *Umbria*. Having expelled the *Umbri*, and taken from them three hundred towns, he and his followers built many cities, which remained even to the days of *Herodotus**. *Anticles* in *Strabo* mentions, that some *Pelasgi* in the neighbourhood of *Lemnus* and *Imbrus*, sailed also with *Tyrsenus* to *Italy*; from whence it may be concluded, that the *Pelasgi* which sailed from *Asia* and the *Græcan Pelasgi* had the same origin.

The *Pelasgi* are allowed to have been one of the most ancient nations of the world, and their colonies in the earliest times were numerous and powerful; but with regard to their origin, the learned are not agreed. Besides the colonies of *Pelasgi* who settled in *Italy*, *Scipio Maffei* has rendered it not a little probable, from the similitude of manners observed in the two nations, that many *Canaanites*, or *Phœnicians*, also fixed their settlements in *Etruria*. The learned Signior *Mariani* has also strongly proved, that some, at least, of the *Etruscans* came from *Affyria*. According to *Servius*, the antient name of the *Etruscans* was *Etruri*, and even *Eturi*, which is supposed to have been given them from the name of their parental country, *Atburia*, or *Aturia*. Now *Aturia* and *Affyria* differ only in dialect; and as nothing is more frequent than the permutation of *A* and *E* in oriental words, especially when written in *Greek* letters, *Atura* and *Etura* are looked upon as the same word, and as the antient name of *Etruria*. *Resen* was a city of *Aturia* or *Affyria*, from whence probably the leader of the *Eturian* or *Etruscan* colony was denominated *Rafena*. It appears also that *Ashur* was the brother of *Lud*, the great ancestor of the *Ly-*

* *Dion. Halicarn.* ut supra. *Herod. l. i.* *Strab. l. v.*

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dians*. When the *Pelasgi*, in the time of *Deucalion*, were expelled from *Thessaly* by the *Hellens*, many of them retired to *Italy*, and settled, some of them at one of the mouths of the *Po*, and others at *Cortona* in *Tuscany*†.

The government prevailed amongst the *Israelites* and *Etruscans*; for both nations were divided into twelve tribes, or cantons, and in *Etruscans*. each the priesthood was appropriated to one family. It seems hence to follow, that some bodies of *Canaanites* or *Phœnicians* fled to *Italy* after the *Israelites* had conquered the land of *Canaan*, as it is allowed that the *Canaanites* imitated the *Israelites* in some things of divine institution, and consequently might communicate them to other nations.

Though each of the twelve tribes of the *Etruscans* was governed by a distinct chief, or *Lucomo*, who took upon himself the administration of affairs in his own province, yet over the whole nation a king presided, who seems to have been elected either by the tribes, or at least by the princes that governed them. This king was consulted on all extraordinary occasions, and convened the general diet of the twelve tribes on all pressing emergencies. It may reasonably be supposed, that the power of every *Lucumo* was limited; but the *Etruscan* kings seem to have been vested with a sort of absolute authority ‡.

The following are some of the *Etruscan* constitutions.
1. No single state or lucumony could enter upon a war or conclude a peace with any neighbouring power, without the concurrence of the whole *Etruscan* body. 2. The *Etruscans*, by a particular law, admitted their women to all nocturnal entertainments, in which they were afterwards followed by the *Romans*. 3. They obliged themselves to treat all foreigners with the utmost humanity and politeness. 4. They gave all possible encouragement to the polite arts and to artificers. 5. In order to deter people from contracting larger debts than they were able to pay, the *Tuscan* boys, by way of ridicule, followed all insolvent debtors with an empty purse. 6. The *Jura facilia* were first observed by the *Etruscans*. Their polity in general, as appears from *Aristotle* and *Heracles Ponticus* in *Athenæus*, seems to have been founded upon maxims of the most consummate wisdom, and they must have had many good moral institutions, since from them the *Romans* received a supplement to their twelve tables.

Their religion. The *Etruscans* were very superstitious idolaters. They worshipped the *Cabiri* in common with the antient *Greeks* and *Phœnicians*, and were initiated in the *Samoibracian* or

* Scipio Maff. orig. Etrusc. Franc. Marian. de Etrur. Metrop. Anton. Francif. Gor. Muf. Etrus. † Dion. Halic. l. i. Strab. l. v. ‡ Franc. Marian.

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Cabirian mysteries. Besides the *Greek* and *Roman* deities, they had several peculiar to themselves, some of which were confined to particular towns and districts. Thus *Nursia* was a goddes held in the highest veneration at *Vulsinii*; *Viridianus* was worshipped at *Narnia*; *Valentia* at *Ocriculum*, &c. *Vertumnus*, *Volumnus*, *Volumna*, *Voltumna*, *Pilumnus* or *Picum-nus*, *Ancharia*, *Volturnus*, *Juturna*, *Portumnus*, *Vitumnus*, *Manturna*, *Vacuna*, &c. were some of their principal deities. The antient *Tuscans* had likewise their *Dii Praestites* and *In-digetes*, as well as the *Latins*, and other *Italian* nations.

The divine service and sacred mysteries of the *Etruscans* agreed, in several points, with those of the *Greeks*, and they communicated them to the *Romans* long before that nation had any intercourse with *Greece*. Some of the *Etruscan* mysteries, however, were but little known to the *Romans*. These were the *Sacra Samothracia* or *Cabiria*, the *Sacra Mythriaca*, and the *Sacra Acherontica*. By an initiation in the *Sacra Cabiria*, the antients believed men to become more holy, just, and pure, and to be delivered from all impending dangers. Those who were initiated in the *Sacra Mythriaca*, or mysteries of the son, were not only baptized or purified by water, but were likewise purged or refined by fire. The *Sacra Acherontica* were introduced first into *Etruria* by *Tages*, in order to appease the infernal deities, and render departed souls more divine, on which account it was thought requisite to sprinkle the altars and sepulchres of the *Dii Manes* with human blood.

As the *Romans* in the early times received every thing relating to religion, and even, as it may be naturally supposed, their kalendar itself, from the *Etruscans*, the festivals, holy days, and stated times of public worship of the two nations must have agreed in most particulars*. The *Etruscans* borrowed of the *Egyptians*, or rather of the *Phænician* shepherds expelled *Egypt*, their public supplications, pomps, and solemn processions which happened on some of their principal festivals. Our readers will find this fully illustrated by the famous *Gori*.

The rites and ceremonies used by the *Haruspices*, *Augurs*, *Pontifices*, &c. at *Rome* were derived from the *Etruscans*. Nay, the *Etruscans* seem to have been the most celebrated nation in the pagan world for skill in augury and divination. At least, according to *Cicero* and *Livy*, they had this character among the *Romans*, who stiled the knowled ge of every thing relating to augurs, priests, and sacrifices, *Ars Etrusca*, or the *Etruscan art*. Father *Gori* has treated at large of these sacred officers, their habits, instruments, &c. and of the *Tibicines*, *Fidicines*, and other persons, who assisted in the di-

* Franc. Marian. Scip. Maffei. Anton. Fran. Gor. Mus. Etrusc.

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vine music on all solemn occasions. He has also described their temples, *donaria*, peculiar sacrifices, various kinds of illustrations, prodigies, altars, expiations, &c.

According to the *Etruscan* writers, *Tages*, whom some have taken for a god, others for a man, but *Cicero* scarce knows in what light to consider him, was the inventor of every thing relating to augury and divination. To him likewise the *Etruscans* owed their *Acherontian* books, which they kept with as much care and vigilance, and esteemed as prophetic as those of the *Sybils* were at *Rome*. The *Etruscans* adorned the images of their gods with wings, in the same manner as the *Egyptians*, and even the *Phœnicians*. In their religion the *Etruscans* had some particularities which distinguished it from that of every other nation. But the antient *Egyptian* and *Phœnician* modes of worship were the same, for many of the earliest ages, with those used in *Etruria*. Nor can any material difference be found between the oldest oriental and *Etruscan* divinities.

Their language.

From what has been said concerning the origin of the *Etruscans*, their language must have been the same, or nearly so, with the *Hebrew* and *Phœnician*. The first *Pelasgic* settlements in *Etruria* are supposed to have been made but a few centuries after the dispersion, and at that time the languages of the *Egyptians*, *Affyrians*, *Babyloniens*, *Celtes*, *Syrians*, *Arabs*, &c. must have approached extremely near to the *Hebrew* and *Phœnician*. The affinity of the *Etruscan* and *Phœnician* tongues appears also from the letters and manner of writing antiently used in *Etruria*. The letters are almost the same with those of the earliest *Greeks* brought by *Cadmus* out of *Phœnicia*, and the writing is from the right hand to the left, consonant to the practice of the eastern nations. The letters of the *Etruscans* were undoubtedly the first alphabetic characters of *Italy*, and prevailed at *Rome*, and in every part of *Italy*, till after the expulsion of the kings. The *Etruscan* inscriptions, which are still extant, are of different ages, and approach nearer the oriental languages, in proportion to their antiquity. Some of them consist chiefly of words apparently deducible from those languages; and others indicate a lower period by the *Greek* words incorporated in them. Lastly, others demonstrate an age not preceding the sixth century of *Rome*. From the express testimony of *Gellius* and *Strabo* we learn, that the *Etruscan* alphabet was used in some parts of *Italy*, and the *Etruscan* language spoken till at least very near the *Augustan* age*.

Their arts and learning.

According to the testimony of many antient authors, the *Etruscans* were extremely well versed in all the arts of war and peace; and from them the *Romans* learned those arts

* Aul. Gel. l. xi. c. 7. Strab. l. v. Swinton de ling.
Etrus. dissert. Oxon. 1738.

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and sciences that paved the way to the empire of the world. Though in the early times the *Etruscans*, by their prudent and wise regulations, could serve as examples to their neighbours, yet in after ages they became thoroughly debauched both in principle and practice, as may be inferred from *Athenæus*.

Tages is supposed, by several of the antients, to have invented augury and divination of all kinds. His scholar *Bachetis*, who excelled in these, committed all the rules, precepts, and observations relating to them to writing. These precepts, and the *Libri Acherontici* of *Tages*, were held in great repute amongst the *Etruscans*, who formed their system of augury and divination upon them. This system, together with all the principal religious institutions, passed from the *Etruscans* to the *Romans*.

Temples also, statues of the gods and heroes, the manner of building cities and razing them, walls and fortifications, consecrations, nuptial rites, the ensigns of royalty, distinction of nobles from plebeians, the lictors, curule chairs, and, in fine, almost every thing that bore any relation to the civil government, or to the art of war or military exercises that prevailed at *Rome*, the *Etruscans* communicated to the *Romans*.

Agriculture, planting of vines, all kinds of instruments thereto, mills, architecture, particularly that order called the *Tuscan*, music, and a great variety of musical instruments, many sorts of plays and diversions, especially tragedies, various kinds of garments, and even the rudiments of physick, seem to have been introduced into *Italy* by the *Etruscans*.

The art of constructing of ships and navigating them; the various branches of naval exercise and discipline; the method of equipping fleets; the forming of magazines, and all kinds of armaments; nay, even the fitting out of corsairs; the *Etruscans* seem to have been acquainted with before the birth of *Romulus*. The *Etruscans* enjoyed an extensive commerce in the earlier ages of the world. *Aristides* asserts the *Indians* to have been the most powerful nation in the east, as the *Etruscans* were in the west; and *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, in plain terms, that the latter were lords of the sea *.

It appears from the antients, that the *Etruscans* were famed for literature as well as for their civil and religious institutions: and we learn of *Cicero* and *Livy*, that the *Romans*, in the early ages of the republic, sent their sons for education into *Etruria*; which country they considered as the principal seat of literature. *Suidas* mentions a *Tuscan* author who wrote an history of the creation of the world, and a dissertation

* Dempster. Scip. Maff. Marian. Gor. Diod. Sic. l. v.
Arist. orat. in Bacch.

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upon the completion of it in six days. *Censorinus* from *Varro* cites several *Etruscan* historians, who described every age of the *Etruscan* empire, and predicted its destruction in the tenth. The *Greek* and *Roman* writers make mention of a great number of *Etruscan* authors, whose works have long since been lost, many of them relating to the *Tuscan* mysteries and superstitions, having been burnt and destroyed by the earlier Christians. According to *Athenaeus*, *Aristotle* wrote a particular treatise upon the *Etruscan* institutions. *Theophrastus*, *Sostratus* the emperor, *Claudius*, and many others, also wrote concerning the *Tuscan* nation*.

Many particulars are mentioned by *Cicero*, *Pliny*, and other authors, relating to the *Etruscan* augury and divination, which the ancestors of the *Tuscans*, according to *Scipio Maffei*, seem to have brought out of the east. The augural discipline had for its object both the celestial and terrestrial globes, and, in order to facilitate the augural operations, the heavens were divided into sixteen parts.

The *Etruscans* believed one supreme being, whom they called *Jove*, and considered as the great governor of the universe, and as the principle of life and motion. They were firmly persuaded of the immortality of the soul, and therefore believed a future state of rewards and punishment, tho' in later times they seem to have followed the system of *Pythagoras*, and to have adopted the metempsychosis, or transmigration of that philosopher. The generality of the *Tuscans*, however, adhered to the *Sabian* superstition, as did most of the inhabitants of the east.

Music the *Etruscans* considered as a divine art, and they seem to have been greatly delighted with it. They were likewise famous for their curious researches into the productions, operations, and phenomena of nature, and were also acquainted with poetry, frequently celebrating the praises of their gods, and relating the great achievements of their heroes, as well as describing the arcana of astronomy, philosophy, &c. in verse. The *Etruscans* had a peculiar taste for all kinds of theatrical representations, to which we may add, that they abounded with actors, who danced not ungracefully. Their attention to naval affairs must have led them to cultivate astronomy and the mathematical sciences. They were famous for military learning; and *Romulus*, according to *Plutarch*, was instructed in some important points by the *Etruscans*. The *Tuscan* mechanics and artificers were in high repute among the *Greeks*; and *Tarquin* sent to *Etruria* for workmen, when he resolved to build a temple to *Jupiter Tarpeius*. According to *Tacitus* and *Athenaeus*, horse-races and gladiators passed to *Rome* from

* Cic. de leg. f. 2. Liv. l. ix. Val. Max. l. i. Suid. in voc. *Tugennia*. Censorin de die nat. Plut. in parallel.

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Etruria. The *Etruscans* had brought painting to great perfection before the birth of *Romulus*; and the colours on many *Etruscan* vases lately discovered appear as fresh and recent, as if done not many years ago*.

Not long after the dispersion at *Babel*, the posterity of *Javan* are thought to have settled themselves in *Etruria*, which *etruscans* was afterwards peopled by colonies, at different times, from settle in *Affyria*, *Egypt*, *Phœnicia*, *Lydia*, and other countries. *Javan's* posterity, *Moses* tells us, settled in the isles of the Gen-turies tiles, and *Bochart* and *Bishop Stillingfleet* have proved, that after the the isles of the Gentiles comprehended both *Greece* and *Italy*. *deluge*. The leader of the sons of *Javan* is supposed to have been the *Janus* of the *Latins*, who seems to have been the first king of *Etruria*, and the most antient of the *Italian* deities†.

He was supposed, by some of the antients, to have erected a town, or city, on one of the seven hills of *Rome*, from him called *Janiculum*, and there to have held his residence. The *Etruscans* were inspired by him with proper sentiments of religion, and he also taught them agriculture and the use of wine. The introducing of this liquor, however, proved his ruin; for after he had civilized his subjects, he was destroyed by a body of them intoxicated with wine, who imagined themselves to be poisoned by him. *Numa Pompilius* paid a great regard both to his civil and religious institutions, and from him denominated the first month of the year *Januarinus*. *Vanilia* is mentioned as the wife, and *Camenes* as the sister of *Janus*. The former, it is said, bore him a son; and the tract about *Janiculum* received the name of *Janiculum* from the other. According to some, *Janus* had one son and four daughters. His son, named *Tiberinus*, they say, succeeded him, and had for his successor *Vertumnus*, or *Vadimon*, who was succeeded by *Aunus*‡.

According to *Valerius Maximus*, the *Etruscans*, or *Pelasgi*, were descended from the *Curetes*, who are demonstrated to have been the same with the *Cretans*, *Crethites*, *Cerethites*, or *Philistines*. This accounts for the affinity of the customs, manners, arts, and learning of the *Etruscans* and *Phœnicians*. As the *Philistines* came from *Captor*, or *Crete*, to *Canaan*, a considerable time before *Abraham's* arrival there, we may reasonably suppose the *Philistines*, *Crethites*, or *Pelasgi*, to have detached a colony from *Crete* to *Italy* in *Abraham's* days, though other colonies afterwards from different parts helped to people the country. When the first *Pelasic* set-

* *Senec. nat. quest. I. ii. Strab. I. x. Ant. Fran. Gor. ut supra. Dempster. Athen. Deipnosoph. I. iv. vi. and x. Plut. in Rom. Cic. de divinat. I. i. Plin. I. 35. † Boch. Phal. I. iii. Stillingfl. Orig. Sacræ. I. iii. Ovid. Metam. I. xiv. Dempster. ‡ Franc. Marian. ut supra. Macrobi. Sat. I. i. Dempster. Dion. Halic. Bochart.*

The first form of government in Etruria.

tlement in *Etruria* happened, the constitution introduced into *Italy* by *Janus* still prevailed. But, soon after the *Lydian* colony under *Tyrsenus*, this received a very considerable alteration; for he divided *Etruria* into twelve tribes, or dynasties, over which their respective princes presided, who in extraordinary emergencies only were subject to one supreme head.

The Pelasgi migrate from Æmonia into Italy.

Etruria was also peopled by a colony of *Pelasgi* from *Æmonia*. These *Pelasgi* being expelled from *Æmonia* by *Deucalion*, went to their old kindred about *Dodona*; but afterwards, finding the country too small for them, they, by the admonition of the oracle, proceeded to *Italy*. Part of them settled at one of the mouths of the *Po*, called *Spines*, and built a city there, to which they gave the name of *Spina*; while another part of them penetrated into the inland part of *Italy*. Those who fixed at *Spina* fortified themselves, got great supplies of provisions by sea, in a short time made themselves masters of the *Adriatic*, and long possessed the sovereignty of that sea. The *Pelasgi*, who left their brethren at *Spina*, advanced to *Reate*, where they entered into an alliance with the *Aborigines* against the *Umbri*. The new allies made an irruption into *Umbria*, and took by assault *Croton*, or *Cortona*, a fortress of great strength. The *Pelasgi* and *Aborigines* made this city their principal magazine and place of arms, and afterwards reduced many other *Umbrian* towns. Some time after, they undertook an expedition against the *Siculi*, seized upon several of their towns, and, at last, forced them to retire to *Sicily**.

This retreat of the *Siculi*, however, must have happened many years after the alliance of the *Pelasgi* and *Aborigines*, as it is placed by *Hellenicus*, *Lesbius*, and *Philistus* of *Syracuse*, quoted by *Dionysius*, only about three generations before the *Trojan war*. These *Æmonian Pelasgi* seem not to have remained long in a flourishing condition; for, according to another author quoted by *Dionysius*, the country they inhabited was so parched by an immoderate drought, about two generations before the *Trojan war*, that it became entirely barren, and the air being also infected by the violent heats, and a mortality prevailing, they, for the most part, returned to *Greece*, where they were known by the name of the *Tyrsenian Pelasgi*, on account of their late intercourse with those in *Italy*. Those *Æmonian Pelasgi*, who still remained in *Italy*, appear to have been fixed about *Cortona*; and *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* seems to intimate, that their posterity continued in possession of that city almost to his time.

From an author cited by *Athenæus* it appears, that the *Etruscans* were a maritime power in the time of the *Argo-*

* Dion. Halicarn. Dempster. Scip. Maf. Anton. Franc. Gor. Cluver.

nauts, with whom they are said to have had a bloody engagement, which probably happened in the bottom of the Adriatic, not far from *Tergeste*, now *Trieste*, as *Jason*, according to *Pliny* and *Strabo*, passed by there. The *Etruscans* appear, therefore, to have made a figure at sea before the Greeks, and to have demanded respect on the watery element a generation before the *Trojan* war; nay, much earlier, according to *Aristides*, cited above*.

Upon the departure of the *Æmonian Pelasgi*, the *Tyrsenians* possessed themselves of the cities and towns they had abandoned, and remained masters of them till they were obliged to submit to the *Roman* yoke. From the departure of the *Æmonian Pelasgi* to the conclusion of the *Trojan* war, the *Tyrsenians* probably made a considerable figure, though we find little said of them in antient history.

Mezentius, king of *Etruria*, being alarmed at the arrival *Mezentius* of *Æneas* in *Italy*, entered into a league with the *Rutuli* joins the against the new intruders, and took the field with a power-*Rutuli* ful army. An engagement happened near *Lavinium*, be-against the twixt him and the *Latin* and *Trojan* forces, headed by *Æneas*, *Trojans* when both sides behaved with great bravery. *Mezentius*, and *La-* however, seems to have had the advantage; for *Æneas* being tins. pushed to the banks of the *Numicius*, was drowned in that river, upon which the army he commanded retired to *Lavi-* nium †. According to *Livy*, *Etruria* at this time was a very powerful state, and the whole continent of *Italy*, from the *Alps* to the streights of *Sicily*, was filled with the fame of its great exploits.

Cornificius in *Festus* affirms, that king *Latimus* himself was slain in the battle of the *Numicius*. After that action *Me-* *zentius* fortified himself at a small distance from *Lavinium*, which so terrified *Eurilion*, surnamed *Ascanius*, the young king of *Latium*, then only fourteen years of age, that he made overtures for an accomodation. *Mezentius*, elated with his success, prescribed to the *Latins* the severest conditions, particularly demanding all the wine produced every year in the territory of *Latium*. The *Latins* being highly incensed at his demands, *Eurilion* broke off the negotiation, and soon after attacked *Laufus*, the son of *Mezentius*, who was posted near one of the gates of *Lavinium*. *Laufus* suffering himself to be surprized in the night, the whole *Etrus-* can army was thrown into disorder, and obliged to retire with considerable losf, *Laufus* himself being among the slain. A peace *Mezentius*, with the remains of his troops, being next morn- betwixt ing invested by the *Latins*, agreed to a peace, by which the *Mezentius* river *Tiber* was made the common boundary of *Etruria* and and the *Latium*. This treaty was so religiously oberved by the *Latins*.

* Plin. l. iii. Strab. l. i. Val. Flac. Orgon. l. iv. Dempster.

† Dion. Halic. Liv. l. i. Just. l. 43.

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Etruscans, that they never afterwards interfered with the *Latin* affairs. There is no account extant of the transactions of the *Etruscans* from the death of *Aeneas* to the birth of *Romulus*; but as it cannot in the least be doubted, that the *Etruscans* had good historians, and even pontifical annals, since the *Romans* received the custom of keeping such annals from that people, such a chasm is not to be imputed to them, but to the *Romans*.

The *Etruscans* a powerful people in the time of *Romulus*.

He receives succours from them against the *Sabines*.

A rupture between the *Etruscans* and the *Romans*.

The *Etruscans* were a powerful and polite nation when *Romulus* founded, or rather restored, *Rome*. That prince could not carry the designs he had formed into execution without their assistance, and being indebted to them for the greatest part of his civil and religious institutions, he probably made those of that nation large offers who chose to settle in his city.

Cæle Vibenna, a *Tuscan* general, having led a body of *Tuscan* troops to *Rome*, *Romulus* placed him upon a hill near the city which had then no name, but ever since has been called the hill *Cælius*. When the *Sabines* marched against the *Romans* to revenge the rape of their daughters, an *Etruscan* *Lucumo* assisted the latter with a body of troops. The *Sabines* in the engagement which ensued were at first repulsed; but *Romulus* being wounded and carried off senseless, they recovered their courage and fell with fury on the *Romans*. The *Lucumo*, in the mean time, opposed them with great bravery till *Romulus* recovered himself and rallied his troops, when he was slain with a javelin after he had penetrated into the *Sabine* legions, which were at length defeated*. *Livy* takes not the least notice of the succours the *Etruscans* afforded *Romulus* in the *Sabine* war.

Some years after, a rupture happened between the *Etruscans* and the *Romans*, on account of the city *Fidenæ*, which the latter had seized. As this city stood on the north side of the *Tiber*, the whole *Tyrsenian* body were extremely uneasy at its being taken by the *Romans*. The *Veientes* thinking themselves more affected by this event than any of the other *Etruscan* *Lucomonies*, sent an embassy to *Rome* to demand the restoring of the *Fidenates* to their liberty, and the reinstating them in the lands that had been taken from them. The answer of the *Romans* not being satisfactory, the *Veientes* marched with an army against *Fidenæ*, but were defeated by *Romulus*, with considerable loss. As *Veii* was at this time as large and populous as *Athens* was in the time of *Dionysius*, the *Veientes* again took the field; but in a second battle were totally overthrown by the *Romans*, and pursued to the walls of *Veii*. *Romulus* ravaged the country of the *Veientes*, plundered their camp, and took a great many prisoners, among whom was the old king of *Veii*. The *Veientes* greatly

* Dion. Halicarn. Tacit. annal. l. iv. Plut. in Rom. Dempiter.

ly affected with their losses in these two expeditions, sollicit-
ed a peace, which was granted them on the following con- A peace
ditions. They surrendered up to the *Romans* a small district betwixt
on the banks of the *Tiber*, in which were seven small towns, the *Veien-*
and also resigned to the conquerors their right in some salt-*tes* and
pits which were near the mouth of the river, at the same time the *Ro-*
time giving many of their chief citizens as hostages for their *mans*.
fidelity.

The *Romans*, in the reign of *Tullus Hostilius*, having some A fresh
dispute with the *Albans*, the *Veientes* and *Fidenates* took that rupture
opportunity of forming a design of shaking off the *Roman* betwixt
yoke, intending to fall upon the *Romans* and *Albans* after them.
they should have weakened each other by a battle. They
were prevented from putting their design in execution, and
the *Romans* having had notice of their intention, *Tullus*, the
year following, summoned the *Fidenates* to appear before the
senate, to justify their late conduct. The *Fidenates* refused
such a submission, and, at the instigation of *Fuffetius*, an
Alban general, took arms against *Rome*. *Fuffetius*, who was
trusted with the command of one wing of the *Roman* army,
suffered the *Fidenates* to take possession of his ground; but
Tullus declaring to the *Romans*, that he had acted so by his The *Fi-*
order, his troops so exerted themselves, that in the end he *denates*
gained the victory. The *Fidenates* being soon after besieged obliged to
by *Tullus*, were again obliged to submit to the *Romans*, who submit to
suffered them, however, to live under the same form of go- the *Ro-*
vernment as before. *mans*.

Ancus Martius, the successor of *Tullus*, seized on the hill
Janiculus, which belonged to the *Etruscans*. His pretext for
this encroachment was, that the *Etruscans* made frequent
incursions upon the banks of the *Tiber*; that the *Roman*
merchants had been often plundered by them there; and,
that they had rendered the navigation upon the river very unsafe. The neighbouring nations were doubtless greatly disgusted with this encroachment, and we find that the *Fi-*
denates revolted a second time, a few years after this affair
happened. *Ancus* laid siege to their city, and having taken
it by sap, treated the citizens with tolerable lenity, but left
a strong garrison in the place, to keep them in awe.

The *Veientes*, about five years after, having made an incursion into the *Roman* territories, the *Romans*, in return, invaded the dominions of *Veii*. *Ancus* made himself master of the camp of the *Veientes*, and, the year following, gave them a total overthrow, which obliged them to submit to a peace upon the former terms.

In the beginning of the reign of *Tarquinius Priscus*, who succeeded *Ancus*, and was by birth an *Etruscan*, the *Latins* and *Sabines* entered into a confederacy against the *Romans*. Five cantons of the *Etruscans*, namely, that of *Clusium*, of *Rusellæ*, of *Volaterræ*, *Aretium*, and *Vetulonia*, joined the *Latins*, and, upon the arrival of their reinforcements at the *Latin*

Latin camp, a general action ensued, which proved fatal to the allies. The *Latins* being obliged to submit to the *Romans*, the *Etruscans* returned to their own country with the remains of their forces.

A few years after, the *Gauls*, having passed the *Alps*, defeated the *Etruscans* on the banks of the *Ticinus*, and seized a large extent of territory. Another body of *Gauls* having soon after defeated the *Umbri* and *Etruscans*, and extended their conquests on the *Po*; the *Etruscans* were more solicitous to oppose the *Romans* than the *Gauls*, and accordingly, in a national diet, agreed to unite the whole power of *Etruria* against *Rome*, decreeing, that if any city presumed to stand neuter, it should never, for the future, be entitled to the protection of the *Etruscan* body. Their army having passed the *Tiber*, and taken possession of *Fidenæ*, ravaged the *Roman* territories during the whole campaign. The war seems to have been owing to an arbitrary proceeding of the *Romans*, who, instead of granting a favourable answer to the *Etruscan* ambassadors, who were sent to demand some prisoners, detained the envoys as hostages for the fidelity of their nations.

Tarquin, the following spring, having assembled all his legions and auxiliaries, gave part of them to his cousin *Egerius* or *Collatinus*, who marched against *Fidenæ*, while the king made an incursion into the territories of the *Veii*. The *Etruscans* in *Fidenæ* surprised the camp of *Egerius*, and routed his different detachments dispersed in the country; but *Tarquin* was more successful in the lucumony of *Veii*, where he committed dreadful depredations, and, after defeating the *Etruscans* in two engagements, retired into his own dominions. Soon after, the *Etruscans* were defeated near *Fidenæ* by the *Romans*, who thereupon made themselves masters of that city. They made the *Etruscan* garrison prisoners of war; whipped with rods, and then beheaded, all who were suspected of betraying the city to the enemy; distributed the lands of the *Fidenates* among their own troops, now left to guard the place, and sent the former citizens into perpetual banishment. The *Etruscans* seem to have been excited by this extreme severity to make an extraordinary effort against the *Romans*; but their army being totally routed at *Eretum*, a small city of the *Sabines*, by the *Romans*, they were forced to ask a peace of the conquerors, which was granted them upon reasonable terms.

This war, which lasted nine years, being thus concluded, the *Etruscans* enjoyed repose for some time; but being still jealous of the *Romans*, they sent some troops to the assistance of the *Sabines*, which were, however, defeated by *Tarquin*. Two years after, *Tarquin*, in the same war, received a reinforcement of *Etruscans*, and by their assistance gave the *Sabines* a most memorable defeat. In the reign of *Servius Tullius*, the *Lucomonies* of *Gære* and *Tarquinii* assisted the *Veientes*.

They are
obliged
to ask a
peace.

They as-
sist the
Romans a-
gainst the
Sabines.

entes against the *Romans*, but were defeated by *Tullius*. About four years after, *Servius* attacked and dispersed another army of *Etruscans*. Not many years after, all the *Lucomonies* of *Etruria* joined to distress the *Romans*; but being defeated by *Servius* in several battles, they were obliged again to beg a peace.

It appears from *Herodotus*, that the *Etruscans*, about this time, made a considerable figure at sea; for he tells us, that *etruscans* a *Phœcean* squadron, after a bloody engagement in the sea of powerful *Sardinia*, put to flight a strong fleet composed of an *Etruscan* at sea. and *Carthaginian* squadron. This event is placed by *Archbishop Usher* in the year before *Christ* 543, which coincides with the year of *Rome* 208. About twenty years after this, *Dionysius* relates that the *Etruscans* inhabiting the coast of the *Ionian* sea, in conjunction with the *Umbri*, and other *Italian* nations, undertook an unsuccessful expedition against the city of *Cumæ* in *Campania*. In the year of *Rome* 242, the *Etruscans* renewed the treaty with *Tarquin*, II. which they had concluded with his predecessor *Servius*.

Two years after, however, a rupture happened between They attempted to the *Romans*, and the *Veientes* and *Tarquinenses*, who undertook to restore *Tarquin* lately banished from *Rome*. The two armies fought with great obstinacy, and when night parted them, neither side could claim the victory; but the *Etruscans* abandoning their camp before morning, the *Romans* plundered it, and returned as conquerors to *Rome*.

After this battle, *Tarquin* took refuge at *Clusium*, the residence of king *Porsena*, who sent a threatening embassy to *Rome* in his behalf. The *Romans* not returning a satisfactory answer, *Porsena* undertook to restore *Tarquin* by force of arms, and advanced towards *Rome* with a formidable army, which greatly alarmed the senate, especially as a considerable body of *Latins* had joined the *Etruscans*. *Porsena* arriving at the *Tiber*, took the fort *Janiculum* by assault, and obliged the They Roman garrison to retire into the city with great precipitation. besiege The consuls, with the utmost expedition, passed the river, *Rome*. and drew up their troops to oppose the enemy; but, after an obstinate engagement, were defeated, and obliged to repass the river by the bridge *Sublicius*, which *Horatius Cocles* and *Sp. Lartius* defended for some time against the whole *Etruscan* army, till it was broke down by their countrymen. *Porsena* having fixed his head quarters upon the hill *Janiculus*, sent part of his forces over the river in boats; where having fortified themselves, they ravaged the *Roman* territories, and greatly distressed the city. The consuls, by giving out that they intended to send some cattle to pasture from the gate *Esquilina*, drew the *Etruscans* into an ambuscade, and cut off five thousand of their men. *Mucius Cordus* also having made an attempt to assassinate *Porsena*, that king began to be convinced of the obstinacy of the *Romans*, and gave an audience to their deputies, who came to justify their banishment of *Tarquin*.

Tarquin. The reasons alledged by the *Romans* for the expulsion of their king, prevailed with *Porfena* to make him abandon his interest. He accordingly retired with his army from *Janiculum*, but required of the *Romans* a restitution of the district ceded to *Romulus* by the people of *Veii*; which the senate agreed to without hesitation. When the peace was concluded, *Porfena*, in the most generous manner, made a present of his camp, well stored with all kinds of provisions, to the *Romans*. The goods were sold by auction; and the *Romans*, to shew their gratitude for so seasonable a present, made proclamation at the sale in the following words: *These are Porfena's goods.* This expression was repeated ever afterwards when any effects belonging to the public were to be sold. *Porfena*, before he returned home, sent his son *Aruns* with a body of troops to reduce *Aricia*, but the expedition proved unsuccessful, *Aruns* being killed, and his army defeated. The remains of his troops took refuge in the *Roman* territories; and being conducted to *Rome* by orders of the consuls, were received with the greatest humanity. They had quarters allotted them, were maintained and cured of their wounds at the expence of the public. The kind reception they met with being published all over *Etruria*, had such an effect upon the *Etruscans*, that many of them chose to incorporate with the *Roman* citizens. The part of the city assigned them to dwell in, was ever afterwards called the *Etruscan street*. In the year of *Rome* 261, the *Romans* being threatened with a famine, the *Etruscans* relieved them by sending provisions down the *Tiber* to *Rome*.

New dif- A few years after, the *Romans*, under the consul *Servius Cornelius*, made an irruption into the territories of *Veii*, where they committed dreadful devastations. The *Veientes*, **and Ve-** Romans and *Veientes*, by sending ransoms for the redemption of their captives, and by distributing a sum of money among the leading people at *Rome*, obtained a truce for a year. Three years after, the *Veientes* ravaged the *Roman* territories, which excited the *Romans* to lead an army into their country. The army of *Veientes*, being reinforced from the other *Lucomonies*, gained a victory over the *Romans*, and plundered their camp, where they found a great quantity of provisions. This success animating the *Etruscans*, each of their cantons, the following year, sent reinforcements to the army of *Veii*. The *Romans* raised two consular armies to oppose them, and marched into the *Etruscan* territories; but for some time kept their troops within their camp, which served to heighten their ardour, and render the *Etruscans* foolishly confident. The *Roman* troops at length threatening to mutiny, the consuls led them out of their camp. The *Etruscans* being confident of victory, began the engagement with the greatest intrepidity, and threw the left wing of the *Romans* into disorder: but the *Romans* before the action having taken an oath either to die or conquer, fought with great obstinacy, and at length repulsed the *Etruscans*.

Etruscans. During the action a body of the *Veientes* forced the *Roman* camp, but were soon after obliged to abandon it. The *Etruscans*, by quitting their camp the night following, and retiring farther into the country, resigned the honour of the victory to the *Romans*, who had suffered very considerably in the action.

The *Romans*, the following year, invaded the territories of the *Veientes*, who fell upon them when dispersed and put many of them to the sword. They were prevented from gaining a complete victory over them, by some reinforcements that joined them under *Siccius*, and afterwards under *Fabius*. These generals retreating soon after, the *Veientes* made incursions as far as the hill *Janiculus*, and insulted *Rome* itself. The *Roman* legions being then disbanded, the *Fabian* family raised a body of troops at their own expence, and carried on the war with success against the *Veientes* upon the frontiers. Having fortified an advantageous place upon the *Cremera*, now the *Valca*, they from thence terribly galled the *Veientes*, who, not being able to reduce the fortress by their own strength, prevailed on all the *Etruscan* Lucomonies to send them auxiliaries. The united army of the *Etruscans*, however, was defeated the following year by the consul *Æmilius*, who having taken their camp, gave the plunder of it to his troops, who were greatly enriched by it. The *Veientes*, A peace upon this defeat, sued for peace; which was granted them betwixt on condition of their supplying the *Roman* troops with corn the Ro- for two months, and paying the expence of the war for six. mans and The *Etruscans* about this time attacked the city of *Cumæ* both *Veientes*. by sea and land. The *Cumæans* having obtained a consider- able fleet from *Hiero*, king of *Syracuse*, attacked and defeated The *E- that of the Etruscans*, which obliged them to raise the siege. truscans

The *Etruscans*, upon hearing of the separate peace con- make an cluded between the *Romans* and *Veientes*, cited the latter to unsuccess- appear in a national assembly, and declared their precipita- ful attack tion in reconciling themselves to *Rome* criminal. That the upon *Cu- Veientes* might have a pretence for breaking with *Rome*, the *mæ*. other Lucomonies advised them to insist, that the fort lately raised by the *Fabii* should be demolished. The *Romans* re- fusing to agree to this, both sides prepared for war. The New hos- *Etruscans* began with the siege of the fort, which withstood tilities be- their efforts for a considerable time. The greatest part of the twixt the garison at length being decoyed into an ambuscade, were cut *Etruscans* off by the *Etruscans*, who putting the heads of those they and the had slain on the tops of their lances, advanced towards the *Romans*. fort, which they made themselves masters of, putting all the *Romans* to the sword. The *Etruscans* soon after defeated the consul *Menerius*, and made themselves masters of the *Roman* camp. After this they passed the *Cremera*, spread themselves over the *Roman* territory, and seized the hill *Janiculus*; which obliged the *Romans* to recall the other consul, *Horatius*, from the *Volselian* war to defend the city. Soon after his arrival,

there happened two brisk actions between the *Etruscans* and the *Romans*, in which neither side could claim any great advantage. The following year the new consuls resolved to attempt the recovery of *Janiculus*, and having passed the *Tiber* about midnight with all the *Roman* forces, attacked the *Etruscans* the day following. The engagement was bloody and obstinate, but in the end the *Etruscans* were obliged to retire to their camp on the top of the hill, which they abandoned however the night following. The next year the *Sabines* declared war against the *Romans*, and sent an army towards *Veii* to act in conjunction with the *Etruscans*. Before the *Sabines*, however, could join the *Etruscans*, they were defeated by the consul *Valerius*. He soon after engaged the *Etruscans*, who disputed the victory a long time with great bravery, but were at last obliged to retire into their entrenchments, which being attacked by the *Romans*, they were also forced to abandon them. The *Romans*, after resting one day, presented themselves before *Veii*; but not being in a condition to form the siege of that city, and the *Etruscans* declining an engagement, *Valerius* pillaged their lands, and turned his arms against the *Sabines*. The following year, the city of *Veii* being blocked up by a *Roman* army under the consul *Manlius*, the *Veientes* were obliged to sue for peace, which was granted them for forty years, on condition that they paid the expence of the war for one year, and furnished *Manlius* with corn to subsist his troops for two months.

Fidene
revolts
from
Rome.

In the year of *Rome* 315, the city of *Fidene* revolted from *Rome* to the *Veientes*; and when the *Romans* sent ambassadors thither, to know the reason of the revolt, the *Fidenates* massacred the envoys, contrary to the law of nations. *Tohumnius*, king of *Veii*, and supreme head of the *Etruscan* nation, assembled an army to protect the *Fidenates*, and passing the *Anio*, advanced towards *Rome*. An engagement happening betwixt him and the consul *Sergius*, he thought proper to repa's the *Anio*, and being reinforced by a body of *Falisci*, he encamped before the walls of *Fidene*. Not long after, however, he was defeated and slain by the *Roman* dictator, *Mamercus Emilius*, who afterwards ravaged the whole territory of *Veii*. The following year the *Romans* again entered the territories of the *Veientes*, took several prisoners, but could not reduce any of the towns, in which the *Etruscans* had shut themselves up. The year after, the *Veientes* and *Fidenates* passed the *Anio*, and penetrated almost to *Rome*. They were soon obliged to retire from the city by the dictator *Q. Servilius Priescus*, who followed them with an army, and defeated them near *Nomentum*. The dictator soon after making himself master of *Fidene*, the *Veientes* and *Falisci* were greatly alarmed, and applied to the whole nation of the *Etruscans* for succours. But the general diet answered them, that as they had begun a quarrel with *Rome* without imparting their design to the *Etruscan* body, they must not expect

expect any succours. Two years after, the *Veientes* again endeavoured to bring the *Etruscan* nation to a declaration of war against *Rome*, but without effect.

Though they were thus left to themselves, they did not, however, sue for peace, and about six years after, when the *Romans* had invaded their territories, they attacked and defeated them. The *Etruscan* body, nevertheless, still refused to join in alliance against *Rome*, but allowed a good number of volunteers to join the *Veientes*. The *Fidenates* who had again become subject to the *Romans*, having, about the same time, massacred all the new inhabitants sent thither from *Rome*, joined the *Veientes*, which obliged the *Roman* army to retire under the walls of *Rome*. The dictator, *Aemilius*, however, soon after advanced against *Fideneæ*, when a bloody engagement ensued. In the heat of the action a body of *Fidenates*, dressed like furies, sallied out of their city with lighted torches in their hands, and threw the left wing of the *Romans* into great disorder, which, however, was soon remedied by the dictator, who at length gained a complete victory. The *Veientes*, who fled to the *Tiber*, were slaughtered in great numbers, and the *Romans* entering *Fideneæ* with the inhabitants, took possession of the place. This blow so terrified the *Veientes* that they begged a truce with the *Romans* for twenty years.

The *Veientes* and *Fidenates* defeated by the *Romans*.

In the consulate of *C. Sempronius Abratinus* and *Q. Fabius Vibulanus*, *Vulturnum*, a city of the *Capuans*, called afterwards *Capua*, was seized upon by the *Samnites*. They having tired out the *Etruscans* by a long and bloody war, prevailed upon that nation to permit them to settle in this city and its territory. Some time after, they treacherously massacred all the antient inhabitants the night after a solemn festival, when they were oppressed with sleep and feasting. From this we may infer, that the *Etruscans* had long and bloody wars with the *Samnites* before the year of *Rome* 330, no particulars of which have been transmitted down to us by any antient historian, and that the *Etruscan* nation was not at that time confined within the limits of *Proper Etruria*. About eight years after this event, the *Veientes* made preparations for a new war with the *Romans*; but before they began hostilities, the *Tiber* having overflowed its banks, and damaged their lands, they were terrified by the omen, and laid aside all thoughts of a rupture. After the truce was expired, the *Romans* demanded satisfaction of the *Veientes*, for the injuries done by them to their republic; but the people of *Veii* representing that their city could not comply with their demands for a year to come, because they were then disturbed with domestic broils, the *Romans* rested satisfied. The following year the *Roman* ambassadors being treated with great insolence at *Veii*, the year after, the *Romans* marched with an army against that city; and though it was strongly fortified, and situated on an eminence almost impregnable, they besieged it in form. This enterprise occasioned the assembling

The *Romans* lay siege to *Veii*.

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of a general diet of the *Etruscans*, who nevertheless came to no resolution to assist the *Veientes*.

Little was done by the *Romans* in the second year of the siege ; in the third, the *Veientes* made an alteration in their form of government, and created themselves a king, which gave great offence to the other lucomonies, as the new king was personally odious to them on account of his haughtiness, he having, some years before, interrupted the celebration of their public games by carrying off the greatest part of the actors, who were his slaves. The *Etruscans* therefore determined to refuse their assistance to the *Veientes* as long as they continued under absolute regal government. This decree, which none dared to publish at *Veii*, being known at *Rome*, the *Romans* were thereby animated to push forward the siege ; but after they had with much labour raised a moveable terras, and advanced their galleries to the foot of the wall, they were unexpectedly burnt and destroyed by the besieged, who at the same time flew a great many *Romans*. The following campaign, the *Capenates* and *Falisci*, two *Etruscan* nations, marched to the relief of *Veii*, and fell upon the *Romans*, who being at the same time attacked by the besieged, suffered so considerably, that, according to *Livy*, they were forced to abandon the siege, which, however, was resumed by them the year following, when the *Capenates* and *Falisci* were also shut up within their own walls. The siege advanced very slowly both this and the following year ; but in the third campaign, the *Romans*, who had suffered much in the rigorous winter before, employed their whole force on the side of *Etruria*, in order to hasten the reduction of *Veii*. The *Capenates* and *Falisci* this year again attempted the relief of the besieged, but were almost all cut off by the *Romans*, who, during the two following years, made but very little progress in the siege, being partly employed in ravaging the country of the *Falisci* and *Capenates*, and in draining the lake of *Alba Longa*, which an *Etruscan* diviner had declared must be first effected, before *Veii* could be taken. The year after, the *Tarquinenses*, another *Etruscan* canton, committed hostilities against the *Romans* ; but they were surprised and routed by a body of volunteers.

The *Etruscan* states refuse to assist the *Veientes*.

The states of *Etruria*, in the mean time, were applied to by the *Capenates* and *Falisci*, in behalf of the *Veientes* ; but they still refused to espouse their cause, alledging, that a clan of *Gauls* had lately settled in their neighbourhood, with whom they had no assurance of lasting peace. The *Romans* sent a body of troops, the following year, to act against the *Capenates* and *Falisci*, and to hinder their advancing to the relief of *Veii* ; but they were decoyed into an ambuscade by the *Etruscans*, who entirely defeated them. At length, *Camillus* the dictator made himself master of *Veii* by a mine, by which he introduced into the city a great number of his troops.

troops. The *Veientes*, after fighting for some time with great obstinacy, were at length forced to surrender at discretion. The *Romans* put vast numbers of the inhabitants to the sword, and sold the rest for slaves. They plundered the town, the riches of which was so immense, that the Roman general seemed to be afraid the gods themselves would envy him such a conquest.

It might have been expected, that the reduction of *Veii* should have cemented more closely all the remaining members of the *Etruscan* body. But it had no such salutary effect. Their disunion and civil dissensions rendered them an easy prey to an encroaching and rapacious state, which from its origin had discovered a strong disposition to enslave all its neighbours. The year after the reduction of *Veii*, the *Cenates* and *Falisci* were invaded by the *Romans*, and the former were obliged to submit to that proud republic.

Camillus soon after, at the head of a formidable army, entered the territories of the *Falisci*, ravaged their lands, and having defeated their troops, invested their city, without, however, pushing the siege with any vigour. While he lay before the city, the schoolmaster, or instructor of the *Faliscan* youth, treacherously conducted the sons of the nobility into his camp, and delivered them up to him. *Camillus*, being of too generous a disposition to give the least countenance to such perfidy, sent back the traitor with ignominy, which paved the way for a reconciliation between *Rome* and the *Falisci*, who offered to receive a *Roman* garrison into their capital; but *Camillus*, who was left sole arbiter of the peace, in a generous manner, required them only to defray the expences of the present campaign.

The *Volscienses* and *Salpinates* having soon after invaded the *Roman* territories, that republic declared war against the *Volscienses*, but, on account of a famine and pestilence, were obliged to defer the prosecution of it till the year following, when they sent two armies into the field. The *Volscienses* were easily routed, and eight thousand of them being surrounded, were obliged to surrender at discretion, which defeat so terrified the *Salpinates*, that they kept themselves within their walls, while the *Romans* pillaged their territories. The *Romans* granted a truce for twenty years to the *Volscienses*, on condition that they restored all the booty that they had taken from them, and gave their soldiers one year's pay.

Before this truce was concluded, the *Gauls* had made an *Etruria* irruption into *Etruria*, having been incited thereto by *Aruns*, invaded a nobleman of *Clusium*, whose wife had been debauched by a young lucumo, who had been his pupil. *Aruns* having prevailed on the *Gauls* to espouse his cause, by making them a present of some *Etruscan* wine, they began their march, and reduced all the country between *Ravenna* and *Picenum*, where they spent six years in settling themselves, whilst the

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Romans were carrying on the siege of *Veii*. *Aruns*, at last, conducted their king *Brennus* to *Clusium*, and persuaded him to form the siege of that place. The *Gauls* having struck a great terror into the *Etruscans*, the latter sollicited the assistance of the *Romans*. In an action that happened soon after between the *Clusinians* and the *Gauls*, *Brennus* observing the *Roman* ambassadors heading the *Etruscan* forces, caused a retreat to be sounded, with the resolution of taking vengeance on the *Romans*, and the year after made himself master of *Rome*, which he sacked and burnt. The *Etruscans* thinking this a proper opportunity for repairing their former losses, invaded the *Roman* territories, and encamped in the neighbourhood of *Veii*, with the design to lay siege to it; but they were surprised, and entirely defeated by the garrison. Another body of *Tuscan* troops, that made an irruption on the side of *Ostia*, met with the same fate.

A new confederacy of the *Etruscans* against *Rome*.

About two years after *Rome* had been taken by the *Gauls* all the *Etruscan* lucumonies entered into a confederacy against the *Romans*, and raising an army, made themselves masters of *Sutrium*. Some few hours after the place surrendered, it was surprised by *Camillus*, who killed a great number of *Etruscans* upon the spot, and took all the rest prisoners, whom he sold for slaves at *Rome*. The next year the *Romans* marched an army into the lucomony of *Tarquinii*, and having taken two cities named *Cortuosa* and *Contenebra*, entirely destroyed them. Two years after, the *Etruscans* made themselves masters of *Nepete*, and besieged *Sutrium*; but they were soon forced to raise the siege by *Camillus*, who cut many of their men in pieces, and, not long after, took *Nepete* by assault, when he put all the *Etruscan* garrison to the sword.

The *Tarquinenses* invade the *Roman* territories but are defeated.

About the year of *Rome* 395, the *Tarquinenses* invaded the *Roman* territories, to revenge which insult, the consul *C. Fabius Ambustus* marched against them the year after, but met with a repulse. The war was committed next year to the consul *Cn. Manlius*; but the *Tarquinenses* and *Fulisci*, who had joined together, behaved with such resolution, that they obliged the *Romans* to retire. The year following, the *Etruscans* defeated the consul *Fabius* at the first encounter, by placing their priests in the front of their army, dressed like furies. The *Romans*, however, soon recovering from their consternation, totally routed the *Etruscans*, and took possession of their camp. Soon after, the whole *Etruscan* nation, according to *Livy*, took up arms against the *Romans*, and advanced as far as the salt-pits, towards the mouth of the *Tiber*. Their motions were carefully watched by the dictator *Cn. Marcius Rutilus*, who at length surprised and took their camp, and made eight thousand of them prisoners. The *Tarquinenses*, about two years after, were defeated by the consul *Q. Pennus*, who put a great many of his prisoners to death in cold blood, and caused three hundred

dred and fifty-eight of his chief captives to be beheaded at *Rome*, after they had been scourged with rods in the *forum*.

The following year, the *Tarquinenses* and *Falisci* being joined by the *Cerites*, the combined army plundered the country round the *Roman* salt-pits without opposition; but, not long after, the dictator *Manlius* leading an army against the *Cerites*, obliged them to sue for peace, which was granted them, in consideration of their having received the *Roman* images into their city, when *Rome* was taken by the *Gauls*. After the peace with the *Cerites*, the dictator ravaged the lands of the *Falisci*, and returned to *Rome*. Two years after, a *Roman* army marched against the *Tarquinenses*, while another attacked the *Falisci*, who being both greatly exhausted by the war, sued for peace, and obtained a truce for forty years. The *Falisci*, about eight years after, entered into a treaty of alliance with *Rome*, and, by that means, became in reality a part of the *Roman* dominions.

From this period to the consulship of *C. Junius Brutus* and *Q. Amilius Barbula*, the *Roman* historians make little mention of the *Etruscans*. When *Barbula* was consul, a war broke out betwixt the *Romans* and *Etruscans*; and the latter having raised an army to lay siege to *Sutrium*, *Barbula* took the field against them, and a desperate battle was soon fought, in which both parties suffered so considerably, that the rest of the campaign passed without any action. The year following the *Etruscans* again proposed to besiege *Sutrium*, but were prevented by *Fabius*, who defeated them not far from thence, forced their camp, and obliged them to take shelter in the *Ciminian* forest. *Cæso Fabius*, the brother of the general, who was bred up in *Etruria*, whither the *Romans* of distinction then sent their sons for education, offered to examine the forest, and, if possible, to find a passage for the *Roman* army. Being attended with a slave, he penetrated as far as the territory of the *Camartes* in *Umbria*, and concluded a treaty with that people, who engaged to join the *Romans* with a body of auxiliaries, and supply their army with provisions for thirty days, upon their arrival in that country. The general, upon *Cæsar's* report, accordingly advanced through the forest, and gained the summit of the hill *Ciminus*, from whence the forest deduced its name. The *Etruscans*, who judged it impracticable for an enemy to advance that way, had taken no precautions for their defence; so that the *Romans*, without any opposition, now pillaged a large extent of territory. All *Etruria*, and part of *Umbria*, alarmed at the progress of *Fabius*, assembled an army with the utmost dispatch, and resolved to march towards *Sutrium*, but were prevented by *Fabius*, who entirely defeated them near *Perusia*, with the loss of sixty thousand men. Immediately after this defeat, the lucumonies of *Cartona*, *Arretium*, and *Perusia* sent ambassadors to *Rome* to sue for

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for peace, and obtained a truce for thirty years from the republic.

The next campaign, while *Fabius* was engaged against the *Umbri*, whom he defeated, the *Etruscans* assembled a most formidable army near the *Vadimon* lake, not far from *Viterbo*. According to some, the soldiers had made a vow either to conquer or die; and every common soldier was allowed to chuse himself a companion to fight by him. Others say, that all the *Etruscan* youth, capable of bearing arms, were commanded to appear in the field under pain of death. In the engagement which followed betwixt them and the *Romans*, they cut to pieces the first line of the enemy, and threw the second into disorder, but were at last repulsed with great loss, and forced to abandon their camp. The year following, *Etruria* was invaded by the consul *Decius*, who granted a truce to the *Tarquinienſes* for forty years, on condition of their furnishing his army with provisions. The *Etruscans*, not being in a condition to oppose the *Romans*, begged a peace, but could only obtain a truce from *Decius* for one year, and that on condition of their paying his troops, and furnishing every *Roman* soldier with two suits of cloaths.

The Etruscans suffer great losses.

About five years after, a tumult happened at *Arretium*, raised by the envy and jealousy of the citizens, who pretended to be apprehensive of the great wealth and power of the *Cilnian* family. The *Etruscans* taking arms to expel that family by force, the *Romans* sent an army into *Etruria*, under the command of *Valerius Corvus* the dictator, to quell the commotion. During the absence of the dictator, the *Etruscans* drew his master of the horse into an ambuscade, and cut off the greatest part of his detachment; but they themselves were quickly after defeated with great loss, and obliged to purchase a truce for two years, by giving the dictator's troops a year's pay, and furnishing them with provisions for two months.

The Gauls invade Etruria.

Before the expiration of this truce, the *Gauls* made an irruption into *Etruria*, and were hired by the *Etruscans* to assist them against the *Romans*; but those barbarians, after they had received the money, refused to march into the *Roman* territories. The hostile intentions of the *Etruscans* being known at *Rome*, *Valerius Corvus* came and ravaged their territories, and the year following *Scipio* again led an army into *Etruria*. Having routed the *Etruscans* in a pitched battle, he pillaged all the open country, and burnt the castles and villages. A body of *Samnites*, about two years after, having fled from *Decius* the *Roman* general into *Etruria*, solicited the *Etruscans* to push on the war with vigour against *Rome*. That republic hearing that the *Etruscans* were soliciting the *Gauls* and *Umbrians* to join them, sent two large armies into *Etruria*, under the command of the consuls *Appius* and *Volumnius*,

Junnius, who defeated the confederates, and pillaged their camp.

The war still continued, and the following year, while *The Ro-* *Fabius* the general was absent, the *Gauls* cut to pieces one *mans* gain of his legions, detached under the command of *Scipio*. The great ad-*Gauls* and *Samnites*, exclusive of the *Etruscans* and *Umbri*, vantages are said to have amounted to 140,334 effective men; and it in *Etruria*. was agreed, that they only should engage the *Romans*, while the *Etruscans* and *Umbri* attacked their two separate camps. *Fabius* being informed of these measures by three deserters, ordered some troops that had been left to cover *Rome* to enter *Etruria*, and to ravage it, and the *Etruscans* and *Umbri* withdrawing to oppose this body, he, in their absence, after a most bloody and obstinate engagement, entirely defeated the *Gauls* and *Samnites*. A separate body of *Perusian* and *Clusinian* troops, according to *Livy*, endeavoured to oppose the *Romans*, who were ravaging *Etruria*, but were defeated, with the loss of three thousand men and twenty colours.

Fabius, upon defeating the *Gauls* and *Samnites*, seems to have left *Etruria*; for the *Etruscans*, at the instigation of the *Perusini*, having again appeared in the field, and committed many disorders, *Fabius*, it is said, returned thither again, and routed and dispersed them. Four thousand five hundred of the *Perusini* were killed upon the spot, and one thousand, seven hundred and forty made prisoners of war, each of whom paid for their ransom three hundred and ten pounds of bras.

The consul *Posthumius* the following year ravaging the lands about *Volsinii*, the inhabitants assembled to oppose him, but were defeated under the walls of that city. The consul afterwards marched into the district of *Rusellæ*, and having plundered it took that city by storm, killing near two thousand men, and making above two thousand prisoners. Several *Etruscan* states de-
The *Iucumonies* of *Volsinii*, *Perusia*, and *Arretium*, being now weary of the war, sent deputies to *Rome*, and obtained a truce for forty years, on condition of giving each of the soldiers in the army a military habit, and paying 1,500,000 pounds of bras. feated by the *Ro-* *mans*.

The following year, while the *Roman* forces were in *Samnium*, the *Falisci* declared war against them, and were joined by many others of the *Etruscans*, upon which insurrection the consul *Carvilius* entered *Etruria*, killed two thousand four hundred men, and took several places. The *Falisci* being thereupon intimidated, asked a peace, but obtained only a truce for one year, upon paying about eight thousand three hundred pounds of bras. The truce being perfidiously broke by the *Falisci*, the *Romans* ravaged *Etruria*, and carried off an immense quantity of spoil.

About the year of *Rome* 469, the *Senones*, a nation of *Gauls*, threatening to besiege *Arretium*, the *Arretii* solicited the assistance of the *Romans*, who sent ambassadors to the *Gauls*

Gauls in their behalf. The *Senones*, without any regard to the law of nations, having caused the ambassadors to be *The Gauls* murdered, laid siege to *Arretium*, and defeated a *Roman* army that came to the relief of the besieged. The *Romans* in *Etruria*. *Cæcilius*, seven legionary tribunes, and the greatest part of the *Roman* knights. *Manius Curius*, who succeeded *Cæcilius*, instead of marching to the relief of *Arretium*, crossed *Sabinia* and *Picenum*, and entered the enemies territories, which he ravaged in the most dreadful manner. Though the *Roman* general, according to *Polybius*, rendered the country of the *Senones* wholly desolate, they nevertheless pushed on the siege of *Arretium* with the utmost vigour. At last, reflecting that their habitations were destroyed, and their wives and children carried into captivity, they marched directly towards *Rome*, to wreck their vengeance on that city; but they were met by *Cn. Domitius*, who cut them almost entirely off. Those who escaped fled to the *Boii* and *Etruscans*, who had taken the field with the design of acting in concert with the *Senones* against the *Romans*.

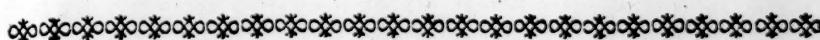
The Etruscans obliged to enter into an alliance with the *Romans*. This army was soon after defeated on the banks of the lake of *Vadimon* by *Dolabella*, who almost wholly destroyed them. The faint efforts they made the following year served only to hasten their subjection. The *Etruscans* and *Boii* were forced to sue for peace, and enter into an alliance with the *Romans*, upon the terms they thought fit to prescribe. The *Roman* historians, however, mention, that the remains of the *Etruscans* and *Boii* on the one hand, and the *Lucani*, *Brutii*, and *Samnites*, on the other, conspired together the next year against their republic. They are silent as to any transactions that happened in *Etruria* the year following; though from the *Fasii Capitolini* it appears, that *Marcus Philippus* then triumphed over the *Etruscans*. The same *Fasii* also assert, that the year after the consul *Coruncanius Nepos* triumphed over the *Volcinientes* and *Volcientes*. Mention is also made, that this year the *Etruscans*, *Umbri*, and *Gauls* were in vain excited to a revolt, from whence it appears, that *Etruria* was then under the domination of the *Romans*.*

* Dion. ap. Fulv. Ursin. Polyb. l. 2. Liv. Fast. Capitol. Flor. Epit. Oros. l. iii. Appian. ap. Fulv. Ursin.

BOOK XIV.

THE

ROMAN HISTORY.



CHAP. I.

The State of Italy before the building of Rome.

SECT. I.

DESCRIPTION OF ITALY.

THIS country, in the early times of antiquity, was known by the names of *Saturnia*, *Oenotria*, *Hesperia*, and *Ausonia*. It was called *Saturnia* for having, as it is supposed, afforded refuge to *Saturn*, when he was expelled from *Crete* by his son *Jupiter*. It owed its names *Oenotria* and *Ausonia* to its antient inhabitants the *Oenotrians* and *Ausonians*; and its name *Hesperia* to its western situation in respect to *Greece*. The name of *Italia*, or *Italy*, which has prevailed for these many ages past, is derived by some from *Italus*, king of the *Siculi*, and by others from the Greek word *Italos*, signifying an *ox*, the oxen of this country being remarkable for their largeness and beauty; but others think that this country was so called from *Aetolia*, a *Grecian* state, some of the inhabitants of which might have settled here.

Italy is surrounded on every side by the sea, excepting towards the north-west, where it is divided from *Germany*, *Switzerland*, and *France* by a long ridge of mountains called the *Alps*. Its greatest length, according to *Cluverius*, is about 900 miles. Its breadth is very unequal. Towards the foot of the *Alps* it is about 560 miles broad. At the mouth of the *Tiber*, about 136; but in some of the southern parts not 30 miles.

This fertile peninsula, in the remote ages of antiquity, was divided into a great number of petty states and kingdoms; but, in after ages, the number of those states diminished, and a three-fold division took place. The northern parts, inhabited by the *Gauls*, were known by the name of *Gallia Cisalpina*; the middle provinces retained the name of *Italy*; and the southern parts, which were inhabited by *Greek*

pal divi-
sions.

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Greek colonies, were distinguished by the name of *Magna Gracia*.

Gallia Cisalpina.

The epithet of *Togata* was applied to *Cisalpine Gaul* on account of the *Roman toga* or gown, which was adopted by the inhabitants as part of their dress; but *Polybius*, *Cicero*, and some other authors, distinguish it by no other name than that of *Italy*. Its limits extended from the *Alps* and the rivers *Varus* and *Arfia* to the river *Aesis*, and even a few miles beyond it; according to *Pliny*, to the city of *Ancona*. It was parted from *Etruria* by the *Appennines*, and on the south was washed by the *Ligustic sea*. The nations inhabiting this tract were known by the names of the *Vediantii*, or *Vestiantii*, the *Vagienni*, the *Taurini*, the *Segusiani*, the *Salassi*, the *Leponpii*, the *Libicii*, and the *Canini*. The *Vediantii* were situated betwixt the *Alpes Maritimæ* and the sea, having the *Varus* on the west, and *Nicæa* on the east. Betwixt the *Alpes maritimæ* and the *Po* were the *Vagienni*; and on the north side of the *Po* lay the *Taurini*, their capital *Taurasia*, afterwards *Augusta Taurinorum*, being washed by that river. Among the *Alps*, on the north of the *Taurini*, lay the *Segusiani*, subject to *Cottius*, from whom the mountains in those parts were called *Alpes Cottiae*. Their capital was *Segusii*, now *Susa*. The territory of the *Salassi* was bounded on the north by the *Alpes Graiae*, and on the south extended near to the river *Sessites*, now the *Sessia*. *Augusta Prætoria*, now *Asta*, and *Eporedia*, now *Ivrea*, were their chief cities. The *Leponpii* inhabited the territory between the *Salassi* and the *Lacus Verbanus*, now *Lago Maggiore*; and adjoining to them were the *Libicii*, whose territory was watered by the *Sessites*. The *Canini* inhabited the country between the lakes *Verbanus* and *Larius*. These several people were by *Strabo* and *Livy* counted among the *Ligurian nations*, and their country reckoned within the confines of ancient *Liguria*.

The proper *Liguria* was bounded on the west and east by the rivers *Varus* and *Macra*, on the south by the *Ligustic sea*, and on the north by the *Po*. Its chief cities were *Nicæa*, now *Nizza*, built by the *Massilienses*; *Portus Herculis Monaci*, *Albintemelium*, *Albingaunum*, *Vada Sabbata*, *Genua*, *Portus Delphini*, and *Portus Lunæ*, now *Vintimiglia*, *Albenga*, *Vado*, *Savona*, *Genoa*, *Porto Fino*, and *Golfo delle Spezie*, all situated on the coast. The inland cities of this province were *Pollentia*, *Alba Pompeia*, *Asta*, *Aquæ Statiellæ*, *Forum Fulvii* or *Valentium*, *Industria*, *Dertona* and *Iria*, now *Pollenza*, *Alba*, *Asti*, *Aqui*, *Valeenza*, *Tortona*, and *Voghera*.

Next to *Liguria* lay *Gallia Cispadana*, so called, because it lay on the side of the *Po* next to *Rome*. It extended from the *Trebia* to the city of *Ancona*, and was parted from *Etruria* on the south by the *Appennines*. It was inhabited by the *Bocii*, the *Lingones*, and the *Senones*, and contained a considerable number of cities.

On the north side of the *Po*, and of the territories of the *Lepontii*, *Libicii*, and *Canini*, lay *Gallia Transpadana*, bounded on the east by the *Adriatic* sea and the river *Formio*, and on the north by the *Alpes Rhæticae* and *Carnicæ*. It was inhabited by the *Orobi*, the *Insubres*, the *Lævi*, the *Cenomani*, the *Euganei*, and the *Veneti*, and contained many large and populous cities.

Italy, properly so called, extended on the north from *An-* *Italy pro-*
eona to the river *Trento*, now the *Fortore*, and on the south perly so
from the Macra to the Silarus, now the *Sele*. It comprehended *called.*
Etruria, *Umbria*, *Sabinum*, *Latium*, *Picenum*, and the
countries of the Vestini, *Marrucini*, *Peligni*, *Marfi*, *Treni-*
ni, *Samnites*, *Hirpini*, *Campani*, and *Pacentini*.

Etruria extended along the *Tyrrhenian* sea from the *Ma-*
tra to the *Tiber*, and was bounded on the north by the *Ap-*
pennines. The *Tuscans*, or *Tyrrhenians*, who inhabited it,
were, as we have already mentioned, divided into twelve
different tribes, or lucomonies.

Umbria extended from *Ravenna* on the *Adriatic* to the ri-
ver Nar, which was its southern boundary. The river *Æsis*,
now Fiumicino, bounded it on the east, and the *Tiber* on the
west.

The country of the *Sabini* lay between the *Nar* and the
Anio, now the *Teverone*. *Cures*, which gave the name of *Qui-*
rites to the *Romans*, was antiently the capital of the *Sabini*.

Latium was bounded on the north, by the *Anio*, and ex-
*tended along the lower sea from the *Tiber* to the *Circean pro-*
montory; but after the reduction of the *Aequi*, *Hernici*, *Vol-*
sci, and *Ausones*, the *Liris*, now the *Garigliano*, became its
south-east boundary. Its chief cities were *Rome*, *Tibur*,
Prænestæ, *Gabii*, *Tusculum*, *Aricia*, *Lanuvicum*, *Alba Longa*,
Lavinium, *Laurentum*, *Ostia*, *Antemnae*, *Collatia* and *Ardea*.
The antient inhabitants of Latium were the Latins, the Ru-
*tuli, the Volsci, and the Ausones.**

Picenum extended along the *Adriatic* from the *Æsis* to the
Aternus, now the *Pescara*; and towards the west bordered on
Umbria and *Sabinum*. It contained *Anconâ*, a maritime city
once possessed by the Gauls, *Castrum Novum*, *Castellum Truen-*
tinum, and several other cities.

East of *Picenum* lay the country of the *Vestini*, containing
Angulus, *Pinna*, and *Avia*, or *Avella*. Next to them lay the
Marrucini, who had but one city; namely, *Teate*, now *Chi-*
eti. The *Peligni* were situated between the *Vestini* and *Marrucini*, on the north; and the *Appenines* on the south. The
Marfi inhabited the *Appenines*, and bordered, towards the
east, on the *Peligni* and *Marrucini*; towards the north, on
the Vestini; towards the west and south, on the *Sabini* and
Aequi. On the south-east of the *Marrucini* and *Peligni*, lay the
Frentani; and between them and the *Campani* were situated
the Samnites. Between *Samnium* and the river *Silarus*, lay
the

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the country of the *Hirpini*, having *Apulia* *Daunia* on the north-east, and *Campania* on the south-west.

The province of *Campania* extended from the *Liris* to the promontory of *Minerva*, having *Samnium* on the north-west, and the *Hirpini* on the south-east. This pleasant and fertile tract contained a great number of populous cities, particularly *Liternum*, *Baia*, *Misenum*, *Puteoli*, *Neapolis*, *Herculaneum*, *Pompeii*, and *Surrentum*, on the coast; and in the inland country, *Capua*, *Sueffa*, *Aurunca*, *Venafrum*, *Casilinum*, *Teanum Sidicinum*, *Calatia*, *Cales*, *Atella*, *Acerræ*, *Nola* and *Nuceria*. The small territory between the promontory of *Minerva* and the river *Silarus*, was inhabited by the *Picentini*, who were a colony of the *Picentes*.

*Magna
Græcia.*

The third great division of *Italy* was called *Magna Græcia*, and comprised *Apulia*, *Lucania*, and the country of the *Brutii*. *Apulia* extended from the river *Frento*, along the *Adriatic*, to the most eastern promontory of *Italy*. It was divided into three parts; namely, *Daunia*, between the *Frento* and the *Aufidus*, *Peucetia* extending from the *Aufidus* to the *Isthmus* between *Brundusium*, and *Tarentum*, and *Messapia*, called also *Calabria* and *Japygia*. It was a very fruitful province, and contained a great number of cities, which were almost all inhabited by Greek colonies.

Lucania extended on the lower sea from the *Silarus* to the *Laus*, which last parted it from the country of the *Brutii*. It was divided by the *Bradanus*, or the *Bradano*, from *Putezia*; and from *Calabria* by the upper part of the bay of *Tarentum*. It was antiently extremely populous, and was chiefly inhabited by Greeks.

The peninsula which extends from *Lucania* to the southern promontory of *Italy*, was possessed by the *Brutii*. Their territory contained a great number of Greek cities, and their capital city was *Consentia*, now *Consenza*.

*The chief
rivers of
Italy.*

One of the chief rivers of *Italy* was the *Padus*, or *Eridanus*, now the *Po*, which rises in the *Alps*, and, after receiving into its channel above thirty different rivers, discharges itself into the *Adriatic* sea by seven different streams. All the rivers in *Lombardy*, except the *Athesis*, empty themselves into the *Po*, which is the noblest river in *Italy*. The *Arnus* and the *Tyber* spring from the *Apennines*; and the last receives the *Clanis*, the *Nar*, and the *Anio*. Other rivers of note are the *Liris*, *Silarus*, the *Sybaris* and *Crathis*, the *Aufidus*, the *Aternum*, and the *Metaurus*.

*The most
remarkable
mountains.*

The chief mountains of *Italy* are the *Alps* and the *Apennines*; the latter of which form a ridge in the middle of it from north to south, and divide it into almost two equal parts. Besides these famous ridges, the following mountains were also remarkable; namely, *Massicus*, near *Sueffa*; *Gaurus*, between *Puteoli* and *Baiae*; *Tifata*, near *Capua*; *Vesuvius*, in the neighbourhood of *Naples*; and *Garganus*, in *Apulia*.

S E C T. II.

Summary of the antient State, and first Inhabitants of Italy.

THE years not only before, but even long after, the foundation of *Rome*, contain some events entirely improbable; more like fabulous inventions than historical facts grounded on authentic memoirs. Antiquity, fond of what excels and surprizes, delighted in embellishing with the marvellous the beginnings of great cities and powerful states, and introducing some deity to render their origin sacred and august. All the *Roman* historians that have reached our times, authors, in other respects, of great sense and judgment, thinking this method indispensable, have inserted in their writings, facts and events, which a popular tradition transmitted from age to age, and antient as *Rome* itself, obliged them to pay some regard to*; though, indeed, they neither tell us that they themselves believed them, nor do they deliver them to us as truths. On the contrary, they have taken care, from time to time, to acquaint us what credit they deserve, by plain intimations of their own private opinion: and *Livy* begins his history with an express declaration, that he intends neither to assert nor refute the wonderful things advanced concerning *Rome*. He only says†, “That if it be allowable for any people to render their origin venerable by referring it to a Deity; such is the glory, such are the conquests of the *Romans*, that if they claim the god of war for father to themselves and to their founder, the other nations should be as ready to grant them that privilege as they were to submit to their empire.” Fables of this kind, even though they should seem to be received and embraced by the historians, do not, however, affect the truth of the facts with which they are joined; neither ought they to throw any suspicion or doubt on the history in general.

Rome, according to *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* ‡, owed its origin to the *Greeks*. It is, indeed, certain, that several *Grecian* colonies came at different times and settled in *Latium*, or the neighbouring countries ||, whose first known inhabitants were called *Siculi*, a barbarous people, natives of the country; that is, whose origin is not traced in history. Some of *Italy*, believe the *Aborigines*, from whom the *Romans* descend, to the *Siculi*, have been also natives of *Italy*, and so named as being sons of

* Liv. l. vii. c. 6.

† Id. in Proæmio.

‡ Antiq. Ro-

man. l. i. p. 1--57.

|| Liv. l. i. c. 1, 2, 3.

the

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the soil ; that is, sprung originally from thence : whilst *Dinysius* will have the *Aborigines* to come from *Arcadia*, and to have been so called from their living upon the mountains *.

Arcadians.

Many years before the siege of *Troy*, a colony of *Arcadians*, under the conduct of *Oenotrus*, settled in *Italy*, which then received the name of *Oenotria*. Afterwards *Italus*, a descendant of *Oenotrus*, it is said, left it his name, which it retains to this day. *Portius Cato*, the *Censor*, and several other noted authors, hold the *Aborigines* to be descended from these *Arcadians*.

Pelasgi.

In process of time, a colony of *Pelasgi*, natives of *Peloponnesus*, but inhabitants of *Thessaly*, compelled to abandon their country, took refuge among the *Aborigines*. The two nations united their forces, and drove out the *Siculi*, who were then in possession of the country where *Rome* was afterwards built. The *Siculi* retired to an adjacent island, named *Trinacria* from its three promontories, and held in part by the *Sicani* †, a people originally from *Spain*. This island was afterwards called *Sicily*.

Arunci and Rutuli.

These, with the *Arunci* and *Rutuli*, were, at different times, the first inhabitants, that we know of, of *Old Latium*, which, from the narrow limits of the *Tiber* towards the west, the *Circæan* promontory on the south, the river *Anio* on the north, and mount *Algidus* (only eighteen miles from *Rome*) on the east, rose, by degrees, to be the seat of an empire which knew no other bounds than those of our hemisphere.

Volsci, Osci, Fidenates, &c.

In *New Latium*, which reached to the *Liris*, lived the *Volsci*, a very warlike people, of whose origin authors do not inform us ; the *Osci*, the *Ausones*, the *Coriolani*, the *Fidenates*, and the *Sicani*. The *Osci*, who are also called *Opici*, and *Obisci*, were descended from the *Ausones*, who came originally from *Greece*, and were one of the most antient colonies that settled in *Italy*, which afterwards took from them its name of *Ausonia*. The *Coriolani* were a colony of the *Volsci*, and the *Fidenates* of the *Albani*.

The Hetrusci.

Hetruria, the tract which lies between the *Adriatic Sea* and the *Appennines*, and joined to *Old Latium*, was first inhabited by the *Tyrhenians* ; who, as is generally thought, came originally from *Lydia*, under the conduct of *Tyrrhenus*, from whence their name, which is also diversified into that of *Hetrusci*, *Etrusci*, *Tusci*, and sometimes *Thusci*. These people extended their conquests beyond the *Appennines*, made themselves masters of the territories of *Nola* and *Capua*, and of almost the whole coast of the lower sea, which from thence took the name of *Tyrrhenian*.

* The etymology of their name must in this case be *ἀπ' ὅρνυς γενε*, natives of the mountains. † Dion. Hal. l. i. p. 47.

The *Umbrians* were one of those early colonies which first *Umbri*. came to *Italy* out of *Asia*. Their territories were bounded on the west by a line drawn from the *Ufens*, now the *Montone*, to the heads of the *Tiber*, and from thence to the confluence of the *Tiber* and the *Nar*; on the east, by the middle of the *Aësis*, now the *Fiumefino*; on the north by the *Adriatic*; and on the south by the *Nar*. The *Umbrians* were separated by the *Arno* from the *Ligures*, of whose origin historians scarcely pretend to give us any account. The *Crotoniates*, *Locrenses*, *Tarentini*, *Messapii*, *Apuli*, *Salentini*, *Calabri*, and *Japyges*, were undoubtedly of *Greek* extraction, and settled in that part of *Italy* which from them was called *Great Greece*, long after the *Umbri*, *Siculi*, and *Ausones*, who are reckoned, by most of the ancients, among the natives of *Italy* who did not derive their origin from any other nation.

The *Sabines* were a branch of the *Umbrians*, according to *Sabini*. some, or, as others will have it, of the *Osci*, or *Opici*. Their country was bounded on the north by *Umbria* and *Picenum*; on the south by *Latium*; on the west by part of *Umbria* and *Etruria*; and on the east by the territories of the *Picentes*, *Vestini*, and *Marfi*, petty states, which derived their origin from the *Sabines*, and were soon swallowed up by others more powerful.

The *Frentani*, *Marrucini*, *Peligni*, *Æqui*, *Hernici*, and the *Sannites*, descended from the *Sabini*; and from the *Sannites* &c. &c. *Samnites*, descended the *Hirpini*, *Lucani*, *Brutii*, and *Campani*.

The *Oenotrii* and *Pucetii* were originally *Arcadians*, who, according to most of the antient writers, crossed the *Ionian* sea, and settled in *Italy*, under the conduct of *Oenotrius* and *Oenotrii* *Peucetius*, two sons of *Lycaon*, king of *Arcadia*. *Peucetius* and *Pucetii*. landed at the *Japygian* promontory, and gave his name to the inhabitants of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, whom he conquered. Thence also that tract was called *Apulia Pucetia*. *Oenotrius* landed on the opposite coast, and possessed himself of *Lucania* and *Brutium*, which, from him, received the general name of *Oenotria*.

About sixty years before the *Trojan war*, *Evander*, banished from *Peloponnesus*, arrived with his *Arcadians* in *Italy*. *Year of Faunus*, who then reigned over the *Aborigines* in the little territory of *Italy*, called *Latium*, gave them, being few in number, a civil reception, with as much land as they wanted. There they built a small town, which they called *Palantium*, in remembrance of their native place of the same name in *Arcadia*. The *Romans* afterwards called it *Palatium*, and from thence mount *Palatine* took its name. *Evander* succeeded *Faunus*.

Some years after the arrival of these *Arcadians*, *Hercules* And came into *Italy* with a powerful army, to conquer that country, having subdued *Iberia*. He had vanquished and slain *Geryon*, feigned by the poets to have three bodies,

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because he was king of three large kingdoms in *Spain*. He brought with him *Geryon's* oxen, which were remarkably beautiful, and for stealing some of which the famous robber *Cacus*, whose story is so elegantly sung by *Virgil*, and has not been refused a place by *Livy* in his history, was killed by *Hercules*. *Evander* commanded then in those parts, rather honoured for his accomplishments, than obeyed as a sovereign. The art of writing, an unheard-of prodigy to men ignorant of all arts, gained him respect. He taught the people among whom he lived the knowledge of the *Greek* alphabet, which were the first letters used by the ancient *Latins*. But nothing procured him the veneration of these uncivilized people, so much as the reputation of his mother *Carmenta*, (the *Themis* of the *Greeks*,) who was reckoned a goddess. She was the oracle of these nations, before the arrival of the sibyls in *Italy*. *Evander*, pretending to have heard long before, from *Carmenta's* own mouth, that a *Hercules*, son of *Jupiter* and *Alcmena*, was destined by the fates to be a god, no sooner heard the name of the vanquisher of *Cacus*, but he resolved to merit his protection by being the first to pay him divine honours. Accordingly, he instantly erected an altar, and after imparting to him the prediction of the oracle, sacrificed a young bull to his honour. It was decreed, at the request of *Hercules*, and with the consent of the whole nation, that this sacrifice should be for ever annually celebrated after the *Grecian* rights, which he taught them himself; and two of the noblest families, the *Potitii* and the *Pinarii*, were selected to preside at the ceremony. *Hercules*, when he went away, left in *Italy* some of his *Grecian* followers, who, uniting with the *Aborigines*, lived with them in the same city in so good understanding, that they might have been deemed the same people.

*Latinus,
king of
the Abo-
rigines.*

*Aeneas
lands in
Italy.*

About fifty-five years after the departure of *Hercules*, *Latinus*, the reputed son of *Faunus*, but the real son of *Hercules*, was king of the *Aborigines*. From him the people were called *Latines*, and the country *Latium*, which was then of very narrow extent. In his reign, some say about the thirty-fifth year of it, the *Trojans* who had escaped the flames of *Ilium*, with *Aeneas*, landed at *Laurentum* on the *Tyrrhenian* coast, near the mouth of the *Tiber*, in the country of the *Aborigines*. *Aeneas* brought with him the statues of the greater gods, and the *Palladium*, which was afterwards deposited in the temple of *Vesta*, and committed to the custody of the vestal virgins, with strict orders not to expose it to view. The *Aborigines* immediately drew together under the command of their king *Latinus*, to oppose these foreigners. But *Latinus*, inquiring into the reason of their landing in his dominions, and being informed that they were *Trojans*, who, under the conduct of *Aeneas*, son of *An-
tibes* and *Venus*, were in search of a place to settle and found a city, beheld, with admiration and respect, that illustrious people,

people, and the hero their commander, equally ready for war or peace, and gave *Æneas* his hand in token of friendship. Mutual congratulations passed between the two armies. *Latinus* received *Æneas* into his palace, and, to Marries strengthen their alliance, gave him, in the presence of their household gods, his daughter *Lavinia* in marriage. A city and builds was founded by *Æneas*, and called *Lavinium*, from his new *Lavinium*. consort, by whom he soon had a son, named *Ascanius*.

Turnus, king of the *Rutuli*, inhabitants of the maritime War with parts of the present *Campagna di Roma*, to whom *Lavinia* *Turnus* had been promised before the arrival of the *Trojan* prince, and *Me-enzentius* enraged to see the preference given to a stranger, denounced war against both the *Trojans* and the *Aborigines*, and gave them battle, which proved unfortunate to both sides. The *Rutuli* were defeated; but the conquerors lost *Latinus*, who commanded in person. *Turnus* and his followers, conscious of the bad situation of their affairs, implored the assistance of *Hetruria*. *Mezentius*, sovereign of that flourishing kingdom, kept his court at *Cære*, an opulent city for those days. As he had always looked upon the *Trojan* colony with a jealous eye, and fancied he saw in the increase of that new power a just cause of alarm to the neighbouring states, he readily joined in a league with the *Rutuli**. *Æneas*, wanting the entire affection of the *Aborigines* to resist the storm that threatened him, caused his own and that nation to become one for the future, governed by the same laws, under the name of the *Latine* people. This so gained the *Aborigines*, that they proved as faithful to him, and as steady, as the *Trojans*.

Secure of the affection of his subjects, whose union daily increased, *Æneas* boldly met his formidable enemies. The *Latines* obtained a second victory, which was the last action of *Æneas*, and the period of his mortal life. His tomb was still to be seen in *Livy's* time on the banks of the river *Numinicus*, now only a small rivulet, called *Rio di Nimi*. Divine honours were paid him by the name of *Jupiter Indiges†*.

His son *Ascanius* was not yet fit to reign; but, during his minority, the government was so successfully managed by *Lavinia*, a princess of great ability and application, that she resigned to the young king his father's and grandfather's inheritance, in the same state she had received it. It is questioned, whether this prince was *Lavinia's* son, or another *Ascanius*, surnamed *Iulus*, born to *Æneas* by *Creusa*, before the destruction of *Troy*, and from whom the *Julian* family boasted their extraction and name. However this be, it is certain he was son to *Æneas*.

* *Liv.* † The heroes who by their actions had merited the Apotheosis, were styled *Dii Indigetes*.

Ascanius
found
Alba Lon-
ga.

Ascanius seeing *Lavinium* very populous, and as flourishing as cities could be at that time, left his mother to reign there, and founded on mount *Alban* another city, called *Alba Longa*, because it was extended in length along the side of the hill. The kingdom of *Alba*, according to the computation of *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, lasted four hundred and thirty years, from the arrival of *Æneas* in *Italy* to the foundation of *Rome*. The interval between the building of *Lavinium* and of *Alba* was scarce thirty years; and yet so considerable was the *Latine* power now grown, especially after the defeat of the *Hetrurians*, that neither *Mezentius* nor any other neighbouring prince, dared to attack them; not even after the death of *Æneas*, or during the regency of *Lavinia*, or minority of *Ascanius*. By a treaty of peace, the river *Albula*, since called the *Tiber*, was made the boundary of the two nations.

*Succeſſion
of the
kings of
Alba.*

Ascanius left the crown to his son *Sylvius*, so called, from his having been accidentally born in a wood. His son and successor was *Æneas Sylvius*, father of *Sylvius Latinus*, founder of some colonies known by the name of the *Antient Latines*. All the kings of *Alba* bore the name of *Sylvius*. After *Latinus*'s death, *Alba*, *Atys*, *Capys*, *Capetus*, and *Tiberinus* succeeded from father to son. This last being drowned in attempting to pass the river *Albula*, which has immortalised his name by retaining it ever since, the kingdom fell to his son *Agrippa*, and, after him, to *Romulus Sylvius*, who being killed by lightning, was succeeded by *Aventinus*, the place of whose burial was from him called *Mount Aventine*, one of the seven hills on which *Rome* was afterwards built.

Amulius
dethrones
Numitor.

Proca, son and successor of *Aventinus*, had two sons, *Numitor* and *Amulius**. At his death he bequeathed the kingdom to his eldest son *Numitor*; but the ambition of *Amulius* respected neither the last will of a father, nor the rights of an elder brother. Not content with usurping the throne, he caused his nephew *Ægestus* to be murdered, and placed his niece *Rhea Sylvia* among the vestals, on pretence of doing her honour, but in reality to deprive her of all hopes of children. Notwithstanding these precautions, the vestal became mother of twins, *Romulus* and *Remus*. Some authors ascribe these children to *Amulius* himself. *Rhea* declared, that she was ravished by *Mars*; whether she believed so, or only pleaded it in excuse for a fact, which, without the authority of a god, would have been considered as sacrilege, and punished with death. But, says *Livy*, neither gods nor men delivered either herself or her sons from the king's cruelty. He commanded her to be closely imprisoned, and her children to be thrown into the *Tiber*.

*The birth
of Romu-
lus and
Remus.*
*Who are
exposed.*

* Dion. Hal. l. i. p. 57-76. Liv. l. i. c. 4-7. Plut. in Rom.

By good chance, the river was then so much overflowed, that its current was inaccessible. The men who were charged with drowning the young children, believing they would as soon perish in standing water, stopped at the first inundation, and there exposed them in their cradle, thinking they had sufficiently executed the king's orders. It is said, that the cradle, after floating some time, was left on dry ground by the waters retiring, and that a wolf, descending from the mountains to drink, ran at the cry of the children, and gave them suck. They are also reported to have been fed by a woodpecker. *Fauſtulus*, the king's shepherd, chancing to find these children, carried them home, and delivered them to his wife *Laurentia* to nurse. The lewd life of this woman is said by some to have gained her from the shepherds the nick-name of *Lupa*, or *Wolf*, which gave occasion to this fabulous story. But found by *Fauſtulus*.

An air of distinction, which appeared in the two foundlings, even from their very infancy, seemed to speak them of noble birth. They were sent, says *Plutarch*, to *Gabii*, to be instructed in literature, and all other things proper for And educated pri-children of quality. They led, however, a shepherd's life with the rest, working for their livelihood, and building vately. their own huts. One of these huts is affirmed by *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* to remain in his days by the name of *Romulus's house*. It was looked upon as something so sacred, that the people, whose business it was to keep it up, dared not add any ornament to it, but only repaired the decays occasioned by age and weather.

In process of time, the two brothers, disdaining an idle pastoral life, applied themselves to hunting in the neighbouring forests. Grown, by this exercise, robust and intrepid, and no longer content with attacking wild beasts, they fell upon robbers, carried off their booty, and divided it among the shepherds. Crowds of youths joining them daily, they were at last able to hold assemblies, and celebrate games.

One day, as the festival called *Lupercalia**, formerly instituted by *Evander*, was solemnizing in the country, a band of robbers,

* This festival was sacred to *Pan*, the god of the country, and was chiefly celebrated in the villages. Some have imagined the *Lupercalia* were instituted in memory of the wolf that preserved *Romulus* and *Remus*; but as that story is very probably a mere fiction, the other opinion, that they were brought into *Italy* by *Evander*, is more likely. The name is derived from *Aύραιος*, for so *Pan* is called in *Greek*, perhaps from *λύκος*, a wolf, in *Latin* *lupus*, because *Pan's* chief busines was the protecting of sheep from such beasts of prey. The priests were called *Luperci*. The ceremonies were these. Two goats (*Pan* is supposed to have goat's feet).

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robbers, who sought an opportunity to be revenged of the two brothers, found means to surprize them. *Romulus* escaped out of their hands ; but *Remus* was taken and carried before the king by the robbers. As they accused him and his brother, among other crimes, of making incursions, and committing robberies with a band of vagabonds on *Numitor's* lands, *Amulius* sent the prisoner to *Numitor*, that he might do himself justice.

Faustulus had all along flattered himself, that the twins he had under his care were of the royal blood. He knew that they were found by him about the time of *Amulius's* exposing the sons of *Rhea* on the *Tiber*. But, persuaded that the time was not yet come, he was waiting till a favourable juncture, or necessity, should compel him to reveal the secret. The danger the prisoner was in forced him to open the matter to *Romulus*. On the other hand, *Numitor* had just learnt that *Remus* had a twin brother. This circumstance, the age of the two brothers (they were past eighteen), with their noble inclinations, all brought his grandsons to his remembrance ; and the questions he put entirely convinced him that his prisoner was *Remus*. From that time nothing was thought of but the tyrant's destruction. *Romulus*, not having a sufficient number to go in a body and force the palace, ordered his people to repair thither by different ways, at an hour appointed. They did so ; he joined them ; and, followed by *Numitor's* domestics, attacked *Amulius*, and killed him.

Romulus kills Amulius.

The brothers restore *Numitor*.

Numitor, at the first outcry, artfully published that the enemy had surprized the city, and was then master of the palace. By this false alarm he drew to the citadel, as to a place of defence, all the men of *Alba* capable of making resistance. But as soon as he saw the conspirators come to him with an air of triumph, he assembled the *Albans*, put them in mind of his brother's outrages to him, related the origin and birth of his grandsons, their education, and the manner of his knowing them. He concluded with informing

feet) and a dog (the shepherd's companion) were sacrificed, and the foreheads of two noble youths were stained with the bloody knife by the *Luperci*, and the blood wiped off with locks of wool, the two boys laughing all the while. This done, the skins of the goats were cut into thongs and whips for the two youths, who ran about the streets and fields, all naked except the middle, lashing all they met. The young women never avoided the strokes, because they fancied them to be great promoters of conception and delivery. This festival was celebrated on the 15th of February. There were at first two colleges of *Lupercalian* priests, the *Fabiani* for *Romulus*, and the *Quintianoi* for *Remus*. A third was added by the senate, in honour of *Julius Cæsar*. Plut. in Rom. Sext. Pomp. Fetus. Ovid. Fast. Dion. Cass.

them

them of the tyrant's death, and declared himself the author. *Romulus* and *Remus* then advanced with their followers into the midst of the assembly, proclaimed their grandfather king, and by their example, the title and authority of sovereign was confirmed to him by the unanimous acclamations of the people.

The two brothers, leaving *Numitor*, the kingdom of *Alba*, resolved to build a city in the very place where they had been exposed and brought up. They were joined by a multitude of *Albans* and *Latines*, besides a great number of shepherds, which inspired them with hopes that the city they were going to found would soon outshine *Alba* and *Lavinium*.

The desire of reigning, fatal passion, and the vice of their family, seized then the two brothers, and created a difference between them, which, though managed with some moderation at first, ended in a tragical manner. As birth-right in the case of twins, especially in theirs, could not claim a precedence, they both agreed to consult the flight of birds, to know for which the tutelar gods had reserved the honour of naming and governing the rising city. To this end, *Romulus* was placed on mount *Palatine*, and *Remus* on mount *Aventine*. *Remus* first discovered *Vultures*, to the number of six : but the moment he declared it, *Romulus* saw twelve. Upon this, two parties were formed : one declared for him that first saw the vultures ; the other for him that saw most. Contests ensued, passions were raised, the quarrel grew bloody, and *Remus* was killed in the fray. Death of *Others* relate his death thus. As *Romulus* was ordering the *Remus*. ditch, which was to surround the walls of the new city, *Remus* jested on the narrowness of the work, and adding insult to raillery, contemptuously leaped over the ditch, to expose his brother. *Romulus*, enraged at the affront, struck him dead, saying, *Thus perish all who dare act like him*. *Cicero* considers *Remus*'s raillery as a poor excuse for *Romulus*'s criminal ambition, by which he was prompted to this murder for the sake of reigning alone ; and notwithstanding his respect for the deified founder of *Rome*, he expressly condemns him *.

Some authors think *Rome* more antient than *Romulus*, by whom, say they, it was only restored. Some make the *Pelasgi* the first founders of that city, and derive its name *Rome* from the Greek word *Ῥώμη*, strength. Others say it was built by some *Trojans*, among whom was a woman of note called *Roma*. *Solinus* says *Evander* was the founder of it. The author of a late dissertation on the uncertainty of the five first ages of the *Roman* history, endeavours to shew that it cannot be made appear by whom or when *Rome* was founded.

* Peccavit igitur pace vel Quirini vel Romuli dixerim. Cic.
Offic. l. iii. c. 41.

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We shall, in that respect, follow the generally received opinion, according to which,

*Romulus
finds
Rome.*

Year of
the world
3253.

Before
Christ
751.

Romulus, become sole master by his brother's death, applied himself with fresh ardour to raising the walls of the city, and building the houses they were to inclose*. The colony was pretty numerous at first; but the dissention of its leaders, followed by a conflict, destroyed many, and made others withdraw. It was now reduced to three thousand foot and three hundred horse. *Romulus* had marked out, with a plough, a square round mount *Palatine*, making a continued furrow, to shew where the foundations of the walls were to be laid, except in the places designed for the gates, where, holding up the plough, he carried it without continuing the furrow. Hence the word *porta*, a gate, à *portando*. This ceremony was ever after observed on the like occasion. A space was left within between the walls and the houses, on which it was not lawful to build, and another without, which was not to be ploughed. The line marked out by the plough was called *Pomærium*†; from whence the phrase *pomærium proferre*, to signify the enlarging of the city. *Romulus* dedicated the new city to his reputed father the god *Mars*.

In this rude state, *Rome*, destitute of civil laws and magistrates, was more like a camp of soldiers than a city, and served only as a place of security to men of desperate fortunes, whom impunity, or hopes of booty had drawn together from various places. *Greeks*, *Latins*, *Albans*, and *Tuscans*, most of them shepherds and robbers, but all men of resolute valour, were the first inhabitants of this proud city. The conquerors of the world owed their origin to a nest of thieves.

Cato places the foundation of *Rome* on the eleventh of the calends of *May*, (that is, the twenty-first of *April*) in the first year of the seventh Olympiad, which answers to the year 751 before *Christ*, and of the world 3253. On that day a pastoral festival, called *Palilia*, was ever after celebrated at *Rome*; but whether solely in commemoration of the founding of the city, or whether it was instituted before, in honour of *Pales*, goddess of the shepherds‡, or whether on both accounts, is not certainly known.

* Liv. l. i. c. 8. Dion. Hal. l. ii. p. 77-87. Plut. in Rom.

† From *pone mænia*. Plut. ‡ See a description of the superstitions used by the shepherds on that day in *Ovid de fastibus*, iv. v. 771, &c. The same day was also called *Urbis natalis*,

C H A P. II.

The Monarchical Government of Rome, under her seven Kings, who are said to have reigned 244 Years.

AS soon as the necessary buildings were finished, *Romulus* assembled the people, and bid them chuse what form of government they thought best. They immediately gave the preference to monarchy, as the most consistent with their favourite passions, liberty and empire; and immediately proclaimed *Romulus* king of *Rome*; which he, after consulting chosen the auguries, agreed to. At the same time they declared him the head of their religion, the chief magistrate of the city, and general of the state*. Besides other guards, he had twelve *lictors* †, who always attended him when he appeared in public. Each lictor was armed with a battle-ax surrounded with a bundle of rods, which was the symbol of sovereignty among his neighbours the *Hetrurians*. But, with all this pomp of royalty, his power was confined to very narrow limits ‡; and he had little more authority than to call together the senate and the assemblies of the people; to propose affairs to them; to march at the head of the army when war was resolved upon by a public decree; and to give directions about the disposal of the public money.

The first care of the new prince was to make several laws concerning religion and civil government; which, however, were not published without the consent of the whole people. It is not well known what was the form of worship in these distant ages: we only learn from history, that the religion of the first *Romans* had a great conformity with their origin. Besides, the *Palilia* and the *Lupercalia*, mentioned before, *Plutarch* || speaks of a god called *Confus*, who presided over councils, and whose only temple was a grotto under ground §. *Romulus* instituted some new festivals, whereby religion became an ease and relief to the labouring people. But the chief religion of those rude times lay in the *aruspices* and *augurs*. The former inspected the entrails of the victims, and the latter foretold future events by the flight, the singing, or the feeding of birds. The flight of a raven on the left, and

* Dion. Hal. 1. ii. p. 81. † Liv. c. 8. ‡ Dion. 1. ii.
Plut. in Rom. || In Romul. § A mystic turn has since been given to what was perhaps then merely the effect of chance or necessity; and we are told, that this temple was contrived under ground, in order to teach men, that the deliberations of councils should be secret.

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of a crow on the right, were good omens; so was also a clear shrill note*. As for the feeding of chickens, the *pullarius*, or keeper, let them out of their coop, and threw down a handful of crumbs, or grain. If they feized the meat greedily, and scattered part on the ground, the omen was favourable. On the contrary, if they refused to eat, the omen was fatal. The story of *P. Claudius*, the consul, is well known, † who, ready to engage at sea in the first *Punic* war, and hearing that the chickens would not come out of their coop, ordered them to be thrown into the sea, with this jest, *If they will not eat, let them drink*. He was conquered indeed; but it need not be said that his defeat was caused by his rashness, and not by his contempt of so silly a ceremony.

The second way of taking Aruspices, was from certain observations in the heavens. The augur marked in the air with the *lituus*, or augural staff, bent at the end, a certain space, to observe what should pass there. This space was called *templum*, as well as the space where he stood to make his observations. This ceremony is largely described by *Livy* ‡.

The pleasure of the gods was also consulted by the inspection of the entrails of victims. To this office were appointed the Aruspices. These were of much less consideration than the Augurs, who were always chosen out of the prime nobility.

All these religious ceremonies were very antient. They were brought from *Chaldea* to *Greece*, from thence to the *Hetrurians*, of whom they were borrowed by the *Latins* ||. In after-times, the senate ordered six young *Roman* noblemen to be sent every year to *Hetruria*, to be instructed in these matters.

The pious frauds of Aruspices, which owed their establishment merely to the ignorance of the first ages, became afterwards one of the great mysteries of state: and it is said that *Romulus* caused himself to be appointed the first Augur of *Rome*, lest others should gain the confidence of the multitude by the help of those superstitions, in which the vulgar had great faith. By a law made purposely for that end, he decreed, that no election should be entered upon, nor any person, for the future, be raised to the royal dignity, the priesthood, or any of the public magistracies; nor any war be undertaken, till the Aruspices had first been consulted. In the same spirit of religion, and with very wise policy §, he forbade all worship of foreign deities, which might have bred divisions among his new subjects. By the same law, the priesthood was to be for life; priests could not be elected till the age of fifty, and none but their wives were allowed to

* Cic. de Divin. l. i. p. 12. Liv. l. x. c. 40. + Val.
Max. l. i. c. 4. † Liv. l. i. c. 18. || Onuphr. de civ.
Rom. c. 17. Cic. de Divin. l. i. p. 92, § Dion. Hal. l. ii.

perform

perform the function of priestesses. Their sons, who were called *Camilli*, were to wait at the altars till the age of puberty; and their daughters, called *Camillæ*, so long as they continued virgins. After the division of the people into different classes, the chief ministers of the gods were chosen from among the patricians; and the inferior priests, out of such families only as were honourable. The sacerdotal families were exempted from paying taxes and bearing arms; and the priests were obliged to be acquainted with the laws and customs of their country, and to write its principal events: so that they were the first historians and first lawyers of the *Romans*.

Romulus having numbered the inhabitants of *Rome* †, found Numbers that they amounted to three thousand three hundred men. his people These he divided into three equal tribes, and assigned to each and dī a part of the city to inhabit, under the command of a Præ- videsthem fect or Tribune. Each tribe was divided into ten Curiae, into tribes or companies of one hundred men, under the command of a Centurion; and every Curia was subdivided into ten Decu- Curiæ and riae, which were commanded by their respective officers. A Decuriæ. priest, who was called Curio, had the care of the sacrifices of each Curia; and two of the principal inhabitants, called Du- umviri, distributed justice between man and man.

After this, *Romulus* divided his small territory, not above Portions five or six miles in extent, and originally dependent on the out the city of *Alba*, into three, but not equal, parts. One was con- territory secrated to the expences of religious worship; another was of *Rome*. reserved for the king's revenue, and the exigencies of the state; and the third, which was the most considerable, was divided into thirty portions, to answer to the thirty Curiae. The share of each private man did not exceed two acres §.

The next thing *Romulus* did, was to distinguish the people, according to their birth and dignity, into Patricians and the people Plebeians. The former were to take care of the religious Divides into Pa- rites and ceremonies, and to hold all the civil and military tricians dignities; the latter were to till the ground, feed cattle, and and Ple- follow trades. To prevent the murmurings which this di- beians. stinction between citizens of one and the same republic might occasion, *Romulus* endeavoured to bind them to each other by reciprocal ties and obligations. Every plebeian ‡ was al- Patrons lowed to chuse, out of the body of the patricians, a patron, and Cli- or protector, who was obliged to assist him with his ad- ents, their vice and power. In return, the client was bound, upon all respective occasions, to adhere to the interest of his patron; to assist duties. him with money, if required, towards paying his debts, portioning his daughters, or ransoming him, or his children, if taken in war. The patron and client were never to accuse each other, or take contrary sides. Any breach of this

† Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

covenant

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covenant was looked upon as a sacrilege; and the offender became so infamous, that no punishment was inflicted on whoever killed him.

**Establish-
ment of
the senate.**

To these regulations succeeded the institution of the senate. The king named the first senator, who was styled the Prince of the Senate; and ordained, that in his absence he should have the government of the city. Each tribe elected three members, and each of the Curiæ the like number; making in all one hundred senators; who were chosen from among the patricians, and were to be at the same time the king's ministers and the protectors of the people. Functions no less noble than hard to execute well.

All affairs of importance were brought before the senate. The prince, as head, presided *, but he had only his single vote, like a private senator; and all questions were decided by a plurality of voices. The senators were called Patres, fathers; and the name of Patricians was given to their descendants, who were the origin of the first nobility among the Romans. All civil and military dignities, and the priesthood, belonged to the Patricians only.

**Origin of
the Roman
knights.** The senate being thus established, *Romulus* ordered the Curiae to chuse him a guard of three hundred young men; ten out of each Curia. These were called Celeres; either from their first captain, whose name was *Celer*, or from the swiftness with which they executed the orders they received. They fought either on foot or on horseback, as occasion required. The state found them a horse; from whence they were called Equites, knights; and they were distinguished by a gold ring. They were commanded by a Tribune called *Tribunus Celerum*, three Centurions, and other inferior officers. This was the origin of the Roman knights.

**Privileges
of the
king, se-
nate, and
people.** The king's office at home was to take care of religious affairs; to be the guardian of the laws and customs; to decide the weightier causes between man and man, referring those of less moment to the senate; to call together the senators, and assemble the people; first giving his opinion of what was proposed, and then ratifying, by his consent, what was agreed on by the majority. Abroad, and in time of war, he was to command the army with absolute authority, and to take care of the public money. The senate were not only to be judges in all causes that were referred to them, but likewise to debate and resolve upon such public affairs as the king proposed, and to determine them by the plurality of voices. To the people was committed, the creating of magistrates, the electing of the king himself, the enacting of laws, and the resolving upon any war that was proposed by the king; but in all these things, the approbation of the senate was necessary.

* Dion. Hal. l. ii.

† Liv. l. i. c. §.

Such was the fundamental constitution of this state, neither purely monarchical, nor entirely republican. The king, the senate, and the people, were in a sort of mutual dependance; from whence resulted a balance of authority which moderated that of the prince, and at the same time secured the power of the senate and the liberty of the people.

The new colony being thin of inhabitants, *Romulus* opened *Romulus* an asylum for debtors, fugitive slaves, outlaws, murderers, opens an and every sort of criminals. To this end he erected a temple *asylum*. to a new sort of divinity, which he called the *Asylæan* God, under whose protection all sorts of criminals were to be secure. Multitudes flocked to him from the neighbouring countries. They were not, indeed, at first received within the walls, but had the hill *Saturnius*, afterwards called *Capitolinus*, assigned them for their habitation. Afterwards, when *Romulus* enlarged his city, the asylum was inclosed within the walls; and those who had fled to it, being brought under some regulation, became citizens of *Rome*.

The prudent regulations in the government of *Rome*, and especially the liberty which her subjects enjoyed, attracted likewise, from all parts, numbers of more valuable citizens. *Romulus* made them all soldiers; and his new state began already to grow formidable to its neighbours, and wanted nothing but women to secure its duration.

Romulus sent deputies to demand intermarriage with the *Sabines* and other neighbouring nations, and to propose a strict alliance between them and *Rome*. His offers were rejected with scorn. "Why," said the *Sabines**, "does not your prince open an asylum for vagabond women and fugitive female slaves, as he has done for men? He might then make marriages wherein neither party could upbraid the other."

Incensed at this answer, he determined to take by force what he could not obtain by gentle means. The chief of the senate approved of his design. Accordingly, *Romulus* proclaimed a solemn feast, and public games, in honour of the god *Confus*, or *Neptune*, creator of the horse, as some interpret this word. This brought together a great concourse of people, some to see the shew, and some the new city. The *Sabines*, being nearest to *Rome*, were the most numerous. In the midst of the solemnity, the *Romans*, upon a signal given by *Romulus*, rushed, sword in hand, into the assembly, seized all the daughters of the spectators, and, by main force, carried them to their houses, where they were kept till the next day, without any farther insult being offered them. They were in all six hundred and eighty-three; and *Romulus* chose so many husbands for them. This violence was highly resented by the neighbouring people, and occasioned a war which lasted several years.

Rape of
the *Sabine*
women.

* Liv. l. i. c. 9.

The *Cæninenes* were the first that armed to revenge the insult. They entered the lands of the *Romans*: *Romulus* engaged and defeated them; killed their king, *Acron*, with his own hand; took their city, razed it, and sent all the inhabitants to *Rome*, where they were allowed the same privileges as the most antient citizens. For this victory, *Romulus* decreed himself the honours of a triumph. He returned to *Rome*, laden with the armour of the vanquished king, which he consecrated to *Jupiter Firetrius*. These spoils were called,

Origin of by way of distinction, *spolia opima*, rich spoils; or, spoils difficult to be obtained; because they were taken by the general of the *Roman* army from the enemy's general, after having killed him with his own hand.

The whole *Roman* history affords but two more instances of such spoils, and they were taken by *Cossus* and *Metellus*. The *Antemnates* and *Crustumini*, who had likewise taken up arms, had no better fortune than the *Cæninenes*.

They also were overcome, and their cities were taken. *Romulus* would not destroy them; but, their countries being fruitful, he settled in them colonies which were a barrier on that side against the incursions of other enemies. The inhabitants were removed to *Rome*,

and admitted to all the privileges of *Roman* citizens. By this conduct, the reputation of his clemency, as well as bravery, became so great, that several cities of *Hetruria* voluntarily submitted to him. *Cælius*, an *Hetrurian* general, led all the troops under his command to *Rome*, and settled on an hill near the city, which, from him, took the name of Mount *Cælius*.

Romulus, being now obliged to enlarge the compass of his city, took in the hill *Saturnius*, called afterwards *Mons Capitulinus*; and on the top of it built a strong citadel, which he committed to the government of a noble *Roman* named *Tarpinus*.

The *Sabines* declare war.

And surprise the city.

The *Romans* and *Sabines* become one people.

Tatius, king of the *Curetes*, in the country of the *Sabines*, was the last, but not least formidable, enemy that attacked the *Romans*. He surprized the city of *Rome*, and penetrated to the very *forum*, where an obstinate and bloody fight ensued. The victory was doubtful, when the *Sabine* women, who were become the wives of the *Romans*, and who, in general, had children by them already, threw themselves into the midst of the combatants, and by their prayers and tears suspended their animosity. An accommodation was agreed upon: the two nations made peace; and that the union might be the stronger, most of these *Sabines*, who before lived dispersed in the country, or in small towns, came and settled at *Rome*, and increased the number of her citizens, whose privileges were allowed them. *Romulus* was wounded in this fight, the conclusion of which cost him also a part of his sovereignty; for he was obliged to admit *Tatius* to an equal share in the royalty, and to receive an hundred of the noblest of his people into the senate, with the same title

title and privileges as the *Romans**. The two kings reigned jointly, and with great harmony, for five years; *Romulus* holding his court on the hill *Palatinus*, and *Tatius* residing on the hill *Tarpeius*. The *Sabines* settled on an hill called by them *Quirinalis*; either in memory of their city *Cures*, or in honour of their god *Quiris*. The space between the *Palatine* and *Tarpeian* hills became a common market-place for the two united nations, and was called the *Forum*. The union of the two nations soon produced a mixture of manners, customs, and religion. They unanimously instituted the festival called *Matronalia*, in memory of the peace concluded by the mediation of the *Sabine* women; and, as a farther mark of distinction, every one was commanded to give way to them; all immodest discourses were forbidden in their presence; in capital causes they were exempted from the jurisdiction of the ordinary judges, and their children were allowed to wear a golden ball hanging down their necks, and a particular robe, called *prætexta*, to distinguish them from the vulgar.

The only military expedition under the two kings, was the *Cameria* conquest of *Cameria*, a city in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, made a Four thousand of its inhabitants were transplanted to *Rome*, Roman colony. from whence a colony was sent to *Cameria*.

In the sixth year of *Romulus* and *Tatius*, the latter, having provoked the *Lavinians* by injudiciously protecting some of his friends, who had ravaged their territories, was murdered *Rome* 14. by them at the foot of the altar, while he and *Romulus* were offering a sacrifice in the city of *Lavinium*. *Romulus*, who never liked an equal in authority, was suspected of being concerned in this affair. However, he carried his colleague's dead body to *Rome*, and interred it honourably on Mount *Aventine*. From this time he reigned alone.

Not long after, a plague, attended with a great famine, breaking out at *Rome*, the *Camerini* attempted to shake off *Rome* 15, the *Roman* yoke. *Romulus* marched against them, killed six thousand of them on the spot, and, returning to *Rome*, entered the city in triumph. The like success attended him against the *Fidenates*, whose city, standing about forty furlongs from *Rome*, he took, and made it a *Roman* colony. The *Veientes* claimed *Fideneæ*, as a city within their jurisdiction, and laid siege to it: but they were defeated in two battles, and forced, in order to obtain a truce for an hundred years, to give up seven small towns on the *Tiber*, with some salt-pits near the mouth of that river, and to send fifty of their chief citizens to *Rome*, to be kept there as hostages. This war procured *Romulus* the honour of a third triumph.

* The *Roman* and the *Sabine* senators assembled at first separately, at the houses of their respective kings; but afterwards met at the same place, which was from thence called the *Comitium*.

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Laws of
Romulus.

This was the last war in which *Romulus* engaged. The remaining part of his life was employed in settling the civil government of his state. He made many good laws; but we have only some fragments of them remaining. The first relates to marriages, and forbids a wife to leave her husband upon any pretence whatever; but allows the husband to put away his wife, and even to punish her with death, in case she were convicted of adultery, poisoning, making false keys, or only of drinking wine. *Romulus* thought this last interdiction necessary to prevent adultery, which he looked upon as the too natural effect of that dangerous liquor. Each husband was confined to one wife; their goods were in common between them, but under the administration of the husband. His laws, with respect to the power of fathers over their children, are the most cruel that were ever heard of. The former had an absolute power over the lives and fortunes of the latter; so that, by their own private authority, they could imprison them, sell them for slaves, and even put them to death, at any age, and in any station*. He appointed no punishment for real parricide, but called all murder so, thinking the latter a detestable crime, but the former impossible: and indeed it was unknown in *Rome* for near six hundred years, as divorces were, notwithstanding the husband's power, for five hundred and twenty years†. Well knowing that the power of a state confits not so much in its extent, as in the number of its inhabitants, he made it criminal to kill, or even sell, an enemy in war, if he yielded. The design of his wars was only to conquer men: being sure he should never want lands, while he had troops sufficient to possess themselves of them.

His beha- *Romulus*, in the latter end of his reign, whether too much viour pro- elated with his former successes, or carried away with no- vokes the tions of arbitrary power, began to extend his prerogative be- senate.

He si beyond due bounds, and to pay no longer any deference to his murder'd. great council. The senate was indeed assembled, but only for form sake, and to ratify his commands. Incensed at this haughty and arbitrary behaviour, they resolved his death, and soon after effected it. *Romulus* having appointed a review of his troops on a plain without the city, the senate attended him thither. Whilst he was haranguing them, a sudden storm dispersed the army, and the senators remained alone with the king, who never was seen after. To appease the people, and remove their suspicions of what had happened, the senators gave out, that, in the midst of the storm, *Romulus* was, on a sudden, surrounded by a flame, and snatched up into Heaven. *Julius Proclus*, a senator of great distinction, having assembled the Curiæ, swore to the

Year of
Rome 37.

* Dion. Hal. l. ii. p. 92. A. Gell. c. 23. Plat. Instit. Juf-
tin. l. i. † Plat. ubi supr.

truth of this story, and assured them, that *Romulus* had appeared to him, and enjoined him to acquaint his people, that it had pleased the Gods to take him back to Heaven, from whence he came ; but that he would always be a propitious god to them, under the name of *Quirinus**. His death happened on the 7th of *July*, in the thirty-seventh year of his reign, and the sixtieth, or, as some say, fifty-fifth year of his age. Thus ended one of the greatest heroes of antiquity, the first founder and law-giver of the *Romans*, who, in a few years, formed out of a gang of slaves and profligates, a people which, in process of time, became masters of the world, and were yet more renowned for their virtue, than for their courage or conquests ; who, from three thousand three hundred men, with which he first began, increased his subjects to forty-seven thousand soldiers, all inspired with the same spirit of preserving their own liberty, and making themselves masters of that of others.

By the death of *Romulus*, who left no issue, the supreme *Interregnum* authority devolved on the senators, who divided it among themselves, and each governed in his turn five days, with the title of *Inter-rex*, and enjoyed all the honours of sovereignty. This new form of government lasted somewhat more than a year ; when the people, weary of having so many lords, insisted on a change. The senate gave them their option, either to elect a king, or chuse annual magistrates. The people, out of respect, referred the choice to them. Several of the senators, willing to keep the power in their own hands, inclined to the republican state ; but the chief of that body, who secretly aspired to the crown, got a vote passed in favour of monarchy. A general assembly of the people † was held ; and the senator who had last performed the office of *Interrex*, addressing himself to them, said, “ Elect yourselves a Form of “ king, O *Romans* ; the senate give their consent : and if electing “ you make choice of a prince worthy to succeed *Romulus*, kings. “ the senate will confirm him in that supreme dignity.”

The senate consisted of two sorts of senators ; the old *Numa* ones, and those that had been added to them in the reign of *Pompilius Tatus*. The former demanded a *Roman* ; the latter, one of elected their own country. After great disputes, it was agreed, that king. the old senators should name the king of *Rome* ; but that they should chuse him from among the *Sabines*. Their choice fell upon *Numa Pompilius*, ‡ a man of virtue, wisdom, moderation, and equity ; but no great soldier. This worthy raſter.

* Dion. Hal. l. ii. Plut. Liv. l. i. c. 16.

† The *assembly of the people* included not only plebeians, but also the senators, knights, and all the *Roman* citizens in general, who had a right of suffrage. The plebeians, being more numerous than the two other orders, generally had the decision of affairs on these occasions.

‡ Liv. Plut. Dion. Hal.

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Year of
Rome 40.

He dis-
misses the
guard of
three hun-
dred Ce-
leres.

Divides
the minis-
ters of re-
ligion into
eight
classes.

prince reclaimed his subjects from their savage fondness for war and plunder, and taught them the arts of peace, and the happiness of civil and social life, by instructing them in the great duties of religion, or piety towards their gods, and in the laws of justice and humanity, which contained their duty towards their fellow-creatures. The reign of this good prince, which lasted forty-three years, was the most happy period of time *Rome* ever knew, from her foundation to her dissolution. He dismissed the royal guard of three hundred *celeres*, saying, it would ill become him to reign over a people he distrusted, or to distrust a people that compelled him to reign over them.

The more effectually to divert the *Romans* from the pursuit of their favourite passion, war; *Numa* increased the pomp, and multiplied the ceremonies, of religion, the ministers of which he divided into eight classes, *viz.* *Curiones*, or particular priests of each *curia*; *Flamines*, so called from the fashion or colour of their caps; *Celeres*, attendants on the priests; *Augurs*, whose province was divination; *Vestals*, devoted to the goddess *Vesta*, in whose temple they were obliged to keep the sacred fire perpetually burning *; *Salii*, or guardians of the *ancilia* †; *Feciales*, or heralds, whose business was to demand satisfaction for injuries done by enemies, to proclaim war against them, and to take care that all treaties were faithfully observed; and lastly, *Pontifices*, the most venerable of all the classes, whose office was to superintend the other priests, to regulate the feasts and sacrifices, and to give sentence in all causes relating to religion. These last had a president, styled *Pontifex Maximus*, whose office was one of the most honourable in the state.

* The safety of the empire was thought to depend upon the perpetuity of this fire. The vestals were held in the highest honour so long as they preserved their virginity, and took care of this fire. Lictors carried fasces before them, as before the kings; and they had the privilege of saving the life of any criminal, if they chanced to pass by the place where these unhappy creatures were. In return, the least fault in a vestal was punished with the utmost severity. If she chanced to let the sacred fire go out, she was beaten with rods, like a slave; and for a breach of chastity she was buried alive.

† The *Ancilia* were twelve shields, exactly alike, which *Numa* ordered to be made for the greater safety of preserving a shield, which he pretended fell down from heaven into his hands, during a conversation he had with the nymph *Egeria*; and on the preservation of which, that nymph assured him, the welfare and duration of *Rome* depended. They were hung up in the temple of *Mars*, and guarded by twelve young *Romans* of distinction, who were called *Salii*.

Numa introduced a new kind of deities, called *Termini*, or *Introdu-Boundaries*, which he caused to be placed upon the borders ces new of the *Roman* state, and of each man's property. To remove deities, them was deemed sacrilege, and any one might kill the of-erects al-fender with impunity. A festival, called *Terminalia*, was in-tars, and stituted in honour of them. He erected an altar to *Fides*, or builds a *Good Faith*, and dedicated a temple to *Janus*, the symbol of temple to prudence, which looks two ways, to examine what is past, *Janus*. and what may come. This temple stood open in time of war, and was shut in time of peace.

The reformation of religion was followed by an improve- Improves ment of the laws, in which particular regard was had to the the laws. preserving of modesty in women. Husbands were, however, permitted to lend their wives to others, whose wives were barren; but they still retained their former power over them, and could call them home, or lend them to others, at their pleasure. He reformed the law by which *Romulus* had given parents an absolute power over their children; for he would not suffer a father to sell his son after marriage; thinking it unjust, that a woman, who had married a freeman, shou'd be obliged to live with a slave.

He parcelled out the lands of the state, and distributed Encoura-them into *pagi*, or villages, each of which had a chief, whose ges agri-business was to keep an eye ever the husbandmen, to encou-rage the diligent, and punish the slothful, and report the pro-gress of agriculture to the king, who frequently advanced the industrious to the first dignities in the state. By this means the lands were cultivated, and the city disburthened of the idle soldiery, who had been accustomed, under *Romu-lus*, to live by rapine*.

But the master-piece of *Numa*'s policy was, his distribu-Distributing the citizens of *Rome* into distinct bodies, according to butes the their several trades and occupations. Each had its particu-citizens lar privileges, festivals, sacrifices, &c. By this means, the into dis-people became more intimately united, and the distinction of tinct bo-Romans and Sabines, which had frequently given rise to fac-dies, tions, was soon forgot†.

To fix the due order of the festivals, it was necessary to regulate the days and months of the year. In *Romulus*'s the Ca-time, the year consisted of only ten months, and began in *March*. But as this did not agree with either the solar or the lunar year, *Numa* added the months of *January* and *Fe-bruary* to the beginning of the year. He likewise introduced the distinction between lucky and unlucky days, *fausti* and *ne-fasti*. The courts of justice were allowed to sit, and the people to be assembled, on the former of these days, but not on the latter.

* Plut. in *Numa*.

† Ibid.

Death of Numa. Numa died in the eighty-second year of his age, sincerely regretted by all his people, who looked upon him as their father and best of friends. He left but one daughter, named *Pompilia*, who was married to *Numa Marcius*, by whom she had *Ancus Marcius*, the fourth king of *Rome*.*

Tullus Hostilius, 3d king of *Rome*. After a short inter-regnum, the *Romans* chose for their third king, *Tullus Hostilius*, a prince of a bold, enterprising genius, fonder of war than of peace, and determined to preserve his state by the same means that it had been founded. *Tullus*, whose private fortune was very great, began his reign with an act of generosity which gained him the hearts of all his people. He distributed among such of them as had no possessions, the lands which had been set apart for the expences of the king.

Year of Rome 86. His war with the *Albans*. *Cælius*, or, as some call him, *Cluilius*, chief of the *Albans*, jealous of the growing power of *Rome*, gave private directions to some of his subjects to lay waste the *Roman* territories.

The *Romans*, in their turn, attacked the *Albans*, and, as *Cælius* expected, a quarrel ensued between the two nations, and both took the field. The armies soon met, and seemed just ready to engage, when the *Alban* general, either fearing the success of a battle, or perhaps only desirous to spare the effusion of blood, proposed to the *Romans*, to refer the fate of both nations to three combatants on each side. The proposal was accepted. The *Romans* chose three brothers, called the *Horatii*, and the *Albans* pitched upon three other brothers, called the *Curiatii*. The champions engaged in the presence of both armies, and victory seemed doubtful for a long time. At length, two of the *Horatii* fell; and the *Alban* camp was filled with shouts of joy. The three *Curiatii* were wounded, and the remaining *Horatius* was unhurt and still vigorous. However, not thinking himself a match for the three brothers together, he made use of a stratagem to separate them; artfully retreating as if he had fled. The *Curiatii* pursued him, but at unequal distances. The *Roman* champion, watching his opportunity, turned short upon them, and slew them all, before one could come up to the assistance of the other †. The *Albans* immediately acknowledged *Rome* for their superior.

Horatius kills his sister. *Horatius*, returning into the city, laden with the arms and spoils of his enemies, met his sister, who was to have been married to one of the *Curiatii*. Seeing her brother dressed in her lover's coat of armour, which she herself had wrought, she burst into a flood of tears, tore her hair, and, in the transports of her sorrow, uttered the most violent imprecations against her brother. He, warmed with his victory, and incensed at the grief which his sister expressed, with such

* Plut. Dion. Hal. & Liv. l. i. c. 21.
Liv. Decad. 1. l. i. c. 25.

† Dion. Hal. l. 3.

unreasonable passion, in the heat of his anger, stabbed her to the heart. "Begone, said he, to thy lover, and carry "him that degenerate passion which makes thee prefer a "dead enemy to the glory of thy country." Every one was amazed and shocked at the deed. *Horatius* was immediately seized, and carried before the *Duumviri*, who condemned him to death. By the king's advice, he appealed Is con- to an assembly of the people, who, rather thro' admiration of his courage, than for the justice of his cause, revoked this by the *Du-* sentence *. However, that the crime might not go wholly unpunished, he was sentenced to pass under the yoke †; an but par- ignominy which it was usual to inflict on prisoners of war, doined by who had cowardly surrendered their arms; and expiations the people were appointed to pacify the gods.

The behaviour of the *Fidenates* having been suspicious du- *Tullus* ring the war with the *Albans*, *Tullus* cited them to appear makes before the *Roman* senate, to answer for their conduct: but war upon they, conscious of their guilt, and in private intelligence the *Fide-* with *Fuffetius*, chief of the *Albans*, who wanted to shake off *nates*. the *Roman* yoke, refused to obey, and, in conjunction with the *Veientes*, took the field. *Fuffetius*, thinking to conceal his treachery, joined *Tullus* with the *Alban* troops; but the day before the battle, he acquainted his principal officers with his design, which was, to stand neuter, till fortune had declared for one side, and then join the conqueror. While the armies were in motion to engage, *Fuffetius* accordingly retired with his troops to a rising ground, to watch the event of the battle. The *Fidenates* and *Veientes* were entirely defeated by the *Romans*; whereupon *Fuffetius*, coming down from his hill, fell upon their scattered remains.‡

Tullus, concealing his knowledge of *Fuffetius*'s treachery, which he had been informed of before the battle, went privately in the night to *Rome*, to consult the senate, and returned to the camp by break of day. He then detached *Alb* de- *Horatius* who had conquered the three *Albans*, with a chosen molished, body of troops, to demolish *Alba*; and, in the mean time, and the commanded both the *Roman* and *Alban* troops to attend him *Albans* unarmed, but with private instructions to the *Romans* to trans- conceal their swords under their garments. When they planted to were assembled, he acquainted them with *Fuffetius*'s perfidy, *Rome*. and ordered him to be torn asunder by horses. His ac- complices were put to the sword. The rest of the *Alban* Year of soldiers were carried to *Rome*, with the citizens, and the *Rome* 87. chief men among them were admitted into the senate;

* This appeal shews plainly, that the supreme power was in the people.

† The *yoke* was formed by two upright posts, with a beam laid across on the top, like a gallows. It was called *sororum tigillum*, or the *sisters rafter*.

‡ Liv. l. i. c. 27.

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others were made knights, and all, without exception, enjoyed the privileges of *Roman citizens**. Thus fell the rich and populous city of *Alba*, the mother of *Rome*. This increase of inhabitants obliging *Tullus* to enlarge the limits of the city, he took in mount *Cælius*, and built himself a palace there. The next spring, he marched against the *Fidenates*, defeated them in a pitched battle, and reduced them to such straits, that they surrendered at discretion, and were made dependent upon *Rome*. This victory procured *Tullus* the honours of a triumph †.

Tullus de-feats the Fidenates,

And the Sabines. The power of *Rome* being now greatly increased, *Tullus* turned his arms against the yet unsubdued *Sabines*, who, after two years obstinate resistance, were defeated in two great battles, the last near *Eretum*, a town about thirteen miles from *Rome*, and forced to accept a peace upon the conqueror's terms ‡. A second triumph was decreed him for this victory. The *Sabines* revolted again, a few years after, and were again made sensible of the superiority of *Rome*.

And takes Medulia.

His death. All the *Latine* towns, which had been dependent on *Alba*, were summoned to submit to the *Roman* laws. On their refusing to comply, their harvest was destroyed, their country laid waste, and their city of *Medulia* taken, and put out of a condition of resisting again, at least for many years.

Authors disagree as to the manner of *Tullus*'s death. Some say that he was killed by lightning, with his wife, children, and family; and others, that he died by the hands of *Ancus Marcius*, his successor, who slew him and his whole family, while they were performing a domestic sacrifice, and then set fire to the palace, to conceal his crime. *Tullus* reigned thirty-three years, and left the city greatly increased, but the dominions much the same as in the time of *Romulus* §.

Year of Rome 114. *Ancus Marcius*, grandson of *Numa*, was elected in the room of *Tullus Hostilius*, by the assembly of the people, and the senate afterwards confirmed the election. The new king began his reign by endeavouring to restore the religious ceremonies, which had been neglected under his predecessor, and to revive husbandry, and cultivate the arts of peace:

a conduct which gained him the affections of his subjects. But he soon found by experience, that a throne requires other virtues than piety. His neighbours, and particularly the *Latines*, holding him in contempt for his pacific disposition, soon began to make incursions on the frontiers of the *Romans*. A herald was sent to demand satisfaction; and on its being refused, war was declared against the invaders. *Ancus* took the field, made himself master of several cities of *Latium*, and sent their inhabitants to *Rome*, where he settled

Defeats the Latines.

* Dion. Hal. l. iii. p. 165.
Hal. p. 175. Liv. l. i. c. 30.

† Liv. l. i. c. 30.
§ Liv. l. i. c. 31.

‡ Dion.

them

them on the hill *Aventinus*. The *Latines* raised all the forces they could, but were defeated, and *Ancus* triumphed at *Rome* for his advantages over them.

The *Fidenates*, *Veientes*, and *Volsci*, felt likewise the effects Defeats of the Roman power. The *Fidenates* had revolted during the the *Fide-Latine* war. *Ancus* marched against them, and took *Fidenæ*, *Sabines*, by sap ; which is the first instance we meet with in the *Roman* bines, *Veiman* history of that kind of attack. He next went against *entes*, and the *Sabines*, who had renewed their hostilities, defeated their *Volsci*. united forces, and granted them peace upon honourable terms. Over the *Veientes* he obtained two complete victories, for which a triumph was decreed him by the senate *.

Ancus spent the latter years of his reign in improving and enlarging the city, and enriching its inhabitants. He took in the *Aventine* hill, and the hill *Janiculus*, which last, lying on the other side of the *Tiber*, he made a fort of citadel for *Rome*, and opened a communication between it and the city, by a bridge which he built over the river. He likewise extended the territories of *Rome*, at the expence of the *Veientes*, quite to the sea, where he built the port and city of *Ostia*, to secure the advantages of trade to his subjects. He died after a reign of twenty-four years, and left two sons, one an infant, and the other about fifteen, under the guardianship of *Tarquin* the elder, who, though a stranger, and but lately settled at *Rome*, found means so to ingratiate himself with the people, by his gallant behaviour and great liberality, that he was elected king, in prejudice to the children of *Ancus*. Year of *Rome* 138.

Tarquin's first war was with the *Latines*, whom he defeated in three engagements, and took several of their cities. On his return to *Rome* he was honoured with a triumph †, and employed the spoils of the conquered cities of *Latium* in building a *circus* ‡ for the *Roman* games.

The war with the *Latins* was scarce ended, when all *Hetruria* combined against *Tarquin*, and entered into an agreement, that if any city stood neuter, it should be cut off from the general alliance. By this means the *Hetruri-ans* raised a considerable army, ravaged the *Roman* territory, and made themselves masters of *Fidenæ*, by the treachery of some of its inhabitants. The king did not take the field in person the first year ; but the next he armed all his legions, summoned his allies, and, early in the spring, divided his army into two bodies, putting himself at the head of the *Romans*, and giving the command of the allies to his cousin *Collatinus*. This last was defeated ; but *Tarquin* routed the *Hetrurians* twice, and re-took *Fidenæ*, which was a key to the *Roman* dominions. Such of the *Fidenates* as were sus-

Subdues
the He-
trurians.

* Dion. Hal. l. iii.
† The *Circus Maximus*.

‡ Dion. Hal. l. iii. Liv. l. i.

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Who submit, and acknowledge him for their king.

Year of
Rome 159.

Tarquin
embel-
lishes Rome

His war
with the
Sabines.

Defeats
them.

pected of having been concerned in betraying it to the *Hetrurians*, were whipped to death ; the rest were sent into banishment, and their lands were divided by lot among the Roman soldiers. This done, Tarquin fell upon the *Hetrurians* once more, before their whole strength could be assembled, and overthrew them with great slaughter near *Eretum* ; for which the senate decreed him a triumph*. The vanquished *Hetrurians* sued for peace, which was granted, on their acknowledging the sovereignty of the *Romans*. This war lasted nine years.

An interval of rest succeeding this war, Tarquin turned his thoughts to the beautifying, cleansing, and fortifying of *Rome*. He rebuilt the walls of the city, with hewn stone ; made those famous common sewers, which have since been numbered among the wonders of the world † ; surrounded the *forum* with galleries, in which were shops for tradesmen, and built temples in it, with schools for the youth of both sexes, and halls for the administration of public justice.

These works were scarce ended, when the *Romans* engaged in a war with the *Sabines*, under pretence of their having assisted the *Hetrurians*. Both armies engaged on the confines of *Sabinia* ; the battle lasted the whole day, with so little advantage on either side, that the generals standing in awe of each other, retired to their respective camps, and soon after returned home, without attempting any thing more that campaign. Tarquin employed the winter in making the necessary preparations against the next year. His infantry was sufficiently numerous, but he wanted cavalry, and therefore resolved to add some new bodies of knights to those of *Romulus*'s institution, they being all the horse the *Romans* had. In any less superstitious state, Tarquin's design would have been put in execution without the least difficulty ; but in this it was looked upon as an innovation, and therefore met with great opposition. The augurs were consulted, and it was at last resolved, not to increase the number of the corps of horse, but to augment the number of knights of each corps, so as to make the *Roman* cavalry amount in all to eighteen hundred men. From this time, no determination was made, either in the camp or city, without the approbation of the augurs.

Tarquin took the field early in the spring ; but the *Sabines*, who had received considerable reinforcements from

* Liv. I. i. c. 35.

† These sewers, built of hard stone, and arched over so strongly as to bear the weight of houses upon them, were high and wide enough for a cart loaded with hay to pass easily through them under ground. The standing waters, which before infected *Rome*, and the mud and filth, which rendered the streets impassable, were carried off through these sewers into the *Tiber*.

Hetruria, were before-hand with him, and had encamped near the mouth of the *Anio* and the *Tiber*. The *Hetrurians* were posted on one side of the *Tiber*, and the *Sabines* on the other, having a communication by a bridge of boats. *Tarquin*, who had encamped on an hill near the *Anio*, set fire to this bridge, by sending down the river flat-bottomed boats, filled with combustible matters. The *Sabines* hastened to extinguish the flame, and, in their hurry, left their camp unguarded. *Tarquin*, seizing the opportunity, attacked and made himself master of it; whilst a detachment of the *Romans*, having passed the *Tiber* in the night, fell suddenly on the camp of the *Hetrurians*. The enemy, thus attacked on both sides, fled in such confusion, that most of them perished, in the flames, by the sword, or in the river. The arms of the enemy, which floated down the stream, brought the news of this victory to *Rome*, before the arrival of the messengers dispatched by the king †.

Tarquin, pursuing his advantage, entered the territory of the *Sabines*, laid it waste, and forced them to sue for peace: but he granted them only a truce; at the end of which they passed the *Anio* again, and made incursions on the *Roman* lands. The *Romans* attacked, and entirely defeated them a second time. The *Sabines* appeared again in the field early them a 2d the next year, but declined a battle. *Tarquin*, not thinking it adviseable to attack their camp, surrounded it on all sides, and reducing county, reduced them to such streights, that they must to great all have perished, or laid down their arms, had not their streights general taken advantage of a dark and stormy night to march them off, unobserved by the *Romans*.

The *Romans* and *Sabines* met again the next year, and their generals agreed to put the whole to the issue of a battle. He defeats The fight was obstinate, and lasted the whole day; but in them a 3d the end the *Romans* gained a complete victory; and the *Sabines*, to obtain peace, put them in possession of all their strong places. Their prisoners were delivered up without ransom; and *Tarquin*, returning to *Rome*, entered the city in triumph*.

The sons of *Ancus Marcius* had hitherto lived quietly under the government of *Tarquin*, hoping to reign after him; but when they found he was taking measures to continue in his family the crown, which they thought themselves intitled to, their resentment knew no bounds. They hired two young men, who, dressing themselves like wood-cleavers, with hatchets on their shoulders, began a feigned quarrel near the palace, and insisted on being judged by the king. *Tarquin* ordered them to be brought before him; and, while he was listening attentively to what one of them said, the fascinated.

† Liv. l. i. c. 37.

* Ibid.

other

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other gave him a great blow on the head with his hatchet, and, leaving his weapon in the wound, fled with his companion. They were overtaken and secured; and, being put to the torture, confessed, that they had been employed by the sons of *Ancus*. The conspirators fled immediately to the *Volsci*, and *Tarquin's* death was concealed for some days, till his widow, Queen *Tanaquil*, could seat her son-in-law, *Servius Tullius*, on the throne.

Year of Rome 175. *Servius Tullius* was born a slave †, and, by his merit, rose to the rank of a patrician and senator. *Tarquin*, who had a great regard for him, married him first to a *Roman* lady of distinction, called *Gegania*: and, upon her death, to his daughter *Tarquinia*. The beginning of his reign was not without disturbances. The sons of *Ancus* had a strong party among the patricians, who thought it beneath them to be governed by a man born in slavery, and who had likewise taken the power into his own hands without any previous inter-regnum, and without the order or consent of the people. The senators therefore agreed among themselves, to force the new king, the first time they should meet, to lay down his authority, to establish an inter-regnum, and then proceed to the free election of another king. *Servius*, in this emergency, made it his study to gain the people, and secure their suffrages against the senate. He succeeded therein by promising to protect them against the patricians, to pay all their debts, and to divide among them the lands taken from the enemy. A promise which he punctually performed.

gains the
people to
his inter-
est,

and de-
feats the
Hetruri-
ans.

Though *Servius* was naturally more inclined to peace than to military exploits, he found himself obliged to embark in a long war with the *Veientes*, and the rest of the *Hetrurians*, who had shaken off the yoke, pretending, that their obligations to be subject to *Rome* were dead with *Tarquin*, who had subjected them. *Servius*, taking the field, soon subdued them a-new, and depriving them of their lands, transferred the property of them to such of the new citizens of *Rome* as had yet no lands. For this victory he obtained, by the favour of the people, in spite of the senate, the honours of a triumph, and entered *Rome* with all the pomp which *Tarquin* had introduced in these public shews ‡.

Servius, finding the people entirely attached to his interest, resolved to take advantage of their present favour, to render his title to the throne less disputable. Accordingly, he assembled the citizens, and, in a moving speech, complained of a design formed by the patricians to take away his life and bring back the sons of *Ancus*. In the close of his speech he left the kingdom to their disposal, begging them to determine between him and his pupils, the sons of *Tarquin*, on one

† Dion. Hal. l. iv. Plut. de fort. Rom. ‡ Fast. Capit. & Dion. Hal.

side ; and their competitors on the other. The people immediately cried out, *Let the curiae be assembled without delay, that we may elect Servius to be our king.* A day was accordingly appointed, and Servius was elected by the *curiae* with greater unanimity than any of his predecessors*.

Soon after his election, *Servius* marched against the rebellious *Hetrurians*, reduced them again, and was honoured with a second triumph. After this victory, he applied his thoughts to the adorning and enlarging the city. He took in *He* en-
the hills *Esquilinus* and *Viminalis*, and fixed his own resi-
dence on the *Esquilinus*, in order to draw inhabitants thither. *Rome*,
He likewise added a fourth tribe to the three originally esta-
blished by *Romulus*. The public taxes were raised by laying 4th tribe,
a certain sum on every tribe ; and hence subsidies were called
tributes ; those who commanded the tribes in war, *tribunes* ;
though that name was afterwards given to several sorts of
magistrates. As each inhabitant was obliged to continue in
the tribe in which he was born, a great regularity was there-
by established in levying both the militia and the taxes. *Ser-
vius* made likewise a law, that a piece of money should be
paid, upon every death, into the temple of the goddess *Li-
bitina*, who presided over funerals ; another into the temple
of *Juno Lucina*, upon every birth ; and another into the tem-
ple of *Youth*, as soon as any person was past childhood. By
this means, the number of *Roman* citizens was exactly
known ; especially of such as were able to bear arms. Hi-
therto, no regard had been had to slaves ; but *Servius* extend-
ed his care even to them, ordering little oratories to be erected
to the *Dii Competales* in all the cross-ways of the city ; and
enacting, that none but slaves should be priests of these gods ;
and, that they should have their particular festival, on which
they should be excused from all labour. This act of huma-
nity secured him their good will†.

To establish in the country the same order as in the city, divides *Servius* divided the whole *Roman* territory into distinct tribes, the *Ro-*
commanding that each should have a place of safety and re-
fuge, its particular temple, tutelary god, and magistrates ; *tribes*,
and likewise its peculiar festival, called *paganalia*, when
every person was to pay into the hands of those who pre-
sided at the sacrifices, a piece of money, the men of one
kind, the women of another, and the children of a third.
By this means, an exact computation was made of the men,
women, and children, in each tribe ‡.

All this was only preparatory to that master-piece of po- institutes
licy which *Rome* made use of ever after, and by which the the *census*,
too great power of the people was effectually curbed, and a
perpetual order and regulation established in all the mem-

* Liv. 1. i. c. 41. Dion. Hal. 1. iv.

† Liv. 1. i. c. 43, 44.

‡ Dion. Hal. p. 220.

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bers of the state, with respect to wars, the public revenues, and the suffrages of the *comitia*. Hitherto, the most indigent had been subjected to the same taxes as the rich, and were equally obliged to take the field when ordered. The consequence was, that they pretended to an equal authority in the *comitia*; and, as they were the most numerous, the election of kings and magistrates, the making of peace and war, and the judging of criminals, were, in fact, in the hands of an ignorant and obstinate populace. To remedy these evils, and transfer the chief authority into the body of the nobility and patricians, from whom juster views and less passion might be expected, *Servius* procured a law to be passed, whereby all heads of families were enjoined, under severe penalties, to deliver in upon oath, a just estimate of their effects, together with their names and places of abode; and all the *Roman* citizens, without exception, were commanded to give in their names and ages, and those of their fathers, wives, and children. Provided with these accounts, (by which there was found to be then in *Rome* and its territories upwards of fourteen thousand citizens able to bear arms) *Servius* undertook to ease the poor by burthening the rich; and, at the same time, to please the latter by increasing their power *.

*To this end, he divided the *Roman* people into six classes. The first, which consisted of those whose estates and effects amounted to ten thousand *drachmæ*, was subdivided into eighty *centuries*, or companies of foot; to which were joined eighteen *centuries* of *Roman* knights. The second class comprehended those whose estates were valued at seven thousand five hundred *drachmæ*, and was divided into twenty *centuries*, all foot. To these were added two *centuries* of carpenters, smiths, and other artificers. In the third class, which was divided into twenty *centuries*, were those who were esteemed worth five thousand *drachmæ*. The fourth class was of those who were rated at two thousand five hundred *drachmæ*, and was likewise divided into twenty *centuries*, with the addition of two *centuries* of trumpeters and blowers of the horn, for the use of the whole army. The fifth class included those only whose whole substance did not exceed the value of twelve hundred and fifty *drachmæ*; and this class was divided into thirty *centuries*. The sixth and last class, consisting of such as were not worth so much as those of the fifth class, though by far the most numerous, was reckoned but as one *century* †.*

Servius had the satisfaction of seeing these regulations attended with all the advantages he expected. Levies for the army were no longer raised by tribes, nor were taxes laid at so much an head, as formerly; but all was levied by centu-

Advan-
tages ac-
cruing

* Id. l. 4.

+ Liv. l. i. c. 43;

ries:

ries. When, for instance, an army of twenty thousand from this men, or a large supply of money, was wanted for the war, division, each century furnished its quota both of men and money; so that the first class, which contained more centuries, tho' fewer men, than all the other together, furnished more men and more money for the public service than the whole *Roman* state besides: and by this means the *Roman* armies consisted, for the most part, of the richest citizens of *Rome*; who, as they had lands and effects to defend, fought with more resolution, while their riches enabled them to bear the expence of a campaign. As it was but just that the king should make the first class amends for the burden laid on it, he gave it almost the whole authority in public affairs, changing the *comitia* by *curiae*, in which every man gave his vote, into *comitia* by *centuries*, in which the majority was not reckoned by single persons, but by centuries, how few soever there might be in a century. Hence the first class, which contained more centuries than the other five taken together, had every thing at its disposal. The votes of this class were first taken; and, if the ninety-eight centuries happened to agree, or only ninety-seven of them, the affair was determined; because these made the majority of the hundred and ninety-three centuries, which composed the six classes. If they disagreed, then the second, the third, and the other classes, in their order, were called to vote; though there was very seldom occasion to go so low as the fourth class for a majority of votes: so that, by this good order, *Servius* brought the affairs of the state to be determined by the judgment of the most considerable citizens, who understood the public interest much better than the blind multitude, liable to be imposed upon, and easily corrupted. We have been the more particular in our account of this new plan of government, because it would be difficult without it to understand what we shall hereafter have occasion to relate of the contests which arose between the senate and the people, concerning the government of the state.

To make this prudent regulation be the more respected, and consequently the more lasting, *Servius* resolved to solemnize it by a public act of religion. To this end, all the citizens were commanded to appear, on a day appointed, in the *Campus Martius*, a large plain between the city and the *Tiber*, formerly consecrated by *Romulus* to the god *Mars*. The centuries were drawn up in order, as if for battle, and a solemn lustration, or expiatory sacrifice, consisting of a sow, a sheep, and a bull, was performed, in the name of all the people. This ceremony was called *lustrum*. The wise king, rightly considering that in the space of five years there might be such alterations in the fortunes of private persons, as to entitle some to be raised to a higher class, and reduce others to a lower, enjoined, that the *census* should be renewed every five years; and, as the *census* was usually closed by the *lustrum*,

Servius
reforms
the royal
power,

and se-
cures the
fidelity of
the Latines
and Sab-
ines.

lustrum, the Romans henceforth began to compute time by *lustris*, or spaces of five years.

Servius, after establishing this excellent order among his people, had the courage to reform even the royalty itself; his equity, which was the main spring of all his actions, leading him to act contrary to his own interest, and to sacrifice one half of the royal authority to the public good. Finding the duties of his office too much for one man to discharge well, he committed the cognizance of ordinary suits to the senate, and reserved that only of state crimes to himself †.

The welfare of the Romans being thus provided for at home, Servius formed a scheme for attaching the Latins and Sabines to them, by social ties strengthened by religion. He summoned the Latin and Sabine cities to send their deputies to him; and when they were come, he proposed to them the building of a temple in honour of Diana, where the Latines and Sabines should meet once a year, and join with the Romans in offering a sacrifice to that goddess; that the festival should be followed by a council, in which all disputes between the cities should be amicably determined; that proper measures should there be taken for their common interest; and, that, in order to draw the common people thither, a fair should be kept, at which every one might furnish himself with what he wanted. The king's proposal was readily agreed to, with this addition, that the temple should be an inviolable asylum for the united nations; and, that all the cities should contribute towards the expence of building it. This temple was erected on the Aventine hill, and the laws which were to be observed in these general meetings were engraved on a pillar of brass, and were to be seen in Augustus's time, in the Latin tongue, but in Greek characters *.

Servius was now grown old, and it was some time since he had married his two daughters to his wards, Lucius Tarquinus and Arunx, the grandsons of Tarquin, thinking thereby to secure their fidelity, and attach them to him. The elder, Tullia, who was of a gentle disposition, was married to Tarquin, who was haughty and impetuous; and the younger, Tullia, whose temper was violent and vicious, was married to Arunx, who was mild and peaceable †. Similitude of temper and manners, formed, by degrees, too great an intimacy between Arunx's wife and Tarquin. At length, she proposed to him the murdering of her father, sister, and husband, that they two might meet and ascend the throne together. The horrid deed was resolved on; and they paved their way to an incestuous marriage, he by poisoning his wife, and she her husband. Their king and father was their next victim. An attempt was made to depose him, by a ca-

† Dion. Hal. l. iv.
C. 43, 44.

* Ibid.

† Ibid. Liv. l. i.

bal of the patricians ; but that miscarrying, through the interposition of the people, who loved *Servius*, *Tarquin* determined to stick at nothing to gain his ends. Cloathing himself in the royal robes, and causing the fasces to be carried before him by some of his domestics, he crossed the *Roman* forum, entered the temple where the senate used to meet, and seated himself on the throne. Those of his faction were already there ; and the rest, having been summoned to assemble in King *Tarquin's* name, made what haste they could to attend, thinking that *Servius* was dead since *Tarquin* assumed the title and functions of king. When they were all assembled, *Tarquin* made a long speech, reviling his father-*Tullia's* in-law, and calling him a slave, an usurper, a favourer of cruelty, the populace, and an enemy to the senate and patricians. While he was yet speaking, *Servius* arrived ; and, rashly giving way to the emotions of his courage, without considering his want of strength, drew near the throne to pull his rival from it. *Tarquin*, stronger and more vigorous, seized the murdered aged king by the waist, and, hurrying him through the temple, threw him down from the top of the steps into the forum, who rum. Two or three of the people, for all the great men had usurps the forsaken him, lifted him up, and were conducting him to his palace, when the cruel *Tullia*, appearing in the forum, saw her husband on the top of the steps of the temple, and was the first who saluted him king. Not content with this, she took her husband aside, and suggested to him, that he would never be safe so long as *Servius* was alive. *Tarquin* instantly dispatched some of his domestics to take away the remains of the unfortunate king's life. The orders for this wicked parricide were no sooner given, than *Tullia* mounted her chariot again, with an air of triumph, to return home. The way to her house was through a street called *Vicus Cyprius*, or the *Good Street*. There the assassins had left the king's body, which was still panting. At this sight the charioteer, struck with horror, stopped. *Why don't you go on?* cried *Tullia* to him : *What stops you?* The driver, turning about to her, *Alas !* said he, *it is the body of the king your father !* At these words, *Tullia*, catching up a stool that was in the chariot, and throwing it at his head, *Go on*, she cried, *and don't be afraid of driving over a dead body.* The coachman obeyed ; and the blood of the father is said to have dyed the wheels of the chariot, and even the cloaths of the inhuman daughter. This street was ever afterwards called *Vicus Sceleratus*, the *Wicked Street*.

Such was the end of *Servius Tullius*, after he had lived seventy-four, and reigned forty-four, years. He was a prince of eminent justice and moderation, and made *Rome* more formidable by a peace of twenty years, than his predecessors had done by many victories. He was beloved by the people, esteemed by the patricians, and perhaps would have had no enemies, if he could have preserved the affections of his

his own family. *Tarquin* not suffering his obsequies to be performed with the usual pomp, *Tarquinia* conveyed the body of her husband privately by night to his tomb, and, the night following, died herself; but whether of grief, or by her own hands, or by the wickedness of *Tullia*, is uncertain.

Tarquin the Proud,
7th and
last king
of Rome.

Year of
Rome 219.

His ty-
ranny.

He enters
into an al-
liance with
the Latins.

Tarquin behaved with as much violence upon the throne, as he had done in the means by which he ascended it. The surname of *Proud* was given him in the very beginning of his reign. He took possession of the throne without any previous *inter-regnum*, without even the form of an election, and without consulting either the senate or the people, whom he affected to treat with insufferable contempt, making and unmaking laws as he thought proper, and banishing, fining, and even executing, whom he pleased. To prevent the natural consequences of his tyranny, he endeavoured to secure the army by extraordinary liberalities, and kept constantly a strong guard about his person, consisting mostly of strangers, absolutely devoted to him. His avarice was equal to his cruelty: wealth and merit became unpardonable crimes. Among numbers of others, he put to death *Marcus Junius*, a noble *Roman*, who was related to him, and one of his sons, merely to possess himself of their estates. *Lucius Junius*, another of *Marcus's* sons, who afterwards became one of the chief instruments of the subversion of the monarchy, escaped by counterfeiting the idiot, to which he owed the surname of *Brutus*. The flower of the senate retired from the city into voluntary banishment. The people, who had rejoiced at first to see the senate humbled, were, in their turn, as ill treated by the senators. All their assemblies, even for recreation, were prohibited, both in the city and country, and informers were dispersed in all quarters, to watch the words and behaviour of every one.

A conduct like this could not but make him infinitely odious. He was sensible of it; and, to guard against the consequences, he married his daughter to *Oetavius Mamilius*, a man of great interest among the *Latines*, whom he invited to a national assembly at *Ferentinum*, where he made a new treaty with them, and, by his address, procured himself to be appointed general of their armies. The *Hernici*, and two cantons of the *Volsci*, followed their example. This *Latine* association, which consisted of forty-seven cities, became afterwards the best part of the *Roman* strength, and contributed more than all the rest of *Italy*, to the conquest of the world. To secure the fidelity of these new allies, *Tarquin* erected, in the midst of them, on an hill near the ruins of *Alba*, a temple, which he consecrated to *Jupiter Latialis*. The 27th of *April* was the day appointed for the annual meeting of the confederate cantons, and was called *feriae latinæ**. Their assemblies were called *latia*.

* Dion. Hal. l. iv.

Tarquin proposed a like confederacy to the *Sabines* and the *Defeats rest of the Volsci*; but his offers were rejected with scorn. the *Volsci*, This was sufficient for Tarquin to declare war against them, and sub- He defeated their armies, took *Suessa Pometia*, one of the dues the most considerable cities of the *Volsci*, and gave the plunder *Sabines*. of it to his troops, reserving only the tenth part of the spoil towards the expence of finishing the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus**. He gained two complete victories over the *Sabines*, and made their whole nation tributary to *Rome*.

Many of the discontented patricians had taken refuge at His war *Gabii*, a city of *Latium*, and prevailed upon the inhabitants with the to make war upon Tarquin. This war lasted seven years, *Gabini*. with various success; but at last Tarquin became master of their city by treachery, and made his son *Sextus* king of it.

Tarquin declared war against the *Rutuli*, under pretence Siege of that they had entertained some *Roman* exiles, and laid siege *Ardea*. to their city of *Ardea*. While the army lay before this place, *Sextus Tarquinius* gave, one day, an entertainment to his brother, and his kinsman *Collatinus*. The conversation happened to turn upon the merit of their wives, when each extolled the good qualities of his own. To end the dispute, they agreed to mount their horses, and go and surprize their wives. She whom they should find employed in the manner most becoming her sex, was to have the preference. They went, and found the king's daughter-in-law feasting, and *Lucretia*, the wife of *Collatinus*, in the midst of her maids, spinning, and working in wool, though the night was far advanced when they arrived. The preference was unanimously given to her, and they returned to the camp the *Rome* 242. next day †.

Sextus, smitten with her beauty, soon found a pretence Rape of to return to *Collatia*, where he was entertained by *Lucretia*, *Lucretia*. in her husband's absence, with great civility and respect. At midnight he found means to convey himself into her bed-chamber, approached her bed with his drawn sword, and threatened to kill her that instant, if she offered to stir or speak. He then declared his passion, mixing intreaties with menaces, to make her yield to his desires. Finding that all was in vain, and that even the fear of death could not prevail upon her to consent, he threatened her with ignominy, telling her, that if she would not yield, he would first kill her, then lay one of her slaves dead by her side, and declare to all the world, that he had only revenged the injured honour of *Collatinus*. The dread of infamy got the better of *Lucretia*'s constancy; and *Sextus* having obtained his wishes, returned early the next morning to the camp.

* Liv. l. i. c. 53.

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† Dion. Hal. l. i. c. 56-60.

F

Lucretia,

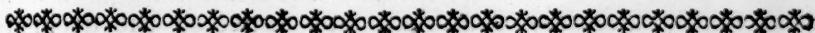
Lucretia, no longer able to endure life, wrote to her husband to meet her at her father's house. *Publius Valerius*, afterwards *Poplicola*, was with her father *Lucretius*, and with her husband came *Lucius Junius Brutus*, and many other *Romans* of distinction; for *Lucretia* had acquainted them, that she had an affair of the utmost consequence to impart to them.

Her death When the assembly was pretty numerous, she disclosed the whole matter in few words, declared her resolution to put an end to her life, and conjured them not to let *Sextus*'s crime go unpunished. Then embracing her father and husband with a flood of tears, she plunged a dagger, which she had concealed under her garment, into her breast, and fell dead at their feet*. The spectators were filled with grief and consternation; but *Brutus*, snatching up the bloody poniard, and shewing it to the assembly, *I swear*, said he, *by this blood, once so pure, and which nothing but the detestable villainy of Tarquin could have polluted, that I will pursue Lucius Tarquinius the proud, his wicked wife, and their children, with fire and sword; nor will I ever suffer any of that family, or any other whatsoever, to reign at Rome. Ye gods, I call you to witness this my oath.* At these words he presented the dagger to *Collatinus*, *Lucretius*, *Valerius*, and the rest of the company, and made them take the same oath. Every one, surprized at this behaviour in an idiot, thought him inspired, and gave themselves up entirely to his counsels. The senate was assembled, and a decree was immediately issued, banishing the king and all his posterity†, and devoting to the gods of hell whoever should attempt to restore them. The people, eager to recover their liberty, gladly confirmed this decree, and took up arms; and the army, from the same motive, revolted too. *Lucretius* was declared *inter-rex*, till a new form of government could be settled. This was already done by *Brutus* and the senate, who had agreed, that the name of kingdom should be changed into that of commonwealth, and that two persons should be chosen annually, who should govern with equal power, and with some more modest and popular title than that of king. *Lucretius*, as *inter-rex*, assembled the people, by centuries, in the *Campus Martius*, where he acquainted them with the intended regulation, and desired them, if they approved of it, to elect their new governors, who were to be called consuls; at the same time proposing to them, for this new dignity, *Junius Brutus*, the head of the conspiracy against *Tarquin*, and *Tarquinius Collatinus*, the husband of *Lucretia*. The people readily agreed, and the consuls were accordingly proclaimed. *Tarquin* being informed, by some who had got out of the city before the gates were shut, that *Brutus* was rais-

The Tarquins banished.

* Dion. Hal. et Liv. ibid. † Liv. l. i. c. 58, 59.

ing commotions to his prejudice, hastened to *Rome*, with only a few attendants, little thinking that a conspiracy was carrying on by one whom he despised as an idiot. To his great surprize, he found the gates shut against him, and the people in arms upon the walls ; and on his return to the camp, the army, which, in his short absence, had agreed to receive the decree passed in the city, refused to admit him. The tyrant of *Rome*, thus driven from his capital, and abandoned by his troops, was forced, at the age of seventy-six, to fly to *Hetruria*, with his wife and children. A truce was made with the *Rutuli*, for fifteen years ; the siege of *Ardea* was raised, and the *Roman* forces returned to *Rome*†. Thus ended the regal state of *Rome*, two hundred and forty-two, or, some say, two hundred and forty-four years, after the building of the city, and a new form of government was introduced, which subsisted till the times of the emperors, without any considerable alteration.



C H A P. III.

The Consular State of Rome, from the Beginning of that Government to the burning of the City by the Gauls.

THOUGH Tarquin himself was hated by all ranks of A conspi-
people, yet his sons had a great number of the young racy a-
debauchees of *Rome* in their interest. To these, ambassa- against the
dors sent by the *Tarquinii* of *Hetruria*, to sollicit the resto- new re-
ration of the paternal estates of the *Tarquins**, applied se- public.
cretly, and obtained from each of them a letter to *Tarquin*,
confirmed by a solemn oath, that they would do their ut-
most to destroy the consuls, and restore the king. At the
head of this conspiracy were the two sons of *Brutus*, and
three nephews of *Collatinus*. A slave, called *Vindex*, or *Vin-
dicius*, was the first that discovered it. He went strait to
P. Valerius, and acquainted him with it. *Valerius* ordered
the slave to remain at his house, whilst he, with his friends,
clients, and domestics, went to the house of the *Aquili*i,
where the conspirators used to meet, and where the embas-
sadors lodged ; and leaving part of these attendants at the
door, under the conduct of his brother *M. Valerius*, he him-
self, with the rest of them, entered the apartment of the
ambassadors, and seized the letters which the conspirators

The plot
discover'd.

† Dion. Hal. & Liv. ubi supr. * Dion. Hal. p. 278.

had written the night before. Coming out, he met the *Aquilii*, and took them, and all the heads of the conspiracy, prisoners.

Early the next morning the people were summoned to the *Comitia*, where *Brutus* and his colleague sat on the tribunal of justice. The prisoners were brought, and tied to stakes, with their hands behind them. *Brutus* began the trial with the examination of his sons. *Vindicius* appeared against them, and his testimony was found unanswerable. Their guilt was likewise confirmed by their letters to the *Tarquins*, which were read. The proof being clear, the prisoners made no defence, but with their tears. *Titus*, said *Brutus* coldly to two of the prisoners, without calling them sons, *and you, Tiberius, what have you to offer in your favour?* They were thrice called upon to make their defence, but tears were still their only answer. The senators were moved with compassion, and a confused murmur was heard among them, *Banish them; banish them.* *Collatinus* wept; and *Valerius*, severe as he was, did not utter a single word. The whole assembly trembled, and expected the decision with horror. At length, *Brutus* rose up to give sentence. A profound silence ensued, whilst he, with a steady voice, not interrupted by a single sigh, turning to the lictors, who were the executioners, said, *To you, lictors, I deliver them; execute the law upon them.** At these words a loud shriek was heard in the assembly; distress was painted in every face; and the mournful looks of the people pleaded for pity. *We give them back to their country, and to their family,* cried the whole assembly with one voice. But neither these intercessions, nor the bitter lamentations of the young men, who called upon their father with the most endearing names, could soften the inflexible judge: he would not even abate of the punishment which was, in such cases, inflicted on the greatest criminals. The lictors seized them, and having stripped them naked, and tied their hands behind them, they first beat them with rods, and then struck off their heads, *Brutus* all the while gazing on the bloody spectacle, with a steady look, and unaltered countenance. When this execution was over *Brutus* came down from the tribunal, quitted the *comitia*, and left the rest of the criminals to the discretion of his colleague*.

Collatinus inclined to spare his nephews. *Collatinus*, inclined to spare his nephews, allowed them one day to clear themselves; and even ordered that *Vindicius* should be taken out of the hands of the accusers, and delivered up to his masters. This rouzed the zeal of *Valerius*, who had promised to protect the evidence. The lictors attempted in vain to force the important witness from him; and the people called for *Brutus*, insisting on his coming

*Brutus
condemns
his sons to
death.*

* Dion. Hal. & Plut. in Poplic. Liv. I. iii. c. 5.

OF THE WORLD.

back to the *comitia*. The unfortunate father had had but a few minutes to recollect himself, and secretly bewail the misfortunes of his family: however, he appeared again, with the same firmness of mind he had shewn before, and, ascending the tribunal, told the multitude, that what he had done was by virtue of his paternal authority over his children; but that, for the rest of the delinquents, it belonged to them to determine their fate, and either condemn his severity by instances of lenity, or approve his firmness by examples of justice.

Thus three articles of great importance to the rising commonwealth were left to the decision of the *curiæ*, or people; to wit, 1. What punishment should be inflicted on the rest of the conspirators. 2. What punishment the ambassadors of the *Tarquins* deserved: and 3. What reward should be given to the discoverer of the conspiracy. To the first, they determined, that the conspirators should, without exception, suffer as rebels: to the second, that the ambassadors should be spared, out of respect to the law of nations: and as to the third, it was decreed, that *Vindictus* should enjoy that liberty which he had secured to the *Romans*; that he should be rewarded with all the privileges of a *Roman* citizen, and with twenty-five thousand asles of brass, to be paid him out of the public treasury. The confiscation of the estates of the *Tarquins* was confirmed; their palace destroyed, and their lands divided among those indigent citizens who had none of their own.

The weakness which *Collatinus* had betrayed at the trial of the conspirators, filled the people with suspicions, which soon turned into hatred of him. *Brutus*, jealous of the public welfare, harangued them, in a numerous assembly, and insisted, either that *Collatinus* should be deposed, or that he himself would resign the consulship. *Collatinus* attempted to reply, but none would hear him; and he was upon the point of being deposed with ignominy, and banished by a public decree, when *Spurius Laertius*, his father-in-law, interposed, and, having obtained leave to speak, advised *Collatinus* voluntarily to resign into the hands of the people that authority which he had received from them. This proposal was agreed to: *Collatinus* resigned the consulship; and *Brutus*, to shew that he had no personal enmity to him, procured him a present of twenty talents out of the public treasury, to which he added five talents of his own*. *Collatinus* retired to *Lavinium*.

Brutus immediately assembled the people for the election *P. Valerius* of a new consul, when *Publius Valerius*, a man of eminent virtue and eloquence, was chosen. Two consuls of this stamp could not but agree. The first thing they did was, him.

* Dion. Hal. p. 286. Liv. l. ii. c. 2. Plut. in Poplic.

A GENERAL HISTORY

The Veientes and Tarquinenses declare for Tarquin.

Brutus slain in the engagement

Sp. Lucretius succeeds him.

Valerius's laws.

Year of Rome 244.

Porsena espouses the cause of the Tarquins.

to grant a general amnesty to all who had followed the fortune of the *Tarquins*, provided they returned to the city within twenty days. This wise precaution deprived the banished king of a great number of friends and soldiers, and brought back to *Rome* many persons of distinguished abilities. *Tarquin*, still hoping to obtain by force what he could not get by stratagem, applied to the *Veientes*, those old enemies of *Rome*, and engaged them and the *Tarquinenses* to unite their forces in support of his cause. The consuls marched out to meet them. Just as the action was beginning, *Brutus* and *Tarquin*'s son *Arunx*, singling out each other, rushed on to the encounter with such fury, that they were both run through the body. The battle continued doubtful till night, when the *Hetrurians* disbanded, and returned into their own country. The surviving consul triumphed for this victory, on his return to *Rome**.

Sp. Lucretius, the father of *Lucretia*, was unanimously chosen to succeed *Brutus*; but he died a few days after his election; so that *Valerius* again remained sole governor. The many proofs which he now gave the people of his zeal for their interest, gained him the surname of *Poplicola*, or *Popular*, which he ever after retained. He began his administration by ordering the axes, which were so apt to strike terror, to be taken out of the fasces, which he obliged the lictors to lower in the assemblies of the people. He made several laws in favour of the people, and, among others, that famous one, by which every citizen was allowed to appeal from the decisions of the senate and consuls to the assembly of the people. He ordered the public money to be lodged in the temple of *Saturn*, under the care of two senators of probity, chosen by the people, and afterwards called *Quæstors*. After this, he assembled the *comitia* for the election of a new consul, and the choice fell upon *Horatius Pulvillus*. The first year of the consular power expiring soon after, *Poplicola* was chosen again, and with him *T. Lucretius*, brother of the famous *Lucretia*. The new consuls revived the *census* and *lystrum*, and, on that occasion, found one hundred and thirty thousand men at *Rome*, who were at, or past, the age of puberty.†

Poplicola's second consulship being expired, he was chosen a third time, with *Horatius Pulvillus*, who had before been consul for a few months. During their consulship, *Porsena*, king of the *Clusini*, espoused the cause of *Tarquin*, and advanced to the very banks of the *Tiber*, at the head of a prodigious multitude of troops. He attacked and took the fort of the *Faniculut*, and obliged the *Romans* to retire over the bridge into the city, whither he would have followed them,

* Dion. Hal. ib.
Liv. 1. ii. c. 8.

† Dion. Hal. i. v. Plut. in Poplic.

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had not the brave *Horatius Cocles*, with only two more, kept his whole army at bay in a narrow pass, till the bridge was broken down. When only a few planks remained, *Horatius* prevailed on his companions to cross the river over them, whilst he alone sustained the attack of the enemy. At length, being wounded in the thigh, upon a signal given him that the bridge was quite demolished, he leaped into the river, and gained the opposite bank, amidst a shower of darts. Thus, by the wonderful bravery of one man, were the city and republic saved from impending ruin. The *Romans* were so sensible of it, that they erected a statue of brass to him in the temple of *Vulcan*; and the senate gave him as much land as a plough could inclose in a circular furrow in one day.

The enemy being masters of the country on both sides of the river, *Rome* was reduced to great freights by famine. reduced to *Porsena* having notice of it, sent the *Romans* word, that he great would deliver them from their distress, if they would receive freights their old masters: but their answer was, *That hunger was a less evil than slavery and oppression**.

The siege had lasted a long time, and *Rome* was almost wearied out, when *Mucius Cordus*, a young *Roman* of illustrious birth, formed a design which he communicated to the consuls and senators, and which they approved of. He crossed the *Tiber*, entered the enemy's camp in the disguise of an *Hetrurian*, and made his way quite to the king's tent. *Porsena*'s secretary, magnificently dressed, was sitting on the same tribunal with the king. *Mucius*, mistaking him for the king, leaped upon the tribunal, and, with one stroke of a poniard, which he had concealed under his garment, laid him dead at *Porsena*'s feet. Every one stood amazed at the daring boldness of this action. *Mucius* was seized. *Thou execrable assassin*, said the king, *who art thou? Whence comest thou? Who are thy accomplices?* *Mucius*, less terrified than his judge, replied, *I am a Roman, and my name is Mucius Cordus. My design was to deliver Rome from her most cruel enemy: discharge therefore all thy fury upon me. Thou hast seen my courage, now try my constancy with tortures; and thou wilt be forced to confess, that Roman bravery has made me capable both of attempting whatever man can do, and suffering what human nature can endure.* So saying, with a steady countenance, and a look which spoke his inward rage at having missed his blow, he thrust his right hand into a pan of burning coals, and there held it a great while, without shewing the least sign of pain. *Porsena*'s resentment was changed into admiration. He granted him his life and liberty, and even restored him the dagger with which he had intended to stab him. *Mucius* having now lost the use of

Bravery
of Horatius Co-
cles.

* Dion. Hal. l. v.

his right hand, took it with his left ; and from this time he was called *Scævola*, that is, *left-handed**.

Porsena, forsakes the *Tarquins*, and makes peace with the *Romans*. *Porsena*, struck with admiration at the courage of the *Romans*, and, at the same time, disgusted at the wickedness of the *Tarquins*, renounced his alliance with that tyrannical family, made a peace with *Rome*, and returned to *Clusium*; generously leaving the *Romans*, whose distresses he knew, but whom he feared to offend by relieving them in a direct manner, his camp, and all the provisions in it, as a token of his respect and friendship for them. The senate, in return for this noble behaviour, erected a statue to him, and sent him an embassy with a throne adorned with ivory, a sceptre, a crown of gold, and a triumphal robe †.

After the departure of *Porsena*, the *Romans* first rewarded those who had distinguished themselves during the siege, especially *Mucius Scævola*, to whom they gave a large piece of ground belonging to the public. Their next care was, to shew their gratitude to the gods, by some public act of religion ; and as the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* had not yet been consecrated, the senate ordered the consecration of it.

The temple of Jupiter Capitolius consecrated. The honour of performing this ceremony naturally belonged to one of the consuls, but the senate had a right to appoint which of them they pleased. The patricians had long been jealous of *Poplicola*'s glory, and therefore, in order to rob him of this new mark of distinction, ordered him to march against some *Latin* troops that committed ravages in the *Roman* territory ; and, in his absence, appointed his colleague, *Horatius Pulvillus*, to perform the ceremony. As he was beginning the consecration, *Poplicola*'s brother, *Marcus*, cried out, *I give you notice, that your son has lost his life in a battle*. This was not true ; but he hoped by these words to interrupt the ceremony. But *Horatius*, without shewing the least concern, coldly replied, *Then let him be buried*. Thus *Poplicola* ended the glorious year of his third consulship, with receiving a mortification which could not but sensibly afflict him.

Lartius and Herminius consuls. *Sp. Lartius*, and *T. Herminius*, the two who, with *Horatius Cocles*, had defended the bridge so bravely against *Porsena*'s forces, were chosen consuls for the next year, which proved a year of peace. The surname of *Cocles* was given to that gallant *Roman*, on account of his having but one eye ; a defect which, joined to the lameness that remained all his life, occasioned by the wound in his thigh, prevented his being ever elected consul ‡.

Lartius and *Herminius* were succeeded by *M. Valerius*, brother to *Poplicola*, and *P. Posthumius*. These consuls

* Liv. l. ii. c. 12. Plut. in Poplic. † Dion. Hal. Liv. 1. ii. c. 14. Plut. in Poplic. ‡ Liv. l. ii. c. 9, 10. Dion. Hal. b. v.

gained two great victories over the *Sabines*, for which a triumph was decreed them, and they entered *Rome* in the same rius and chariot. As a farther reward, the republic built *Valerius* a *P. Posthumus*-house, the door of which, to distinguish it from all others, *minus de-*opened outwards to the street; and *Posthumius* was allowed to have a burial-place for himself and his family, within the *Sabines*. the walls of *Rome*; a privilege, never before granted to any one*.

The next year, *Poplicola* being consul the fourth time, the Year of *Sabines* renewed the war. *Actius Clausus*, the most consider-*Rome 247.* able man in *Sabinia*, for riches, valour, and eloquence, op-posed the design of his countrymen as long as he could; *Appius* but finding them absolutely determined to commence hosti-*Claudius* lities, he came over to the *Romans*, with five thousand fami-settles at lies of his friends and dependents. On his arrival at *Rome* he changed his name to *Appius Claudius*, was immediately declared a patrician, and took his place in the senate. Twenty-five acres of land were given him in fee, and a quarter in the city was assigned for his friends and followers, to each of whom were granted two acres of ground, with all the rights and privileges of *Roman* citizens. These donations were made irrevocable, by a decree of the senate, confirmed by the people. The *Claudii* became afterwards one of the most illustrious families of *Rome*†.

The *Sabines*, highly incensed at the departure of *Clausus*, took the field with a considerable army. Their forces were divided into two bodies, one of which encamped near *Fidenæ*, and the other kept within the walls of that city, as well again, to defend it, as to secure a retreat in case of need. The *Romans*, under the command of *Poplicola* and *Lucretius*, defeated them, with great slaughter, and, pursuing their ad-*Fidenæ*vantage, took *Fidenæ* by storm, and left a garrison of their own in it. *Poplicola*, on his return to *Rome*, was honoured with a triumph, soon after which he died, and was buried at *Poplicola's* the public expence, not leaving money enough to defray the death and charges of his funeral. The *Romans* erected a tomb for him character, near the *forum*, and gave his family a right of interment in the same place. He was the most virtuous citizen, the greatest general, and the best affected consul to the people, that *Rome* ever had. He had always led a frugal life, and taken more care to transmit his virtues to his children, than to enrich them with the goods of fortune. As *Poplicola* had been one of those who stood up in defence of the chastity of the *Roman* women, they mourned a whole year for him, as they had done before for *Brutus*. But his greatest glory was comprised under the name of *Poplicola*‡.

* Plut. in *Poplic.* Plin. l. 36. c. 15. † Liv. l. ii. c. 16.

‡ Dion. Hal. l. v. Liv. l. ii. c. 16. Plut. in *Poplic.*

A GENERAL HISTORY

The Sabines renew the war.

The *Sabines* were no sooner informed of *Poplicola's* death, than they raised a more numerous army than they had before, and suddenly advanced to the very gates of *Rome*. *P. Posthumius*, who was then consul with *Menenius Agrippa*, provoked at their insolence, sallied out against them. The *Sabines* fled towards a neighbouring forest, where the main body of their army lay concealed. *Posthumius* followed them, and imprudently venturing too far, lost a great many of his men, and found himself hemmed in by the enemy, and his retreat cut off. In this situation he passed the night. The news of his danger having reached *Rome*, *Menenius Agrippa*, at the head of the bravest of the *Roman* youth, marched to the relief of his colleague, and at his approach the *Sabines* retired to their own country. They took the field again soon after, and the *Romans* did the same. Both armies came to a general engagement, (near *Eretum*, about ten miles from *Rome*,) in which *Posthumius* and his colleague obtained a complete victory. The senate decreed a full triumph for *Menenius*, and an inferior one, called *Ovation**, for *Posthumus*, whose gallant behaviour in the late action, had not, in the opinion of the fathers, sufficiently attoned for his miscarriage in the beginning of the war †.

The Romans defeat them.

The *Sabine* war continued under the new consuls *Sp. Cassius Uscellinus* and *Opiter Virginius Tricostus*. The former, entering the enemy's country, defeated them in a pitched battle near *Cures*, ten thousand three hundred of them being killed, and four thousand taken prisoners. This defeat obliged them to sue for peace, which, after many submissions, they purchased with corn, money, and ten thousand acres of arable land. While *Cassius* was thus employed against the *Sabines*, his colleague *Virginius* reduced *Cameria*, a city in the neighbourhood of *Alba*, which had revolted from the *Romans*; and having beheaded the most guilty of the inhabitants, he sold the rest for slaves, and razed the city ‡.

They submit.

The Latines defeat.

In the following consulship of *Posthumus Cominius* and *T. Lartius*, *Tarquin* prevailed upon the *Latines* to espouse his cause

* So called, according to *Plutarch*, (in *Marcel.*) from the victim which was sacrificed on this occasion. In the Triumph, a bull was offered in the capital; but in the Ovation, only a sheep, (in Latin, *Ovis*). The person who was honoured with the Ovation, entered *Rome* on foot, or, at most, on horseback; and was attended by the senate only: his crown was of myrtle, not of laurel; and his robe only the *prætexta*, the common habit of magistrates. But, in the Triumph, the victor, mounted on a chariot, seated in a curule chair, and cloathed with a robe embroidered with palm-branches, was conducted to the capital with the sound of trumpets and the acclamations of the army and people. The Ovation of *Posthumius* was the first that had ever been seen in *Rome*.

† Dion. Hal. ubi supr.

‡ Liv. 1.ii. c. 17.

and,

and, in concert with some of the inhabitants of *Fidenæ*, made clare for himself master of that city. *Manius Tullius*, who was consul this year with *Servius Sulpitius*, marched against the rebels, invested the place, and reduced it to great streights. The besieged, in this extremity, implored the assistance of the *Latines*, who thereupon held a general assembly; in which, after many debates, it was resolved to send an embassy to the *Romans*, to propose to them, that they should receive the Tarquins, after they had engaged by oath to grant a general amnesty; and that they should raise the siege of *Fidenæ*, or *Rome*. otherwise they must expect war. A year was given them to consider of these proposals. *Tarquin's* chief view in promoting this embassy, was, to have an opportunity to raise a sedition in the city. To the ambassadors of the *Latines* he therefore joined some of his own emissaries; who, on their arrival in the city, found two sorts of people disposed to enter into their measures; viz. the slaves and the meaneer citizens. The former thirsted after revenge for several of their companions, who had been executed the year before for a conspiracy to seize the capital and set fire to the city: and the latter, overwhelmed with debts, and cruelly used by their creditors, knew that no change could happen in the government but to their advantage. These were the conspirators pitched upon. Their instructions were, that the citizens were to make themselves masters of the ramparts and gates of the city, at an appointed hour of the night, and then to give a great shout as a signal to the slaves, who were at the same instant to massacre their masters; after which the gates were to be opened to the *Tarquins*. The conspiracy was ripe for execution when *Tarquin's* principal agents, *Publius* and *Marcus*, both of his own name and family, either relenting, or afraid to strike the blow, and fearing lest others of the conspirators should be before hand with them in informing, went to *S. Sulpitius*, the only consul then at *Rome*, and discovered the whole affair to him. *Sulpitius*, finding that what they said was true, assembled the senate, and gave the *Latin* ambassadors their audience of leave, telling them that the *Romans* could neither receive the *Tarquins* nor raise the siege of *Fidenæ*. He then laid open to the fathers the dreadful conspiracy, which struck them with horror: but they were all at a loss how to proceed, because the two evidences were strangers, and consequently liable to be excepted against by *Romans*; and likewise on account of the law of *Poplicola*, which allowed an appeal to the people in all capital cases. *Sulpitius* thought of an expedient to remove these difficulties. He engaged the two informers to assemble the conspirators at midnight in the *forum*, as if to take their last measures for the execution of their enterprize. When they were met, a sufficient body of troops surrounded the place, and blocked up all the avenues to it so closely, that not a man could escape.

A GENERAL HISTORY

The conspirators put to death.

Fidenæ taken.

Year of Rome 253. General alliance of the Latines against Rome.

escape. At break of day, the two consuls appeared, with a strong guard, on the tribunal; the people were assembled by *curiæ*, and acquainted with the conspiracy; and the accused having no defence to make, the consuls repaired to the senate, where sentence of death was pronounced against the conspirators, in case the people approved it, which they immediately did. The conspirators were then delivered up to the soldiers, who put them all to the sword. The two informers were rewarded with all the privileges of *Roman* citizens, a hundred thousand asses, and twenty acres of land.

Fidenæ held out the next year, (during which, *T. Æbutius* and *P. Veturius* were consuls,) but was taken the year after by *F. Lartius*, joint consul with *Q. Clælius*. The *Latines*, enraged at the loss of this town, and likewise instigated by *Tarquin* and his son-in-law *Mamilius*, entered into a general alliance of all their cities, twenty-four in number, against *Rome*. Both sides prepared to take the field. The *Latines* were greatly superior in strength; and, to add to the misfortune of the *Romans*, not only their neighbours denied them all assistance, but the lower class of their own citizens absolutely refused to serve, if they were not discharged from their debts, and released from the tyranny and oppression of their creditors. The senate, apprehending a general insurrection, deliberated on the means of quieting these domestic troubles, and decreed a suspension of all debts till the end of the war. The debtors, thinking this only a suspension of misery, declared that they would either have an absolute abolition of all debts, or leave the rich and great to take care of the war, and defend a city in which they could expect nothing but misery. The senate might, indeed, have prosecuted the ringleaders of the sedition; but the law of *Poplicola*, called the *Valerian* law, which allowed appeals to the assembly of the people, was a shelter to the seditious, who were sure to be acquitted by the accomplices of their rebellion. The senate, to elude the effect of a privilege so derogatory to their power, resolved to create one supreme magistrate, who, with the title of *Dictator*, should have an absolute power for a limited time. But this could not be done without the consent of the people; to obtain which, they represented to them, in a public assembly, that, in so critical a conjuncture, when they had their domestic quarrels to decide, and, at the same time, a powerful enemy to repulse, it would be expedient to put the commonwealth under a single governor, who, superior to the consuls themselves, should be arbiter of the laws, and, as it were, the father of his country; that his power should have no limits; but that, lest he should abuse it, they ought not to trust him with it above six months.

A dictator created. The people, not foreseeing the consequence of this change, agreed to it. *T. Lartius* was proclaimed *dictator*, and accordingly

cordingly took upon him the government of the republic*. The new dictator immediately named *Sp. Cassius*, who had been consul, and honoured with a triumph, general of the *Roman* horse. He then ordered a *census* to be taken every one obeyed, and there were found to be in *Rome* one hundred and fifty thousand seven hundred men, past the age of puberty. Out of these he formed four armies: the first, he commanded himself; the second, he gave to his late colleague *Clælius*; the third, to *Sp. Cassius*, his general of the horse; and the fourth he left in *Rome*, under the command of his brother, *Sp. Lartius*, to guard the city. The *Latines*, terrified at these preparations, sued for peace; but only a truce was granted them for a year; and *Lartius*, seeing the republic restored to its former tranquillity, resigned the dictatorship, though the time appointed for its duration was not yet expired †.

The following consulship of *Sempronius Atratinus* and *Minutius Augurinus* produced nothing remarkable; but the next year the truce expired, when *Aulus Posthumius* and *T. Virgininius* took possession of the consulship. The *Latines* being bent upon war, the senate, though in perfect harmony with the people, thought it expedient to create a new dictator. The two consuls were impowered to name one of themselves; whereupon *Virgininius* readily yielded that dignity to his colleague *Posthumius*, as the more able commander. *Posthumius* divided his army into four bodies; one of which he left to guard the city, under the command of *Synonius*; and with the other three, commanded by himself, *Virgininius*, and *Æbu-*
tius, whom he had appointed general of the horse, he marched out against the *Latines*, who, with an army of forty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, under the command of *Sextus Tarquinius*, *Titus Tarquinius*, and *Mamilius*, had already made themselves masters of *Corbia*, a strong place belonging to the republic, and put the garrison to the sword. The two armies met near the lake *Regillus*; the *Romans* amounting to no more than twenty-four thousand foot, and one thousand horse. The battle lasted with great obstinacy the whole day; but, in the end, the *Latines* were totally defeated, and forced to abandon their camp. *Poplicola's* brother, and his two sons, were killed on the side of the *Romans*; and *Sextus Tarquinius*, and *Mamilius*, on that of the *Latines*, together with upwards of thirty thousand men.

The *Latines*, unable any longer to make head against the *Romans*, sued for peace; and the antient treaties between the two nations were renewed ‡. *Tarquin*, now forsaken by

* Liv. 1.ii. c. 18. Dion. Hal. ubi supra.

† Dion. Hal. Liv. ibid.

‡ Dion. Hal. 1. vi. Liv. 1. ii. c. 19, 20.

Tarquin dies.
Year of
Rome 255.

every one, retired into *Campania*, where he died, in the ninth year of his age and fourteenth of his exile*.

Domestic broils at Rome.

The liberty which the *Romans* recovered by the expulsion of *Tarquin*, being now secured to them by the death of that prince, and the *Latine* war being ended, *Posthumius* laid down his office of dictator, the courts of justice were again opened, and the creditors began to prosecute their debtors with more rigour than ever; which revived the complaints and murmurs of the inferior classes. To prevent the disturbances which this affair might occasion, the senate procured the consulship for *Appius Claudius*, who had always been a strenuous opposer of the pretensions of the people; but, lest he should exert too great severity, they gave him for his colleague *P. Servilius*, a man of a gentle and humane temper, and greatly beloved by the people. The latter advised easing the people, and restraining the severity of the creditors; but *Appius* opposed it. The senate assembled daily without being able to come to any resolution; and the populace held secret assemblies in the night, and seemed disposed to rise up in arms; so that there was room to fear a civil war. The *Volsci*, taking advantage of these disturbances, assembled their forces and advanced towards *Rome*. It was therefore necessary for the consuls to raise an army; but the *Roman* youth absolutely refused to serve. This disaffection occasioned new disputes between the consuls; and, as the time drew near to take the field, the senate decreed, that *Servilius* should command the army, and *Claudius* govern the city. Still the people, though they loved *Servilius*, would not enlist, unless the senate came first to some determination about their debts. *Servilius* was therefore obliged to march against the enemy with such only as offered to serve out of a personal affection to him. However, the *Volsci*, disappointed in their expectation of finding the *Romans* quite unprepared, instead of fighting, had recourse to entreaties; and *Servilius* granted them a peace, upon condition that they supplied his troops with cloaths and provision, and delivered to him three hundred hostages of their best families †.

War declared against the Volsci.

Not long after the return of *Servilius*, the senate was informed from *Latium*, that the *Volsci* were making new preparations for war; that they had engaged the *Hernici* and *Sabines* to join them, and sent deputies to their nation for the same purpose. These deputies the *Latine* ambassadors brought with them, and delivered them up to the senate. Such treachery in the *Volsci* fired the senate, and war was immediately declared: but while the senators were yet sitting, a plebeian, loaded with chains, appeared in the *forum*. He

* Cic. Tusc. l. iii. c. 27. † Dion. Hal. Liv. l. ii. c. 22—26.

was advanced in years, tall of stature, lean, pale, with his eyes sunk in his head, a long beard, and his hair in disorder. The people crowded about him, and all looked on him with great attention, till at length several knew him, and remembered to have served with him in the wars, and to have seen him fight in the first ranks of the legions with great valour. The bare sight of him raised the compassion of the multitude; but when they had heard him give an account of his misfortunes, they were all filled with rage and indignation. He told them, that he was born free; that he had exposed his life for the good of his country in eight and twenty battles; that, in the last war with the *Sabines*, he not only had been hindered from cultivating his little inheritance, but that the enemy, in an incursion, after plundering his house, had set it on fire; that the necessities of life, and the tributes, which, notwithstanding his misfortunes, he was obliged to pay, had forced him to contract debts; that the interest being grown by degrees to an excessive sum, he was reduced to the melancholy expedient of yielding up his inheritance to discharge part of it; but that the merciless creditor, not being yet quite paid, had dragged him to prison with two of his children; and that, to oblige him to hasten the payment of the residue, he had delivered him over to his slaves, who, by his order, had torn his body with whips. At the same time, he flung off his cloaths, and discovered his back still bloody, and, on his breast, the scars of honourable wounds which he had received in fighting for his country ‡.

At this sight, the people, already ripe for sedition, uttered a thousand curses against the patricians, and made such a noise as terrified the senate, who were then sitting. The people's noise ran in a moment over the whole city, and people flocked from all parts into the *forum*. Those whom the like misfortunes had thrown into the fetters of their creditors, made their escape, and their dismal appearance raised both pity and indignation. The enraged multitude spread themselves in a moment all over the city, and if any one attempted to stop them, he was immediately massacred. The Consul, *Appius*, seeing that their fury was like to fall on him, left the senate, and, by favour of the tumult, got safe to his own house. *Servilius*, throwing off his consular robe, ran into the thickest of the crowd, embraced some, caressed others, shewed great compassion for all, and with tears conjured them to appease them, this sedition: but all would not do, till he had promised that the senate should have regard to their complaints, and proclaimed by an herald, that no one should molest any citizen for debt till the senate had decreed otherwise*.

‡ Dion. Hal. l. vi.

* Liv. l. ii. c. 22—26.

The next day, the senate assembled, and *Servilius* laid before them the necessity, in such a conjuncture, of abating somewhat of the severity of the laws. *Appius*, on the contrary, always fixed to his opinion, opposed it with great heat, and called his colleague a flatterer, and a slave to the plebeians. *Servilius*, in his turn, reproached him with his obstinacy, pride, and animosity against the people. The senators were divided between them, and disputes ran high, when some horse-men arrived full speed, with an account that the *Volsci* were advancing to besiege *Rome*. The plebeians were rejoiced to see their country in danger; and when the debtors were invited to take up arms in defence of the common liberty, they shewed their chains, and asked, with a fierce kind of smile, Whether it was worth their while to expose their lives to defend such ornaments?

*The Volsci
advance
to besiege
Rome.*

Rome was in that agitation which generally precedes the greatest revolutions: the consuls divided; the people disobedient to their magistrates; and the enemy at the city gate. Something was absolutely necessary to be done, to appease the people, and induce them to lend their assistance.

*Servilius
prevails
on the
people to
inlist.*

Appius was obstinate and inflexible; but *Servilius* was prevailed upon to promise the people, in the name of the senate, that when the war should be ended, all their debts should be remitted; and in the mean time a decree was read, whereby all creditors were forbid to prosecute any *Roman* citizen for debt, who was willing to serve; or to seize his children or his goods: but they were strictly commanded to prosecute, with the utmost severity, all such debtors as should either refuse to serve, or desert after they were enrolled. To this wise law *Rome* owed her preservation. The levies were almost instantly completed: *Servilius* marched against the enemies, and intirely defeated them, and, to reward the soldiers, he gave them all the spoil, to enable them to pay their debts. He then marched to *Suevia Pometia*, the capital of the *Volsci*, took it by storm, and put all the inhabitants to the sword who were able to bear arms. He gave likewise this wealthy city up to be plundered by his soldiers, without reserving any part of the spoil for the public treasury. In the mean time, *Appius*, who had been left in *Rome*, beheaded the three hundred hostages, which the *Volsci* had given to the *Romans* upon *Servilius*'s first expedition †.

*Defeats
the Volsci,
and takes
their ca-
pital.*

*He is re-
fused a
triumph,*

So glorious a campaign merited the honours of a triumph for the consul; but *Appius* had persuaded the senate to refuse him it, under pretence of his aiming at too great popularity. *Servilius*, sensibly affected with this unjust proceeding, took a bold step, which afterwards proved a fatal precedent to his country. On his arrival before *Rome*, which

† Dion. Hal. & Liv. ibid.

none were allowed to enter, who demanded a triumph, he assembled the people without the walls, and made his complaint to them. They, by their acclamations, bid him do which he what he pleased : upon which he decreed himself a triumph, decrees and marched with the usual pomp to the capitol, followed himself, by his army, and attended by all the people *.

The people now thought they had a right to demand of Disturb-
the senate the performance of *Servilius's* promise ; but the ances on
inflexible *Appius* redoubled his severity against the unhappy account
debtors, and ordered those who had been set at liberty du- of the
ring the war, to be carried back to their creditors prisons. debtors.
Those that were arrested, appealed to *Servilius*, who had in
vain tried to prevail on the senate to grant a general aboli-
tion of debts. They urged upon him his promises before
the campaign, and their services in the war. They cried
aloud before his tribunal, that either, in quality of consul
and chief magistrate, he shculd defend his fellow-citizens,
or that, as general, he shoulld not desert the interest of his
soldiers. But *Servilius*, who was of a mild timorous char-
acter, durst not declare openly against the whole body
of the patricians ; and endeavouring to keep well with both
parties, he disobligeed both, so that he got the hatred of the
one, and the contempt of the other.

The people, finding themselves abandoned by *Servilius*,
and persecuted by his colleague, assembled tumultuously,
and resolved to owe the redress of their grievances only to
themselves, and to oppose tyranny with force. The debtors,
pursued by their creditors, fled to the *forum*, and found a
sure refuge among the crowd, who beat back the creditors,
and made such a noise, that the sentence pronounced by the
judges could not be heard.

The *Sabines*, encouraged by these intestine broils, revolt- The *Sa-*
ed, and gained over the *Roman* colony of *Medulia*. The new *bines* re-
consuls, *A. Virginius*, and *T. Veturius*, both men of little volt, and
note, assembled the people ; but they absolutely refused to the people
inlist, unles their debts were cancelled. At the same time, refuse to
envoys arrived from the *Latines* and *Crustumini*, complaining serve.
of hostilities committed by the *Æqui* and *Sabines* ; and am-
bassadors from the *Volsci*, demanding restitution of the lands The *Volsci*
which had been taken from them in the late war. These threaten
tidings filled the rich with consternation, and the poor with a war.
joy. The senate assembled, and returned for answer to the
Volsci, " That it was not consistent with the honour of the
republic, to comply with their demands." The *Latines* and
Crustumini were assured, that they should be assisted. But
as *Rome* could neither protect her allies, nor repulse her ene-
mies, unles peace were first established at home, the senate
met again the next day, to consider how they might procure

* Dion. Hal. and Liv. ibid.

Manius Valerius created dictator.

He prevails with the people to serve.

The <æqui, Volsci, and Sabines defeated.

The senate refuses to comply with the demands of the dictator.

Valerius resigns his dignity.

The soldiers desert.

it. Various expedients were proposed and rejected ; and it was at last agreed, to create a dictator. *Manius Valerius*, brother to the famous *Poplicola*, was appointed to this high office. As soon as he had been proclaimed, he named *Quintus Servilius*, brother to the late consul, his general of the horse, and promised the people, that, if they would lend their assistance, and serve their country at this time, he would procure for them, from the senate, all the reasonable condescensions they could expect : *And, in the mean time*, added he, *I command, that no mention be made of confiscations or imprisonments during my administration.* The people, depending on this promise, took arms with pleasure ; and ten legions were soon raised, three of which were given to each consul, and four reserved for the dictator. *Veturius* was ordered to march against the *Æqui*, *Virginius* against the *Volsci*, and the dictator himself led his legions against the *Sabines*. The enemy was defeated every where ; *Valerius* was honoured with a triumph, and, as a farther mark of distinction, a curule chair was ordered to be always placed for him in the *circus*, and this honour was made hereditary in his family *.

Valerius now demanded of the senate the performance of his promise to the people ; but the patrician usurers had formed such a party during his absence, that the senators not only refused to comply with his demands, but reproached him with the affection of his family for the plebeians, and taxed him with betraying the interest of the senate. Incensed at this treatment, he left the senate abruptly, telling them, they might perhaps soon want an intercessor with that people they now despised. He then assembled the people, thanked them for their late services, complained of the insincerity of the senate both to them and him, and declared his resolution to retire, or to surrender himself up to their resentment, if they suspected that he had betrayed their cause. Having ended his speech, he laid down his employment, and stripped himself of the ensigns of the dictatorship. The people heard him with respect and veneration, and conducted him to his house with loud acclamations. The senate, afraid of the consequences of the abdication of an injured dictator, ordered the two consuls, who still held the soldiers engaged by their oath, to lead the army into the field, under pretence that the *Æqui* and *Sabines* were making fresh preparations for war. The soldiers saw through this artifice, and went out of *Rome* with such rage, that some of them proposed assassinating the consuls, to free themselves from their oath. This was opposed by others ; and they at last concluded to carry away the military ensigns and standards, without the privity of their officers,

* Dion. Hal. l. vi. Liv. l. ii. c. 30, 31.

and to form a separate camp on an hill, about three miles from *Rome*, just beyond the *Anio**. There they chose themselves a general. *Sicinius Bellutus*, a plebeian, who had headed them in this *secession* †, as it was afterwards termed, was the man they pitched upon. They intrenched themselves strongly, but committed no hostilities. The consuls and officers summoned them to return, but they refused. The senate, alarmed at this general desertion, which looked like the beginning of a civil war, sent two deputations to the malecontents, offering them a general pardon, and exhorting them to return to the city; but they sent back word, that the patricians should soon find what enemies they had to deal with. This answer occasioned new alarms in the city ‡.

The senate sends two deputations to the malecontents.

In the mean time, the two consuls, whose magistracy was expiring, assembled the people for the election of their successors; and as nobody, at so dangerous a conjuncture, stood candidate for that dignity, they obliged *Posthumius Cominius*, and *Spurius Cassius Viscellinus*, both consular men, and equally agreeable to the plebeians and patricians, to accept the consulship. Their first care was to convene the senate, to deliberate upon the most speedy methods of restoring peace and union. Warm debates arose: *Menenius Agrippa*, and the late dictator, *M. Valerius*, spoke strongly in favour of the people, and proposed sending such deputies as should be agreeable to them, with full power to make up matters on the best terms they could. *Appius*, and all the young senators opposed this motion with great noise and vehemence, insisting, that it would be derogatory to the dignity of the senate, to treat at all with the rebels, till they had first laid down their arms. However, it was at last agreed by all, except *Appius*, to send plenipotentiaries to them. Accordingly, ten were named, among whom were *T. Lartius*, *Menenius Agrippa*, and *M. Valerius*, all three in great esteem with the people. They set out for the camp, where they were received with all the respect due to their character; and their presence alone would have been sufficient to bring back the mutineers, had it not been for *Sicinius Bellutus*, and another plebeian of the same stamp, who, because his name happened to be *Lucius Junius*, affected the surname of *Brutus*, and said he was destined to deliver the people from the tyranny of the senate, as the famous *Brutus* had freed *Rome* from the oppressions of the kings. These two being appointed by the malecontents to treat with the deputies from the senate, proposed, that, besides the annulling of all bonds and obligations then subsisting, (which *Menenius Agrippa* had assured them should be done) they, for their future security, should

Deputies sent again by the senate.

* Dion. Hal. l. vi. Liv. l. ii. c. 32. † Id. ibid.

‡ Liv. ibid.

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have liberty to chuse annually, out of the body of the plebeians, two magistrates, who, without having any other authority in *Rome*, but that of protecting them, should have power to oppose or annul any edicts or judgments that might be burdensome to the people. If, added they, you come here with a sincere intention of peace, you cannot reject so equitable a proposal. The deputies, surprised at this demand, told them, that they asked a thing which absolutely exceeded the bounds of their instructions ; but that *M. Valerius*, and some other of the deputies, would go and make their report of it to the senate, and return with an answer.

Tribunes
of the
people
created.

Year of
Rome 258.

The peo-
ple return
to *Rome*.

The tri-
bunes cre-
ate 2 new
officers.

The *Vol-*
sci and
Antiates
defeated.

Valerius repaired to *Rome* with all speed, and the senate, being assembled, passed a decree, in spite of *Appius*, who still remained inflexible, whereby they permitted the creation of these new magistrates, who were called *Tribunes of the people*. This decree, which included also the abolition of debts, was carried by the deputies of the senate to the camp, as a seal of peace. The people were now for returning to *Rome* ; but the leaders of the sedition would not let them separate before they had elected the new magistrates. *Lucius Junius* and *Sicinius Bellutus* were chosen ; and these immediately named themselves three colleagues*. A law was also passed, before they left the camp, whereby the persons of the tribunes were declared sacred : and to make this law perpetual, all the *Romans* were obliged to swear, for themselves and their posterity, that they would inviolably observe it. After these regulations, the people erected an altar to *Jupiter the Terrible*, and having consecrated the place of their retreat, which, from this time, was called the *sacred mount*, they followed the deputies of the senate, and returned to the city †.

One of the first steps of the tribunes towards an increase of power was, to ask the senate's leave to chuse two assistants in the execution of their office. Their request was granted, and these assistants afterwards had the cognizance of many affairs, which before belonged to the consuls, and the inspection of all buildings ; whence they were called *Ædiles*, with the epithet of *plebeian*, to distinguish them from the *curule ædiles*, of whom we shall speak hereafter.

Rome being now in a profound peace at home, troops were easily raised to march against the *Volsci*, whom the consul *Cominius* defeated in a pitched battle, and took from them *Longula* and *Polusca*. He next attacked their metropolis, *Corioli*, took it, and the same day gained a victory over the *Antiates*. But *Caius Marius*, a young patrician, had all the glory of both actions ; for when the *Romans*, repulsed by a vigorous sally of the besieged, were driven in disorder back to their intrenchments, he, by his words and example,

* Dion. Hal. I. vi.

† Dion. Hal. ib. Liv. I. iii. c. 30-33.
rallied

rallied the fugitives, brought them back to the charge, and Gallant forcing the enemy to retire into the city, entered it with behaviour them, and made himself master of it : then, without suffer- of *Caius* ing his soldiers to stay for plunder, he hastened to the con- *Marcius* ful's army, which was upon the point of engaging with the *Coriolanus* *Antiates*, and there he behaved with such extraordinary va- lour, that the victory was intirely owing to him. The next day, the consul, at the head of his army, returned him pub- lic thanks, put a crown of gold upon his head, assigned him a tenth part of all the spoil ; gave him a fine horse, with stately furniture, in the name of the republic ; allotted him as much money as he could carry away ; and, lastly, bid him chuse out any ten of the prisoners. But of all these presents, the young hero accepted only the horse, and de- manded but one captive of the ten, an old friend of his fa- mily, with a design to give him his liberty. This generous disinterestedness silenced even envy itself. All respected a hero, whose sentiments were as noble, as his valour was fig- nal. But the consul, to add to the glory of the brave war- rior, gave him the surname of *Coriolanus*, thereby trans- ferring from himself to *Marcius* all the honour of the conquest of *Corioli**.

The enemies of *Rome*, terrified at the reduction of the *Volsci*, remained quiet at home. The consul disbanded the army, and the ancient alliance with the *Latines* was re- newed. *Menenius Agrippa* died this year in as great poverty as *Poplicola*. His relations were going to bury him privately, but the people voluntarily taxed themselves, to give him a magnificent funeral. Upon this, the senate, thinking it would be a disgrace to them to suffer so illustrious a patri- cian to be buried at the expence of the people, ordered a sum out of the public treasury for his funeral, and com- mitted the care of it to the *quaestors*. The people would not take back their money, but ordered it to be given to the children of the deceased†. This memorable consulship ended with a *census* and *lustrum*, and there appeared to be but an hundred thousand men in *Rome* fit to bear arms.

Under the new administration of *T. Geganius* and *P. Mi-* *Rome suf-*
nutius, *Rome* suffered greatly by a famine, and this calamity fers great-
revived the civil dissensions. The senate, to disburthen the ly by a
city, sent away great numbers of people to plant colonies at famine.
Velitrae and *Norba*. The *Antiates*, taking advantage of the
distressed situation of *Rome*, made incursions to the very gates
of the city. *Coriolanus* could not bear this insult ; and as
the tribunes opposed any regular levies being made, he put
himself at the head of a band of volunteers, advanced into
the enemy's country, defeated them in several engagements,

* Dion. Hal. I. vi. Liv. I. ii. c. 33. Plut. in Coriol.

† Dion. Hal. I. vi. Liv. I. ii. c. 33.

The civil and returned loadéd with a rich booty of corn, cattle, and slaves. At this the patricians triumphed, and the plebeians murmured against their tribunes for not suffering them to go. The tribunes, to keep up a misunderstanding, on which their very being depended, openly accused the patricians of being the cause of the scarcity. The people, believing them, grew quite outrageous. The senate, alarmed at the storm that threatened them, met daily to deliberate on the means to avert it. Some were for employing fair means ; but *Appius* and the majority determined, that the tribunes should be threatened with the severest punishments, as disturbers of the public peace, if they did not amend their behaviour.

A law, But when the consuls came to declare to the *curiæ* the making it resolution of the senate, the tribunes interrupted them, as-
suring, that they had no right to dispute in the *comitia* ; interrup-
t and, after a very warm contest, they procured a law to be
a tribune passed by the people, before the consuls could make any op-
when he is position to it, by which it was made criminal for any one
speaking to interrupt a tribune while he was speaking to the people.
to the The penalty was a fine, and, on refusal to pay that, death,
people. and confiscation of goods. The senate, indeed, refused to
confirm this law ; but the people, in return, would not re-
ceive the decrees of the senate.

Fresh dis- The people, satisfied, for the present, with having en-
putes a- larged the power of their tribunes, bore the famine patient-
bout the ly enough, and continued quiet, till plenty of corn arriving
division of from *Sicily*, in the consulate of *M. Minutius* and *A. Sempro-*
corn. *nious*, furnished the tribunes with a new occasion of re-
kindling the sedition. The senators who favoured the peo-
ple, were for distributing *gratis* among the poor, the corn
which had been bought with the public money ; but the
opposite party was for holding up the price, in order to keep
the populace in subjection. The famous *Coriolanus*, at the
head of the severe party, spoke loudly against shewing any
indulgence to the people, proposed abolishing the tribuneship,
and taking vengeance of the mad rabble for their past
insolence. Most of the senators thought him right, and
agreed with him, that the government ought to be re-es-
tablished on its ancient foundations, and the treaty concluded
on the *sacred mount* annulled. The tribunes, hearing him,
left the assembly * in the greatest fury, and running to the
people

* The tribunes were at first five in number ; but, a few years after, five more were added. They were always chosen by the plebeians, and out of their body. Their sole function was to defend the liberties of the plebeians, and to interpose in all grievances offered them by their superiors. This interposing in matters determined by the senate, or other magistrates, was called *intercessio*, and was performed by standing up, and pronouncing only the

people, wrought them up to such a pitch of rage, that they were ready to break into the senate, and there sacrifice *Coriolanus* to their hatred and revenge*.

The tribunes, to keep up at least a shew of regularity in *Coriolanus* their proceedings, stopped them ; and, having assembled the summon'd *curiæ*, summoned *Coriolanus* to appear before them : but he to appear despised a summons from a tribunal which he did not ac- before the knowledge. Hereupon the tribunes, with a gang of the tribunes. most mutinous of the plebeians, attempted to seize him as he came out of the senate ; but the young senators beat They at- them back. The next day, the tribunes assembled the peo- tempt to ple early in the morning, and inveighed, as usual, against seize him. the whole order of the patricians, and particularly against *Coriolanus*, representing them as tyrants, repeating the very words he had said in the senate, and exaggerating the ill treatment they had met with the day before. After they had rendered *Coriolanus* as odious as they could, and wrought the people into a violent ferment, they added, that if any patrician would undertake his defence, he might mount the tribunal, and speak to the people. *Minutius*, the eldest con- *Minutius* ful, undertook this task, and by gentle words, joined with promises of speedy plenty, softened and calmed the people. But the artful *Sicinius*, now tribune of the people a second time, after thanking the consuls and patricians for their favourable disposition, exhorted *Coriolanus* to have recourse to the clemency of the people, and to make an apology for his conduct. They well knew, that he was of too lofty a spirit to stoop to supplications, and did not doubt but he would provoke the people anew by the haughtiness

the word *Veto*, *I forbid it*. They had their seats placed at the door of the senate, and were never admitted into it, but when the consuls called them, to ask their opinion upon some affair that concerned the interest of the people. Their power was confined within the walls of *Rome*, or extended at most to a mile round the city. They were not allowed to be absent from the city a day, some say an hour, except in the *Feriæ Latinae*. To shew their readiness to protect the people, they were obliged to keep their doors open night and day. Their authority became very great : for though at first they pretended only to prevent oppression, yet they afterwards usurped the power of doing almost whatever they pleased, having the populace to back them. They assembled the people, enacted laws, made decrees, and executed them upon the magistrates themselves, commanding sometimes the very consuls to be carried to prison. In short, they occasioned far greater disturbances in the state, than they were first created to appease ; whence they are styled, by some of the ancients, *the bane of the public tranquillity*.

* Dion. Hal. Plut, in Coriol. Liv. l. ii. c. 44.

Coriolanus of his answers. Accordingly, the young patrician, instead provokes of appearing as a criminal, assumed the air of a judge, owned the people what he had said in the senate, gloried in it, and refused by his haughty answers. to submit to any tribunal, but that of the consuls ; protesting, with a threatening look, that he would not have vouchsafed to appear in a tumultuous assembly of seditious men, but to reproach them with their crimes, and put some check to their boundless desires. He concluded with declaring his hatred of the tribunes, whom he called the bane of the public happiness *.

Coriolanus The people, enraged at this speech, were for massacring him on the spot ; but *Sicinius*, thinking it necessary to ob- ed by the serve at least some appearance of justice, put a stop to their plebeians, rage ; and having consulted apart with his colleague, without butrescu'd so much as collecting the voices of the assembly, pronounced sentence of death upon him, and ordered him to be thrown down the Tarpeian rock. The *aediles* instantly advanced with their officers, to put this sentence in execution ; but the senate, and all the patricians in the assembly, surrounded and defended him, determined to oppose force with force ; and the people, either thinking the tribunes had carried their animosity too far, or awed by the presence of the consuls, now refused to assist the *aediles*. The tribunes, disappointed in this, had recourse to another method. They determined to prosecute *Coriolanus* in a legal way ; and to that end, convened the people by tribes for his trial, and ordered him to appear before them in seven and twenty days. *As to the distribution of corn, added they, if the senate does not take due care of that matter, the tribunes will.*

The senate endeavours to pacify the people. In the mean time, the senate did all they could to sooth the people : the price of corn was fixed at the lowest rate it ever had been at, even before the sedition ; and the consuls tried every means to appease the tribunes, who at length agreed, that the senate shou'd, as usual, decide, whether the people should take cognizance of the matter depending.

Two conditions insisted on by the tribunes. But at the same time they insisted on two conditions, which were, 1st, That the tribunes should be heard in the senate, with regard to the grievances they had to lay to the charge of the person accused ; and, 2dly, That the senators, after being sworn, should deliver their opinions regularly, and the consuls pronounce sentence according to the plurality of voices. These preliminaries being settled, the tribunes were introduced into the senate.

Decius speaks for the people. *Decius*, the youngest of them, spoke with great art and eloquence, and cited the law of *Poplicola*, by which the plebeians, when ill-treated by the patricians, were allowed to bring their complaints before the assembly of the people ; and this, he said was the case

* Liv. l. ii. c. 34. Dion. Hal. l. vii.

with respect to *Coriolanus*, from whom he advised the senate to withdraw their protection, as from a proud over-bearing man.*

When the tribune had done speaking, the consuls asked *Appius* the opinion of the assembly, beginning with the oldest and *Claudius* most venerable senators; for in those days, says *Dionysius* opposer of *Halicarnassus*, the young senators were not so presumptuous as to make speeches, or to think themselves capable of instructing their elders. *Appius Claudius*, ever irreconcileable to the people, when it came to his turn to speak, enunciated, with great warmth, all the incroachments of the plebeians, and exclaimed against submitting *Coriolanus* to be tried by them, or making them any concessions: but the popular *Valerius* was of a contrary opinion; and his advice prevailed. *Coriolanus* was therefore put into the hands of the tribunes, who immediately assembled the people, read to them the charge against the prisoner, which was, his using tyrannical power, and ordered them to attend the trial in twenty-seven days.

When the day appointed came, the tribunes, early in the morning, before the arrival of the senators, artfully separated the people by tribes; whereas, from the reign of *Servius Tullius*, the voices had always been gathered by centuries. The consuls were for keeping up the ancient custom, well knowing, that in that case they should have a majority, which would save *Coriolanus*. But the tribunes insisted, that, in an affair, in which the rights and liberty of the people were concerned, every citizen's vote should have its due weight, and therefore their suffrages should be collected by tribes. The consul *Menenius* spoke first, in favour of *Coriolanus*, and was answered by the tribune *Sicinius*. *Coriolanus* then presented himself to the assembly, recited his past services, shewed the many crowns he had been rewarded with for them, named the many citizens he had saved in battle, and, tearing away his robe, shewed his breast all covered with scars. "Are these," said he, with an air of confidence mixed with modesty, "actions consistent with the treacherous designs now laid to my charge? Is it easy to believe, that a man, who has done nothing to gain the favour of the people, but hazard his life for them, could aim at usurping the throne?" Even the most mutinous were going to acquit him, and the assembly was just ready to break up, when the tribune *Decius*, alarmed at this change, brought a new charge against him, which was, that, contrary to the *Roman* laws, he had disposed of the spoils taken from the *Antiates* in his late expedition, during the famine, among his soldiers, instead of delivering them to the *quaestor*. Neither *Coriolanus* nor his

* Dion. Hal. p. 446. Plut. in Coriol.

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friends were prepared for this chicane ; which the tribunes And con- taking advantage of, wrought the people once more into a demn'd to rage, and seizing that moment to collect their suffrages, Coriolanus was condemned to perpetual banishment. Of the ment. twenty-one tribes, but nine voted for him, and the rest against him.

Never did the people express more joy, not even upon vanquishing their greatest enemies, than they shewed for the advantage they had now gained over the senate and the body of the nobility. By this sentence, the form of the government received an absolute change, and the people, who had hitherto been dependent on the patricians, were now become their judges, and possessed of a right to call before their tribunal the greatest men in the commonwealth, and to decide their fate. As the assembly dispersed, it was easy to distinguish the patricians from the plebeians by the sorrow or joy which appeared in their countenances. Coriolanus alone seemed unconcerned : He repaired immediately to his own house, where he found his mother *Veturia*, and *Volumnia* his wife, drowned in tears, and in the first transports of their grief. He exhorted them, in few words, to behave with constancy and fortitude under the various events of life ; and, having recommended to them the care of his children, who were yet but infants, he took his leave, not suffering any body to attend him in his exile, except three or four of his clients. A great number of the senators and other patricians went with him to the gate of the city ; but he, justly offended at the weakness of their conduct, said not one word to them by the way, and parted from them with the same reproachful silence*.

He resolves to revenge the affront, and goes over to the Volsci. The illustrious exile retired to a house of his own, in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, and there spent a few days in considering what he should do. Thirst of revenge prevailed; and he determined to go over to the *Volsci*, a little republic, then governed by their general *Attius Tullus*, whom he had often encountered, and always conquered, in the late wars between them and the *Romans*†. Coriolanus thought he could not trust his life more safely than with a brave man, who, like himself, would be glad to humble the pride of the *Romans*. His resolution being taken, he left his retreat in disguise, and, in the evening, entering *Antium*, the chief city of the *Volsci*, he went directly to *Tullus*'s house, with his face covered, and sat down by the hearth of the domestic gods, a place sacred in all the houses of the ancient pagans. *Tullus* was at supper in an inner apartment, when word was brought him, that a stranger, of a very majestic air, was, without speaking to any body, come into his house, and

* Dion. Hal. l. vi. Liv. l. ii. c. 35. Plut. in Coriol.

† Dion. Hal. l. vii. Liv. ibid.

had placed himself by the hearth of his *lares*: *Tullus* immediately came out, and asked him who he was, and what he required. *Coriolanus* then discovering himself, “ If thou dost not know me,” said he, “ I am *Caius Marcius*; my surname is *Coriolanus*, the only reward left me for my services. I am banished from *Rome* by the hatred of the people, and the pusillanimity of the great. I seek revenge: it lies in thy power to employ my sword against my foes and thy country’s. If thy republic will not accept my service, I give my life into thy hands: put an end to an old enemy, who may else come to do more mischiefs to thy country.” *Tullus*, amazed at the greatness of his soul, gave him his hand: “ Fear nothing, *Marcius*,” said he, “ thy confidence is the pledge of thy security. By bringing us thyself, thou givest us more than ever thou tookest from us; and we shall take care to acknowledge thy services better than thy fellow-citizens have done.” He then led him into his apartment, where they conferred about the means of renewing the war.

A pretence was soon found to break the yet unexpired truce Year of between the two nations. The *Volsci* sent ambassadors to *Rome*²⁶². *Rome*, to demand the restoration of the land and cities taken from them in the late war, which, as they expected, was appointed refused. Upon this, they appointed *Tullus* and *Coriolanus* to command their troops; and to bind the latter more strictly to them, conferred on him the dignity of senator. The two generals immediately raised a numerous army, which they divided into two bodies. *Tullus*, with the one, staid in the country, to defend it on the side of *Latium*; whilst *Coriolanus*, with the other, entered the territory of the *Romans* before the consuls had taken any measures to oppose him; made himself master of several of their cities; destroyed their houses, and laid waste their lands; politically sparing only those of the patricians. The consequence of this conquest was, that the plebeians accused the patricians of having brought the enemy upon them; and the patricians, in their turn, upbraided the people with having forced so great a captain to throw himself, in despair, into the party of the enemy. Distrust, suspicion, and hatred, rose to such a height, that both parties thought more of decrying and ruining each other, than of providing for their mutual safety. *Coriolanus*, finding no enemy in the field to oppose his designs, carried on his conquests, took *Lavinium*, and at length encamped at the *Cluillian* trenches, within five miles of *Rome*.

The city was in the utmost consternation. The people, terrified at the approach of so formidable an enemy, crowded into the *forum*, and, with loud cries, demanded that *Coriolanus* should be recalled: but the senate, either to clear themselves from the suspicion of having kept up the least correspondence with him; or, perhaps, from that spirit of generosity

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rosity which made the *Romans* always most averse to peace when they had the worst success in war ; told them, that *Rome* would never grant any thing to a rebel so long as he remained in arms.

He invests
Rome.
The senate
send a de-
putation
to him.

Coriolanus, incensed at this answer, which he was informed of, advanced to *Rome*, and invested the place, as if he meant to besiege it. The senate, now more alarmed than ever, resolved to send a deputation to him, consisting of five senators, all of consular rank, and who had been his most zealous friends. He ordered them to be conducted through two ranks of soldiers standing to their arms, and, surrounded by his chief officers, and seated on his tribunal, gave them audience with the state of an enemy determined to prescribe the law. They exhorted him, in modest and pathetic terms, to give peace to the two nations ; and conjured him not to carry his resentment so far as to forget the welfare of his country. *Coriolanus* answered, with an haughty air, that, as general of the *Volsci*, he advised them to apply to the nation he served, and, in a suppliant manner, sue to them for peace, which he engaged to procure for them upon condition that *Rome* restored to the *Volsci* the country she had taken from them, granted them the same right of citizens which she had granted to the *Latines*, and recalled her colonies from the towns of which she had unjustly got possession. Then, assuming a milder air, he assured them, that he remembered, with pleasure, his obligations to them ; thanked them for their generous protection of his wife and children, and told them, that, to shew his gratitude, he would allow the *Romans* a truce for thirty days, with respect to the proper territory of *Rome*, but that he should then expect a decisive answer*. He spent that time in making new conquests in *Latium*, and then appeared again at the gates of *Rome* with his whole army.

**A second
deputa-
tion.**

Other deputies were immediately sent to him, who conjured him to exact nothing but what might be consistent with the dignity of the *Roman* name. But *Coriolanus*, naturally stern and inflexible, coldly replied, that the *Romans* had no other choice but restitution or war ; that he allowed them only three days more to come to a resolution ; and that, after the expiration of this farther term, they should not be permitted to come to his camp again. The report of these deputies threw the city into the utmost consternation. All that could be done in this universal dejection, was, to appoint every one his post, either on the ramparts, at the gates, in the capitol, or in the towers. Neither discipline nor command was heeded. The tribunes were not now so much as heard of. The consuls, at a loss what to do, assembled the senate ; expedient upon expedient was proposed ; and it was

* Dion. Hal. l. vii. Liv. l. ii. c. 39. Plut. in Coriol.

at last agreed to send another deputation, consisting of all the ministers of their religion; by which they thought *Coriolanus* would surely be moved. He received them with respect, but would abate nothing of his former demands; and ordered them to acquaint the senate, that the attack would immediately begin, if they did not submit to the conditions he had proposed in the name of the *Volsian* nation †.

Upon the return of the priests, every one concluded the republic lost. The temples were crowded with people of every class, whose only hope was in their gods.

Such was the melancholy face of things, when a *Roman* matron, named *Valeria*, sister of the famous *Valerius Poplicola*, moved by a kind of inspiration, turned to the other matrons who were come in crowds to the temple of *Jupiter*, and desired them to go with her to the house of *Coriolanus's* mother, *Veturia*. They found her, with his wife *Volumnia*, deplored their own misfortunes, and those of *Rome*. *Valeria*, addressing herself to *Veturia*, told her, that, every other means having failed, they were come to her, as the only refuge *Rome* had left. "You alone," said she, "can save our honour and our liberty. Repair with us to the camp of *Coriolanus*, to beg of him peace for his fellow-citizens. All our hope is in the remarkable veneration, and the tender love, he has always had for so good a mother and so virtuous a wife. Implore, conjure, demand. So good a man can never withstand your tears. We will all follow you with our children: we will throw ourselves at his feet; and who knows but the gods, moved by our honest sorrow, may preserve a city whose defence seems wholly abandoned by men?" At these words *Veturia* burst out into tears, recollected herself a moment, and then replied: "Alas! my interest in *Coriolanus* is but a poor refuge. Since that unfortunate day when the people, in their fury, so unjustly banished him from *Rome*, we have never seen any thing of that filial respect, and that tender affection, which he, till then, had always shewn for his mother and for a wife ever dear to him. When he returned from the assembly where he had been condemned, he looked upon us with a fierce air, and, after continuing some time in gloomy silence, 'Tis done, said he to us; *Coriolanus is condemned: our ungrateful citizens have banished me for ever from the bosom of my country. Support this blow of fortune with a courage worthy of two Roman women. I recommend my children to your care. Farewell.* With these words he broke away. We began to follow him: I held his eldest son by the hand; and *Volumnia*, all drowned in tears, carried the youngest in her arms. Then turning to us, *Come no farther*, said he, *and give over your vain complaints. You have*

† Dion. Liv. ibid.

" now

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" now no son, my mother ; and thou, Volumnia, thou best of
 " women, thy husband is for ever lost to thee. He departed from
 " Rome, alone ; without servants, without money, and
 " without even telling us whither he would direct his steps ;
 " nor has he ever since made the least inquiry after his fa-
 " mily, or given us any account of his welfare.---What
 " then can you expect from our intreaties ? Can two wo-
 " men bend that stubborn heart, which even the ministers
 " of Religion could not soften ? And, indeed, what shall
 " I say to him ? What can I reasonably desire of him ?
 " That he would pardon ungrateful citizens, who have
 " treated him like a man blackened with the foulest crimes ?
 " That he would take compassion upon a violent populace,
 " which had none for his innocence ? And, That he would
 " betray a nation, which has not only opened him an asy-
 " lum, but has even preferred him to her most illustrious
 " citizens in the command of her armies ? How can I pre-
 " fume to ask him to abandon such generous protectors, in
 " order to deliver himself again into the hands of his most
 " bitter enemies ? Can a *Roman* mother, and a *Roman* wife,
 " with decency exact, from a son and a husband, things
 " which must dishonour him before gods and men ? Mourn-
 " ful circumstance, in which we have not power to hate
 " the most formidable enemy of our country ! Give us up
 " therefore to our unhappy destiny ; leave us buried in our
 " just affliction."---Still *Valeria*, and all the *Roman* matrons
 that were there, embracing *Veturia*'s knees, conjured her not
 to refuse her country this last assistance. The mother of
Coriolanus, at last overcome, promised to comply with their
 request, if the senate agreed to it. They did ; and *Veturia*,
 with the most illustrious of the *Roman* ladies, in a number
 of chariots which the consuls had ordered to be got ready
 for them, took the way to the enemy's camp.

The interview between Coriolanus and his mother.

Coriolanus received them with the utmost respect, but de-
 termined in his own mind not to grant any of their requests.
 In this, however, he reckoned upon a savage resoluteness
 which was not in his nature ; for he no sooner beheld his
 wife and mother, but he ran instantly to embrace them.
 Tears were their first expressions of joy upon seeing each
 other again. *Veturia* began to enter upon the subject of her
 coming ; upon which *Coriolanus*, that he might not give any
 umbrage to the *Volci*, called the chief officers of his army
 to be witnesses of what passed. When they were come,
Veturia, to engage her son to have the more regard to the
 request she was to make, told him how kind all these ladies
 had been to her and his wife *Volumnia* ; adding, that they
 were come to beg peace of him once more, and to conjure
 him, by all he held dear, to spare his country, and turn his
 arms against some other enemy. *Coriolanus* replied, that he
 could not think of betraying the interest of a nation that
 had given him the command of their army, and from whose

genero-

generosity he had received more wealth and honours, than he had lost at *Rome* by the ingratitude of his fellow-citizens; and, that nothing would be wanting to his happiness, if she and *Volumnia* would leave the ungrateful city, and come and enjoy among the *Volsci*, the honours which they would pay to the mother and wife of their general.

The *Volscian* officers seemed much pleased with this answer; and *Veturia*, continuing, said she would never require any thing of him that might be a blemish upon his honour; but that, without being any ways wanting in what he owed to the *Volsci*, he might mediate a peace equally advantageous to both nations. "Grant this, my son," said she; "and, "if my tears and prayers cannot move you, behold your "mother at your feet imploring of you the preservation of "her country." With these words, melting in tears, she embraced his knees; his wife and children did the same; and all the *Roman* ladies who were with them, begged for mercy by their cries and tears. *Coriolanus* could resist no His mo-longer; but, amidst a struggle of different passions, cried ther pre-out, "Ah! my mother, you disarm me:" and, tenderly vails on pressing her hand in lifting her up, he added, in a low voice, him to "Rome is saved, but your son is lost:" well foreseeing that raise the the *Volsci* would never forgive the regard he was going to pay siege of to her entreaties. He then took her in private with his wife, *Rome*. and agreed with them, that he would endeavour to obtain the consent of the principal officers in his army, for raising the blockade; that he would use his utmost endeavours to bring the *Volsci* to terms of accommodation; and that, if he could not prevail, he would lay down his command, and retire to some neutral city.

The next day, he called a council of war, and often represented the difficulty of forming the siege of a city which had a formidable army for its garrison, and where there were as many soldiers as there were inhabitants, and concluded for a retreat. Nobody contradicted his opinion. The army immediately began its march; and the *Volsci*, more affected with the filial respect he had shewn his mother, than with their own interest, retired back to their native country, where *Coriolanus* divided all the spoil among them, without reserving any thing for himself. Some, however, murmured greatly at what he had done: and among these was *Attius Tullus*, who, jealous of the esteem his rival had gained with the soldiers, publicly gave out, that he had betrayed the interest of the *Volsci*. *Coriolanus* desired that he might be allowed to clear his conduct before the general council of the nation. An assembly was accordingly held: but just as *Coriolanus* was beginning to speak, *Tullus*, who no less feared his eloquence than his valour, raised a tumult; by the advantage of which, some whom *Tullus* had suborned threw ^{He is af-} themselves upon him and stabbed him. ^{talinated.}

Such

A GENERAL HISTORY

Such was the end of this great man, too haughty, indeed, for a republican; but who, by his great qualities and services, deserved a better treatment, both from the *Romans* and the *Volsci*. When his death was known at *Rome*, the people shewed neither joy nor grief; and perhaps they were not sorry that the *Volsci* had freed them from the perplexity of recalling a patrician whom they no longer feared and still hated.

This aversion in the people to all that bore the name of *patricians*, arose only from the jealousy of the government. But as it had hitherto cost the senate no more than the establishment of the tribunes, and the banishment of a private man, the zealous republicans were not displeased with this opposition of interests, which, by keeping an even balance between the credit of the great and the power of the people, served to maintain the public liberty.

Year of
Rome 264.
The *Romans* de-
feat the
Hernici
and *Volsci*.

Upon the news of *Coriolanus's* death, the *Romans* ventured to take the field under the command of their consuls *Sp. Nauticus* and *Sextus Funius*; men of no courage or experience in war. They pretended to march against the *Æqui* and *Volsci*; but returned without effecting any thing*. Their next consuls, *Aquilius Tuscus* and *Sicinius Sabinus*, men of superior talents, gained two complete victories; the former over the *Hernici*, and the latter over the *Volsci*. The camp of these last was taken, and their general, *Tullus*, killed in the battle. *Sicinius* was decreed a triumph, and *Aquilius* an ovation. These consuls were succeeded by *Sp. Cassius Viscellinus*, who had been twice consul before, and had obtained a triumph; and *Proculus Virginius*, a patrician of known courage. Upon the approach of the latter, the *Æqui* retired into their cities. *Cassius* opposed the *Hernici*, entered their country, and, by the mere terror of his arms, made them sue for peace and an alliance with the republic. He was decreed a triumph for this advantage, though there had been no battle; and impowered to draw up the conditions of the treaty with the *Hernici*; which he did upon the same footing as the last alliance with the *Latines*. This condescension to a foreign nation, but just reconciled to *Rome*, gave great umbrage to the senate, who could not bear that they should be raised at once to equal honours and privileges with the *Latines*, who were allied to them by blood, and had done them many important services.

Cassius
courts the
people's
favour.

Some staunch republicans began to suspect that *Cassius*, in thus favouring the *Hernici*, had private views, prejudicial to the state; and indeed he convinced them that they were not mistaken: for, the very next day after his triumph, having, according to custom, assembled the people, to give them an

* Dion. Hal. 1. viii. Liv. 1. ii. c. 40.

account of his conduct during the campaign, he told them, That he proposed, before the end of his magistracy, to render the condition of the plebeians so happy, that they should no longer envy that of the patricians. The next day he assembled the senate, made a long speech in praise of the plebeians, and proposed a new division of the lands belonging to the public, saying, It was but just that the lands taken from the enemy, should be divided among those who had exposed their lives to enlarge the bounds of the republic. This he was for extending to all the lands which had been won from the enemies of *Rome*, and of which the patricians had possessed themselves, in order, said he, to enable the poor plebeians to subsist with some degree of comfort, and to bring up their children in a manner useful to the state. He added, that he likewise thought it reasonable, that the poor citizens should be reimbursed what money they had paid in the late famine, for corn which *Gelo*, one of the princes of *Sicily*, had made a present of to the republic, and which ought to have been distributed *gratis* among the people. Both these proposals were rejected by the senate, with great indignation. The senators reproached him publicly with his pride, ambition, and desire of raising new troubles in the commonwealth. *Cassius*, not at all surprized at this opposition from the great, convened a new assembly of the people; and, after exclaiming bitterly against the patricians, exhorted the multitude to free themselves at once from the indigence to which the avarice of the nobility had reduced them, by making a solemn law for the partition of the conquered lands in their own favour. He did not stop here; but advised them, by the same law, to admit the *Latines* and *Hernici* to share in the distribution; alledging, as his reason for advising this last part, that, by this means, those two nations would be united with them in one common interest, and consequently would not fail to support them in case the patricians should attempt to drive them from their possessions *.

The

* To shew how ruinous this partition of the lands must have been to the great, and how much it might have been desirable to the people, it may be proper to observe, that it was the custom of the antient *Romans*, when they had gained any considerable advantage over their neighbours, never to grant them peace without taking from them part of their territory, which was immediately incorporated with that of *Rome*. This was indeed the chief design of their wars. One part of these conquered lands was sold to reimburse the state for the expence of the war: another portion was distributed *gratis* among the poor plebeians newly settled at *Rome*, who had no inheritance of their own; or were let out to farm, for the benefit of the public: and, lastly, as the chief wealth of the

A GENERAL HISTORY

The people, at first, received this proposal with great applause; but the tribunes, thinking their power would be diminished if they suffered a consul to be author of a law which favoured the people, opposed it strongly, and brought numbers over to their opinion, by artfully, though truly enough, suggesting, that *Cassius* had a design upon their liberty. "Why," said they, "are the *Hernici* to have one third of the lands which you have conquered from them; but that those old enemies of *Rome* may become his creatures, and be ready to second his ambitious views." *Cassius*, disappointed in this attempt, thought to succeed better by the help of the *Latines*; and, to that end, brought as many of them as he could into *Rome*, where they had the privileges of *Roman* citizens. But *Virginius*, aware of his colleague's design, published a decree, commanding all those who were not inhabitants of *Rome*, to leave it immediately. *Cassius*, on the other hand, made a contrary edict, declaring it lawful for any one who was inrolled among the citizens of *Rome*, to remain there: so that a sedition was like to ensue.

Partition
of the
lands re-
solved on
in the fe-
nate.

The senate assembled to prevent the impending storm, and to make the partition of the lands, which they plainly saw the tribunes had declined prosecuting, only that they might wrest it out of the hands of a senator, and have the merit of doing it themselves. Several opinions were offered. *Appius Claudius*, that intrepid defender of the laws, proposed, that, in order to appease the just complaints of the people, the senate should appoint ten commissioners, by the name of de-

Romans, in those days, consisted in cattle and flocks, what remained of these conquered lands was left in commons, and to serve for pastures. This disposition banished poverty out of the republic, and bound the citizens to its defence. But the greedy patricians deprived the common people of this subsistence. Vast tracts of land, set apart for the support of the whole state, became insensibly the patrimony of a few private persons. If any land was sold to defray the charges of a war, the senators, who were the only rich men in those times, being the directors of the state, caused it to be adjudged to themselves, at a very inconsiderable price; so that the public treasury received scarce any advantage from it. By means of the same authority, they took, either under borrowed names, or in their own, the lands that ought to have been let out to farm for the poor plebeians, to help them to maintain their children: and oftentimes, by ill-designed loans, and accumulated usuries, they got the little inheritances which the people had received from their ancestors, yielded to them. Lastly, the rich, by setting the land-marks of their estates farther and farther, by degrees had swallowed up and confounded most of the commons; so that neither the state in general, nor the plebeians in particular, received any benefit worth mentioning from these foreign lands.

cemviri, to take an exact information of all such lands as belonged originally to the public: that they should sell one part of them for the use of the treasury; distribute another part among the poorer citizens, who had no inheritance in land; and that the remainder should be let out on leases not exceeding five years, and the produce be employed in providing corn, and paying the plebeians that went to war. *A. Sempronius Atratinus*, a man much respected by the senate; highly approved of *Appius's* advice; pursuant to which a decree was drawn up, and the choice of the first decemvirs was left to the consuls of the ensuing year, this being just expired. The chief men in the senate resolved to impeach *Cassius* for his daring attempt. Accordingly, the two new consuls, *Q. Fabius* and *Servius Cornelius*, were no sooner entered upon their office, but the quæstors, *Cæso Fabius* and *Valerius*, having convened an assembly of the people, by virtue of the power annexed to their office, accused *Cassius* of having introduced foreign troops into the city, with a design to usurp the sovereignty. The charge being fully proved, *Cassius* was condemned by the unanimous voice of all his fellow-citizens, and executed, and thrown down headlong from the top of the *Tarpeian* rock.

The pride of the patricians, and their contemptuous treatment of the people, made the poorer citizens respect the loss of *Cassius*. The consuls put off, from day to day, nominating the decemvirs for the distribution of the lands, and paid no regard to the solicitations of the people or their tribunes, who, weary of these delays, began to make loud complaints. To divert their attention to other objects, the old expedient of a war was recurred to; but the people absolutely refused to enlist. The consuls then artfully caused a rumour to be spread, that they were going to create a dictator, and that *Appius Claudius* would be the person. The very name of so severe a man, made such an impression on the multitude, that they listed immediately. *Cornelius* entered the country of the *Vientes*, and *Q. Fabius* that of the *Volsci*. Both of them were unsuccessful. The next year, *Cæso Fabius*, the quæstor, and *Æmilius Mamercinus*, were chosen consuls in the *comitia* by centuries. *Æmilius* was at first repulsed by the *Volsci*, but afterwards defeated them and laid waste their country.

Lest another *Cassius* should get into the consulship, the senate used all imaginable precautions to keep that supreme dignity from falling to any but patricians, whom they might safely rely on; and they were, in a manner, absolute directors of that election, which was never made but in assemblies by centuries, where the patricians had the majority of voices. Accordingly, *M. Fabius*, brother to *Quintus* and

The senate's precautions to avoid the participation.

* Dion. Hal. 1. viii. Liv. 1. ii. c. 41.

A GENERAL HISTORY

Cæso, and *L. Valerius*, who, in his quæstorship, had been instrumental in the destruction of *Cassius*, were chosen next. In the resolution which the senate had taken of letting drop the *senatus consulum*, by which the partition of the lands had been decreed, they thought they could not trust this their secret design to any more safely than to *Cæso Fabius* and *Lucius Valerius*, the accusers of *Cassius*, and who had precipitated him in a manner with their own hands from the *Tarpeian* rock. The people saw the artfulness of this management; they perceived that none were brought into the consulship but patricians, who would be sure never to nominate the decemvirs that were to proceed in the division of the lands. In these circumstances, the war against the *Volfci* broke out a-new, and the tribune *C. Mænius* protested against any levies for the service, till the commissioners should be actually named for executing the *Agrarian* law. The consuls, to extricate themselves from this difficulty, carried their tribunal out of *Rome*, beyond the jurisdiction of the tribunes, which was confined within the walls of the city. They then sent a summons to the people; and if any one refused to appear, or give in his name, they ordered his house in the country to be demolished, and his lands laid waste. This military execution brought the people to their duty. The war was carried on without any remarkable success; and the consuls kept their soldiers in the field as long as possible, to avoid new seditions. However, the election of new magistrates made their return at length necessary, and then discord raged again with more fury than ever*.

Tumult
on ac-
count of
the *Agra-*
rian law.

An Inter-
regnum.

Union re-
stored.

The patricians were for promoting to the consular dignity *Appius Claudius*, son of the famous *Appius*, who had so often shewed his aversion to the people; but as often as the centuries were assembled, the plebeians made such a noise, that it was impossible to proceed to the election. The consuls and the senate endeavoured in vain to appease the tumult; the tribunes flatly telling them, that unless they chose men of unquestionable characters, they should find means to prevent any election; and that they would not suffer tyrants to be imposed upon them for magistrates. To silence these disputes, the senate agreed to reduce the republic to a temporary *inter-regnum*. *S. Atratinus* was *inter-rex* a few days, at the end of which he resigned that post to *Sp. Lartius*, a man of a pacific disposition, who managed both parties so well, that he brought about a re-union. *C. Julius Julius*, who was of the people's party, and *Q. Fabius Vitulanus*, who favoured the senate, were chosen consuls. The promotion of *Appius* was dropped for the present. The tribunes made some opposition to the new levies, in hopes of getting the decemvirs named; but *Fabius* found means to raise troops

* Dion. Hal. l. ix. Liv. l. ii. c. 42.

enough

enough to take the field, and ravage the country of the *Veientes* †.

The civil feuds broke out again upon the next election Disturb-
of consuls, but were accommodated as before. The senate aunces
named *Cæso Fabius*, who was quæstor when *Cassius* was con- again.
denmed ; and the people *Sp. Turius*. The *Æqui* and *Veien-*
tes renewed their incursions ; but the people refused to arm,
and *Sp. Icinius*, or *Licinius*, one of the tribunes, declared he
would oppose all the decrees that should be issued by the se-
nate, let the matter of them be what it would, till the de-
cemvirs were named. In this perplexity, *Appius* thought of
an expedient which succeeded. As many of the tribunes
were gained over, as out-numbered *Icinius*'s party, and the Levies are
people then took up arms. *Turius*, who was beloved by raised.
his soldiers, gained great advantages over the *Æqui* ; but
Fabius's troops, after putting the *Veientes* to flight, rather
than procure their general a triumph, refused to pursue the
victory, and, the next night, struck their tents, and began
their march towards the city. The consul, putting the best
face he could upon the matter, sounded a retreat, and re-
turned with them ‡.

The next consuls were chosen as before : *M. Fabius*, a The He-
second time, by the senate, and *Cn. Manlius Cincinnatus* by trurians
the interest of the people. In their consulship the *Hetruri-* invade the
ans invaded the *Roman* territory with a considerable army. Roman
One of the tribunes renewed the old dispute ; but the fe- territory.
nate having gained a majority, twenty thousand men were
raised, and divided between the two consuls, who took the Year of
field together. The *Hetrurians* were greatly superior in *Rome* 270.
point of numbers, but the *Romans* were determined to con-
quer or die. Both armies engaged. The *Romans* gained the Are de-
victory, but it cost them dear ; *Q. Fabius*, brother to the feated.
consul of that name, and the consul *Manlius* being slain,
with a greater number of persons of distinction, than they
had ever lost before in any battle. The consul was so af-
fected with the loss of his brother, that he declined the ho-
nour of a triumph that was decreed him, and entered the ci-
ty in mourning, bringing with him the bodies of his col-
league and brother. As he was now the sole governor of the
republic, to avoid all suspicion of aiming at arbitrary power,
he abdicated the consulship two months before it expired,
leaving the government in an *inter-regnum*. This generous
behaviour gained him the hearts of all the people ; and from
this time the *Fabii* became popular *.

Cæso Fabius was elected consul a third time, and with him *Cæso Fa-*
T. Virginius. *Fabius*, in hopes of putting an end to the ci- *bius* advi-
vil dissentions which had so long distracted the state, now fes the se-

† Dion. Hal. Liv. l. ii. c. 43. † Dion. Hal. & Liv. ib.

* Dion. Hal. l. ix. Liv. l. ii. c. 44-47.

nate to put the *Agrarian* law in execution. espoused the interests of the people, and proposed to the senate to make of their own accord the distribution of the lands, before the tribunes should renew their clamour; but he was laughed at. He was more successful in his military expeditions; for he defeated the *Æqui*, without the loss of a single man, and relieved his colleague, who was surrounded by the *Veientes*, and on the point of being obliged to surrender at discretion. He was scarce returned to *Rome*, and the armies disbanded, when the *Hetrurians* renewed their incursions in the *Roman* territory, and ravaged the country to the very foot of the hill *Janiculus*. The people again refused to take arms, till the agrarian law was put in execution. In this distress, *Cæso Fabius* assembled all the men of his own name and family, and proposed to them, that they alone should, at their own expence, defend the frontiers on the side next the *Veientes*. The *Fabii* readily agreed to it, and, the next morning, three hundred and six of them appeared under the arms at *Cæso's* door, from whence they marched through the *Fabii* uncity, with about four thousand of their yassals and clients, dertake to under the command of *M. Fabius*, who gained the battle of *Veii* the last year. They proceeded to the banks of the *Cremera*, now the *Bacchano*, a small river which discharges itself into the *Tiber*, and there built a fort, in which they left some of their men, and dividing the rest into three parties, entered the enemy's country in as many places, and laid it waste †.

In the mean time, *Lucius Æmilius* and *C. Servilius* being elected consuls, *Cæso Fabius* joined his family on the banks of the *Cremera*, with the title of pro-consul, a new office created for him, and by which he had the same power over the troops he commanded, as if he had been consul, but no other authority. The *Æqui* and *Volsci* armed almost at the same time as the *Hetrurians*. *Servilius* marched against the *Volsci*, who repulsed him. The *Æqui* fled at the approach of *Sp. Furius*, who laid waste their country; and the *Veientes*, though strongly reinforced by the other *Hetrurian* nations, were entirely defeated by *Æmilius*, and forced to sue for peace, which was granted them, and the *Roman* armies were disbanded ‡.

The *Fabii* still kept their post on the bank of the *Cremera*, when, in the following consulship of *C. Horatius* and *T. Menarcius*, the *Veientes*, forced by the other nations of *Hetruria* to chuse, either to break with them, or with the *Romans*, sent to the *Fabii*, requiring them to demolish their fort, and quit the frontiers. The proposal was rejected, hostilities were commenced, and all *Hetruria* espoused the cause of their countrymen. Notwithstanding this, the *Fabii*

† Dion. Hal. l. ix. Liv. l. ii. c. 48, 49.

‡ Dion. Hal. ib. Liv. l. ii. c. 51, 52.

continued to ravage the country, and often engaged the *Venientes* with success in the open field, till, unfortunately, they were surprised in an ambush, surrounded with multitudes, are fur-and every one cut in pieces, after a long and obstinate de-rounded, fence, in which they killed prodigious numbers of the ene-my. The consul *Menenius*, who had received orders to march against the *Hetrurians*, was within thirty furlongs of the spot, when the *Fabii* fell, but not only did not go to their assistance, but suffered the *Hetrurians* to beat him afterwards, for which he was recalled, tried by the people, and on the point of being condemned to death ; when, by the intercession of his friends, the intended sentence was changed into a fine. The consul *Horatius* was sent against the *Hetrurians*, and defeated them ; but they still kept their posts near *Rome*. The next consuls *A. Virginius* and *P. Servilius* gained a complete victory over them, and drove them back to their own country, but with the loss of so many *Romans*, that the senate refused them the honour of a triumph.

The *Hetrurians*
defeated.

Peace abroad was always followed by intestine broils at home. The old disputes about the distribution of lands were revived by the tribunes ; but the consuls finished their year without minding them. They had no sooner resigned the fasces to *L. Æmilius*, now the third time consul, and *Vopiscus Junius*, than *Cn. Genucius*, a daring, enterprising tribune, cited both to appear before the people, and declare why they did not name the commissioners who were to proceed upon the partition of the lands. The time was fixed for their trial, the event of which would probably have proved fatal to them ; but, the very day before, *Genucius* Sudden was found dead in his bed. His body was carried into the death of *forum*, and exposed to public view ; and as no mark of violence or poison appeared, the common people concluded, bune *Genucius*, that the gods did not approve of his enterprise, and, full of *nuncius*, that notion, ceased, for some time, so much as to mention the partition of the lands *.

The consuls and senate, finding the tribunes greatly confounded at the unexpected death of their colleague, and the behaviour people struck with a religious awe, began to act in a very of the arbitrary manner, instead of taking advantage of the favourable opportunity to regain their former authority.

There was occasion for raising of troops, and listing the legions to march against the enemy. The consuls, guarded by their lictors, held their tribunal as usual in the *forum* ; and, to make the people feel their power, either fined or whipped those citizens that did not appear the very moment they were called to give their names, and often without the least regard to justice. A proceeding so severe began already

* Dion. Hal. l. ix. Liv. l. ii. c. 54: Zonar. l. ii.

A GENERAL HISTORY

*Volero's
revolt.*

to alienate the hearts of the people ; and the unjust and violent manner in which the consuls attempted to list for a common soldier, a plebeian, who had been a centurion, made their discontent break out into action. This plebeian, named *Volero*, had distinguished himself in the wars by his valour, and was esteemed a good officer. But, without regard to his past services, or the posts he had borne, he was summoned to enlist himself as a common soldier. He refused to obey, and complained publicly, that the consuls only wanted to disgrace him because he was a plebeian. Those magistrates, upon his refusal, sent a lictor to seize him ; and upon his resisting, ordered him to be beaten with rods ; a punishment which the generals used to inflict upon their mutinous soldiers. *Volero*, striking the lictor that attempted to lay hold of him, implored the protection of the tribunes, and on their not seeming to pay any regard to his cries, "I appeal to the people," said he, addressing himself to the consuls, "since our tribunes, intimidated by your power, "had rather see a citizen abused, even in their presence, "than expose themselves to be strangled in their beds, "like *Genucius*." Then turning to the people, who seemed provoked at the violence that was offered him, "Afflict me, comrades, cried he, we have no remedy left "against so great a tyranny, but force." The people, animated by these words, attacked the lictors, broke their fasces, and dispersed them. Even the majesty of the consulship could not stop their fury ; but the very consuls were forced to fly and hide themselves, to avoid worse treatment.

The senate was convened immediately ; the consuls made their report of *Volero*'s rebellion, and intimated, that he ought to be punished as a disturber of the public peace, and thrown down from the *Tarpeian* rock. On the other hand, the tribunes demanded justice upon the consuls, and complained, that those magistrates, in contempt of the *Valerian* law, and of an appeal to the assembly of the *Roman* people, had offered to scourge a brave citizen, as if he had been the vilest slave. *Volero*, who feared the power of the consuls, thinking this new dissension between the two orders of the state a favourable opportunity for him to take his advantage of, demanded the tribuneship, which he looked upon as an inviolable asylum, that would shelter him from the fury of his enemies, and to obtain that office, he boasted in a public assembly, that if ever he were invested with that dignity, he would take such methods, that the people should never more be oppressed by the senate. The multitude, charmed with this hope, granted him their votes, and he entered on his office after the election of the new consuls *L. Pinarius* and *L. Furius**. Every one expected he would immediately

* Dion. Hal. ib. Liv. ib. c. 45.

begin

begin a prosecution against the last year's consuls, who had ill-treated him : but he had farther views than a mere personal revenge. He turned his resentment against the whole body of the senate, and undertook to deprive them of the authority they had in the election of the tribunes. He artfully proposed, in a general assembly of the people, that their magistrates and protectors might be chosen, for the future, in the *comitia* by tribes, and not by *curiae*. In this he had two views very prejudicial to the patricians. In the first place, the *curiae* were never assembled for elections, till the senate had consented to it by a decree ; and in the second, the patricians, who commanded the suffrages of their clients, often got such tribunes elected as were agreeable to themselves. But neither of these inconveniences attended the *comitia* assembled by tribes ; for the tribunes had the power of assembling them, without the consent of the senate ; and the country tribes, who were not so devoted to the patricians as those in the city, had a right to vote in them, as well as the inhabitants of *Rome*. The plebeian faction was highly pleased with this proposal, and warmly declared for passing it into a law ; but the whole order of patricians opposed it to the utmost of their power. *Volero*'s law became the only subject of dispute between the two parties, and the Agrarian law was entirely dropped for some time. A dreadful plague suspended this furious contest for a few months, during which *Volero*'s tribuneship expired ; but the people continued him in the same office for the following year, in spite of the patrician party *.

Volero
proposes
electing
the tri-
bunes by
tribes.

The patricians, finding the people bent upon carrying their point, elected to the consulate *Appius Claudius*, who, they knew, was not to be terrified by the noise or menaces of the multitude. He was the son of the famous *Appius Claudius* we have so often spoken of. *T. Quintius*, a venerable senator, and beloved by the people, was joined with him. The two consuls differed in their opinions ; *Appius* was for treating the people with severity, and *Quintius* with mildness. *Volero*, concluding that he should now succeed, confidently added to the law he had before proposed these two farther articles ; That all affairs relating to the people should no longer be brought before the *curiae*, but before the tribes ; and that the ædiles, as well as the tribunes, should be chosen by them. There were but four tribes in the city, and seventeen in the country, which were not influenced by the nobility ; so that, in the *comitia* by tribes, the patricians had but little interest. They therefore did their utmost to ward off a blow, which tended directly to destroy the authority of the senate, and to establish that of the people upon its ruins. When the senate met to deliberate upon these

Appius
Claudius
chosen
consul.

* Dion. Hal. Liv. I. ii. c. 56.

extraordinary proposals, *Appius* was for making a decree to invite all those who loved their country to take arms, and declaring those who refused to obey the summons, enemies to their country. But *Quinctius* thought it more adviseable to try what gentleness could do. His advice prevailed ; and it was agreed that the tribunes should call an assembly of the people ; that the consuls should be allowed to represent to the people what they thought the true interest of the commonwealth ; and that they and the tribunes should afterwards consult together, and agree upon such measures as should be most for the common good of the people and the senate. Both the tribunes and the people agreed to this, and *Volero*'s scheme would have been rejected, or forgot, if *Appius*, when it was his turn to speak, had not incensed them again by the haughtiness of his behaviour, and his ill-timed menaces.

Caius Lectorius, one of the bravest soldiers in the republic, and who had been raised to the tribuneship, rose up to answer the consuls, and without taking any notice of *Quinctius*'s argument, insisted on the invectives of *Appius*, which he retorted, swearing by all that was most sacred, that he would either get *Volero*'s law passed, or perish in the attempt. Then, after having kept the people some time in suspense, turning to *Appius*, *I command you*, said he, *to leave the assembly*. *Appius* despised his order, and calling about him his friends and clients, who were very numerous, prepared to oppose force with force. The tribune ordered one of his officers to seize *Appius*, and carry him to prison. A scuffle ensued, but *Quinctius* quieted it, and conveyed *Appius* out of the assembly*.

The tri-
bune *Le-
ctorius* or-
ders *Ap-
pius* to be
led to
prison.

The peo-
ple seize
on the
capitol.
Year of
Rome 279.

War with
the *Aequi*
and *Vol-
sci*.

Appius's
troops re-
fuse to
fight.

The next morning, the people, spirited up by their tribunes, seized on the capital, and fortified themselves in it, as if resolved to begin a civil war. *Quinctius* again appeased them, and the result of their compromise was the passing *Volero*'s law by the senate. From this time, the tribunes were made, and almost every thing relating to the people determined, not in the *comitia* by *curiæ*, but by tribes†.

Soon after this law was passed, the consuls were obliged to take the field ; *Quinctius* against the *Aequi*, and *Appius* against the *Volsci*. The former, beloved by his soldiers, laid waste the enemy's country, without meeting with any opposition ; but *Appius* was no sooner within reach of the *Volsci*, than his men, who hated him, threw away their arms, and, though attacked by the enemy, refused to fight, and forced *Appius* to break up his camp, and lead them back to *Rome*. As soon as the incensed consul reached the Roman territory, he summoned his soldiers to assemble, and,

* Dion. Hal. et Liv. ibid.

† Dion. Hal. ibid. Liv. I. ii. c. 57.

after upbraiding them with their disobedience, commanded the heads of the centurions and other officers, who had abandoned their posts, to be struck off in his presence. Those who had born the ensigns, and delivered them to the enemy, he caused to be beaten to death with rods. The common soldiers were decimated.

Quinctius and *Appius* were succeeded by *L. Valerius* and *Tib. Emilius*. The old dispute about the partition of the lands was revived. Both the consuls were disposed to favour the people; but *Appius* still opposed all condescension to them. The tribunes, enraged, cited him before the people, as a declared enemy to the public liberty. To prevent *Appius* the disgrace of a condemnation, he laid violent hands on self-himself.

Under the consulship of *T. Quinctius* and *Q. Servilius*, the *Sabines*, *Æqui*, and *Volsci* were defeated, and the city of *Antium* was taken. *Quinctius* was honoured with a triumph, and attended both by the senate and people, in his procession to the capital*.

In the consulate of *P. Servilius Priscus* and *Æbutius Eka*, A dreadful plague broke out in *Rome*, and swept away almost all the flower of the youth, who were able to bear arms, at *Rome*. the fourth part of the senators, the greatest part of the tribunes, and both the consuls. Upon this news, the *Æqui* and *Volsci* entered the *Roman* territory, and appeared unexpectedly before *Rome*. The two consuls being dead, and the few tribunes who were still alive unable to act, on account of their bad state of health, the *ædiles* took upon them to perform the functions of the consuls; and the *Romans*, great difficulty maintaining their ancient steadiness, crept to the ramparts, and put the best face they could upon their affairs. The senators themselves mounted the guard, and stood centinels, and, the city being well fortified on all sides, the *Æqui* and *Volsci* gave up all thoughts of a siege, and only pillaged the country, after which they marched off towards *Tusculum*. Several patricians had governed in turns during the *inter-regnum*. The last of these was *Valerius Poplicola*, who, the plague having ceased, assembled the centuries for the election of new consuls, when *Lucretius Tricepitinus* and *T. Veturius Geminus* were chosen. An army was raised, to chastise the late insolence of the *Æqui* and *Volsci*, who were overthrown in a pitched battle, with the greatest loss they had ever yet sustained†.

Hitherto, all litigated matters had been determined by the judgment of the consuls, who regulated their sentence either by the principles of natural equity, or by ancient custom, or by the laws of *Romulus* and his successors, which last were lodged with the *pontifices*, who, with the pati-

* Liv. I. ii. c. 33.

† Dion. Hal. Liv. I. iii. c. 4-8.

cians,

A GENERAL HISTORY

Terentius Arsa proposes to establish fixed laws cians, made a mystery of them to the people. To remedy this inconvenience, *C. Terentius Arsa*, one of the tribunes of the people, moved for an immediate establishment of public laws, to serve for a rule to the magistrates in their sentences, and to the litigants for proofs of the justice or injustice of their cause. *Arsa's* chief aim in this was, to restrain the power of the consuls. This proposal was strongly opposed by the senators and patricians, and especially by the young ones, at the head of which last was *Quinctius Cæso*, the son of *Quinctius Cincinnatus*. This dispute, which ended in the institution of the *Roman Code*, was maintained for a long time with the utmost virulence on both sides. *Cæso's* inconsiderate heat exposed him to a prosecution by the tribunes, in consequence of which, he banished himself, before the day appointed for his trial. His father, *Cincinnatus*, who, with ten other sureties, had been bound for his appearance, in the penalty of three thousand asles of brass, that is, about nine pounds, thirteen shillings, and nine-pence of our money, a vast sum among the *Romans* in those days, was forced to sell the best part of his estate on that account, and retired to a cottage on the other side of the *Tiber*, where he cultivated, with his own hands, five or six acres of land, which were all he had to live upon*.

Herdonius attempts to reduce Rome.

Seizes the temple of Jupiter.

The intestine broils of the republic encouraged a private man in *Sabinia*, named *Appius Herdonius*, to attempt the reduction of *Rome*, with a view to make himself king. He was descended of an illustrious family, was rich, and had a great number of slaves and clients. With these, and the help of his friends, he got together about four thousand men, chiefly out-laws, and persons of desperate fortunes. He embarked this troop on the *Tiber* by night, brought them down the river, and landed them, before break of day, by the side of the capital. He got up the hill without being perceived, and, under cover of the darkness, possessed himself of the temple of *Jupiter*, and the fortresses adjoining to it. Thence he threw himself into the neighbouring houses, and put all those to the sword who refused to join him. Some, who had the good luck to escape before the *Sabines* entered their houses, raised an alarm in all the quarters of the city. The consuls, awakened by the noise, knew not whether the tumult arose from a domestic faction, or foreign enemy, and were therefore equally afraid to arm the people, or leave them unarmed. The return of light discovered the truth: but even in this extremity the tribunes harangued the people, and insisted that they should not take arms, unless the *Terentian* law was passed. The consul *Valerius* prevailed, however, by mild words. The capital was recover-

* Dion. Hal. l. x. Liv. l. iii. c. 9-14.

vered,

ed, and *Herdonius* killed, with the greatest part of his fol- Is killed.
lowers. *Valerius* was slain in this engagement.

Quinctius Cincinnatus, the father of *Cæso*, was elected to *Quinctius* succeed the consul *Valerius*. The deputies sent by the se- *Cincinnatus* nate to acquaint him with his promotion, found him driving his plough, and, for some time, doubtful whether he should accept the proffered dignity : but the love of his country prevailing over his private satisfaction, he took leave of his wife, and, recommending to her the care of domestic affairs, *I fear, said he, my dear Racilia, that our fields will be but ill manured this year.*

Quinctius's first study was, to reform the senate, and re- Makes the strain the insolence of the people and their tribunes, repre- tribunes manding both parties with equal severity, without declaring desist from himself for either, and made the tribunes desist from their prosecution of the *Terentian* law. His consulship expiring, ting the the senators were for continuing him in that dignity ; but law *Te-* he insisted on retiring to his little farm, and *Fabius Vitulanus rentia.* and *L. Cornelius Maluginensis* were named consuls for the en- suing year. They had scarce entered upon their office, when news was brought to *Rome*, that *Altium* had revolted to the *Volsci*, who, together with the *Aequi*, had taken the field. *Fabius* marched against the *Volsci*, and defeated them, and *Cornelius* beat the *Aequi*, and retook *Antium*. The consuls entered *Rome* in triumph, and soon after resigned the fasces to *C. Nautius* and *L. Minutius*, who took the field against the *Volsci* and the *Sabines*. *Minutius*, by a stratagem of the enemy, was led into a valley, and there hemmed in on all sides, and in danger of being starved into a surrender at discretion. Some horsemen, who escaped in the night, carried this news to *Rome*. The senate, greatly alarmed, and at a loss what to do, determined to create a dictator. *Quinctius* He is *Cincinnatus* was appointed to that high station, and immedi- appointed ately put himself at the head of the armies. He marched dictator. directly to the relief of the consul, arrived at the enemy's camp in the night, and surrounded it so that at break of day Year of the *Aequi* found themselves in the same situation that they *Rome 291.* had put *Minutius*. The *Aequi*, attacked on one side by the dictator, and on the other by the consul, submitted to Relieves *Quinctius's* terms, which were, that they should retire with- the consul out baggage, arms, or cloaths, and every man pass under the yoke. Two javelins were accordingly fixed in the ground, and a third laid over them, and all the soldiers passed, naked and unarmed, under this kind of gate. Their generals and officers were delivered up to the *Romans*, and reserved to grace the dictator's triumph. He would not allow the consul's troops to have any share in the spoil ; but, turning to *Minutius*, *As for you, said he, you must learn the art of war in an inferior rank, before you pretend again to command in chief.* He then obliged him to lay down his office, which the modest consul was so far from resenting, that he and

Degrades
Minutius.

and his troops presented the dictator with a crown of gold of a pound weight, for having saved the lives and honour of his fellow citizens. *Quinctius* returned to *Rome*, and entered the city in a pompous triumph; after which, he resigned the dictatorship, and retired to his little farm.

The *Aequi*, notwithstanding their late defeat, took the field again soon after, and, with the *Sabines*, renewed their usual inroads, and pillaged the *Roman* territory. The two consuls, *C. Horatius* and *Q. Minutius*, were ordered to march against them without delay; but the tribunes, after their old way, protested, that not a plebeian should enlist, till the commissioners for making a body of laws, according to *Terentius's* proposal, were named. An extraordinary meet-

The people refusing to in- ing of the senate was summoned, to deliberate on the present troubles, and *Quinctius Cincinnatus* was recalled, to make head against the tribunes. He was of opinion, that the whole senate and the body of the patricians, with their friends and clients, should take arms, and hasten into the field. His advice was received with applause: even the oldest senators appeared in the *forum* armed. The people, moved with this sight, were going to give in their names to be listed, when their tribune *Virginius*, having first conferred with his colleague, told the consuls, that if they would only suffer the number of the tribunes to be increased from five to ten, they would consent to the raising of the levies.

The tribunes of the people increased to ten. Their request was granted, and the senate passed a decree, giving the people liberty to chuse ten tribunes annually, provided they did not continue the same man in office above a year. The tribunes being satisfied, two armies were raised without opposition. *Minutius* marched against the *Sabines*, who retired at his approach. *Horatius* led his troops against the *Aequi*, retook *Corbio* and *Ortona*, which they had seized, and then both consuls returned to *Rome*, to preside in the *comitia* at the election of their successors*, which were *M. Valerius Laetucinus* and *Sp. Virginius Tricostus*.

Year of Rome 292. Bold attempt of the tribunes. The tribunes, grown more audacious than ever, by the increase of their number, proposed, that mount *Aventine*, or at least such parts of it as were not cultivated, or possessed by lawful owners, should be given to the people, who being now very numerous, began to want habitations. The consuls looking upon this demand as a prelude to the revival of the agrarian law, and therefore deferring to convene the senate to debate it, *Icilius*, one of the tribunes, daringly sent an officer to them, commanding them to assemble the senate forthwith, and to repair to it themselves. The messenger was, by the consuls orders, severely beat, and ignominiously driven away by one of the lictors. The tribunes caused the lictor to be seized, and some of them were for

* Dion. Hal. Liv. ibid. c. 30, 31.

putting him immediately to death, for violating the sacred privileges of the tribuneship, in the person of their officer. The senate, to save him, were obliged to give up mount Mount *Aventine*, by a decree, to the people. *Icilius*, not satisfied *Aventine* with this, formed a design to bring the consuls themselves yielded to under subjection*. In the consulate of *T. Romilius* and *C. the people Veturius*, the tribunes made more noise than ever about the *Terentian law*; and the consuls, knowing the republic would never be quiet at home, till she was engaged in a war abroad, declared their resolution to revenge some late insults of the *Sabines* and *Æqui*. They raised the levies with such severity, that the people appealed to their tribunes, who, taking The tri- the part of the complainants, endeavoured to rescue from bunes the lictors some whom the consuls had ordered to be seized. seize the The consuls advanced to support the execution of their or- consuls, ders; but the tribunes, supported by the populace, not only but are repulsed them, but ordered the ædiles to seize those sovereign beaten by magistrates, and carry them to prison. So daring an attempt the patri- provoked the patricians to such a degree, that they fell upon cians. the tribunes, beat them severely, and forced them to fly.

The next day, the tribunes assembled the people a-new, and summoned the consuls to appear before their tribunal, to answer for what had happened the day before. The consuls treated this summons with scorn: upon which the tribunes complained to the senate, and threatened to assemble the tribes, and judge the consuls, if they did not appear to justify their conduct. *Romilius*, on his side, declared, that if the tribunal dared to proceed a step farther, he would arm the whole body of the patricians against them. The senate, thinking it dangerous to declare for either side, broke up, without coming to any resolution. The tribunes too dropt the prosecution of this affair, but determined to propose both the *Agrarian* and the *Terentian law*; and a day was accordingly fixed for a new assembly to deliberate thereon.

The time appointed being come, and the people assembled, The tri- *Icilius* made a long harangue on the reasonableness of the bunes re- *Agrarian law*; and then declared, that any plebeian might new their speak his mind freely. Upon this, many of them pleaded the pursuit of right their services gave them to a share of the conquered the agra- lands, and made loud complaints of the patricians, who rian law. usurped what the plebeians had gained with their blood. This was their common complaint, but none represented it in stronger terms than one *Sicinius Dentatus*. He was a ple- beian, about threescore years of age, but in his full strength and vigour, of an handsome shape and mein, and not unelo- quent for a man of his station. He enumerated his ex- ploits in war during forty years service; told the multitude, that he had been in an hundred and twenty engagements;

* Liv. 1. iii. c. 31.

that

that he had received forty-five wounds, all before ; twelve of them in that single action against *Herdonius* the *Sabine*; that, for the last thirty years, he had been always in some command or other ; that fourteen civic crowns had been given him for saving the lives of so many citizens ; three rural crowns for having been the first that mounted the breach in towns taken by storm ; eight other crowns for different exploits ; eighty-three golden collars ; sixty golden bracelets ; eighteen lances ; twenty-five sets of furniture for horses, nine of which he had won from so many enemies conquered in single combat : “ And these military toys,” added he, “ are the only rewards I have hitherto received. No lands, “ no share of the conquered countries : usurpers, without “ any title, but that of a patrician extraction, possess them. “ Is this to be endured ? Shall they alone enjoy the fruits “ of our conquests ? the purchase of our blood ? No, ple-“ beians, let us delay no longer to do ourselves justice. Let “ us this very day pass the law proposed by *Icilius*. If the “ young patricians oppose it, let our tribunes make them “ feel what is the extent of their authority.” *Icilius* be-
stowed the highest encomiums on *Dentatus* ; but, affecting to appear a strict observer of the laws, he told him, that he could not with justice propose the law, till he had heard what the patricians alledged against it. He therefore ad-journed the assembly to the next day.

In the mean time, the consuls and chief of the senators met, and came to a resolution, that if they could not evade the publication of the law by fair words, they would employ main force to hinder the collecting of the votes. The patricians, being informed of this, repaired to the forum early in the morning, and dispersed themselves in small parties among the multitude. The consuls being come, the tribunes caused proclamation to be made by an herald, that whoever had any solid reasons to offer against the publication of the *Agrarian* law, might lay them before the people. Several senators attempted to speak, but the populace immediately set up such a noise, that it was impossible to hear them. The consuls protested against all that should be done in so tumultuous an assembly ; but the tribunes, without regarding their remonstrances, commanded the urns to be opened, and the tablets to be delivered out to the people, in order to vote. Upon this, the young patricians, starting up, snatched away the urns, and scattered about the tablets on which the votes were written ; and, throwing themselves, at the head of their clients and friends, into the crowd, by blows and main force hindered the people from dividing into their re-spective tribes. The tribunes too were forced to retire, and defer the promulgation of the law to another day.

Which the patricians tried by the people oppose by main force hindered the people from dividing into their re-spective tribes. The tribunes too were forced to retire, and defer the promulgation of the law to another day.

Consuls tried by the people The two consuls had no sooner resigned the fasces to their successors *Sp. Tarpeius* and *A. Arterius*, but they were cited before the assembly of the people ; *Romilius*, at the suit of *Si-*

cinius,

Sicinius, now one of the tribunes; and *Veturius* at that of *Alienus*, one of the *aediles*. They both appeared, depending on the promises the patricians had made them not to suffer the votes to be gathered. But *Sicinius* took such measures to prevent all disturbances, that they were both regularly tried for having offered violence to the tribunes, and disturbed them in the execution of their office. *Romilius* was fined in ten thousand asses, and *Veturius* in fifteen thousand *.

The tribunes, finding they could not possibly bring the consuls to hear of the *Agrarian* law, returned to the pursuit of the *Terentian*; and the senate, to put an end to contests which must, in time, have proved fatal to the state, agreed to their demand, on condition that all the legislators should be chosen out of the nobility. A decree was passed accord- *The Ter-*
ingly, and *Sp. Posthumius*, *S. Sulpicius*, and *A. Manlius*, were *rentian* appointed to go to *Greece*, and there collect the best laws and law passes. institutions of the *Greek* cities, especially of *Athens*. The next year, *P. Curiatius* and *Sextus Quintilius* being consuls, a dreadful plague afflicted almost all *Italy*, and swept away prodigious numbers of citizens at *Rome*. The year after, in the consulate of *P. Sextus* and *T. Menelius*, the deputies returned from *Greece*, and the people pressed the nomination of the ten commissioners who were to settle the laws: but various pretences were made use of to delay this affair, till Creation the ensuing consulate of *Appius Claudius* and *T. Genucius*, of the De- when the decemvirs were at length created; and all of them cemvirs. were chosen out of the body of the nobility.

This was almost as remarkable a revolution in the govern- Year of ment of *Rome*, as that from kings to consuls. Nothing *Rome 297.* could be more gentle than the beginning of this joint reign, as we may style it, of the *decemvirs*. They agreed among They themselves, that only one of them, at a time, should have please the fasces, and the other consular ornaments, assemble the people. senate, confirm decrees, &c. To this honour they were to succeed by turns, each enjoying it one whole day, and then resigning it to another. The rest, who were not in actual exercise of their office, affected no distinction but that of guards, their habit differing very little from that of the other senators. They repaired every morning, each in his turn, to their tribunal in the *forum*; and there distributed justice with so much impartiality, that the people, charmed with their conduct, seemed to have quite forgot their tribunes. *Appius*, that once severe and inflexible magistrate, was now all affability and complaisance; and, from being the detesta-
tion, became the idol of the people.

Before the end of the year, each of the decemvirs pre-
sented to the people that part of the laws which he had

* *Liv. I. iii. c. 31.*

A GENERAL HISTORY

The Decemvirs propose the ten tables of laws.

drawn up *. They were assisted by one *Hermodorus*, a Greek, in understanding the transcript brought from *Athens*. When the work was completed, the decemvirs assembled the people and told them, that they had drawn up a body of laws according to the best of their skill and judgment; that they hoped they would be pleased with them, and that they would prove beneficial to the republic and their latest posterity; but that, as a whole nation must see farther than any ten persons, they desired them to consider and examine them among themselves, and freely to offer whatever alterations or additions they should think proper, for that nothing they had done should have the force of a law till it was received with universal consent. Accordingly, the laws were cut in ten tables of oak, and fixed up in the *forum*; and all who came to start any difficulties about them, were well received, and readily heard. When all necessary corrections and amendments had been made, the ten tables were carried before the senate, who approved of them; and the people being convened by centuries, they were unanimously confirmed, and then transcribed on pillars of brass, and ranged in order in the *forum*, as the foundation of judicial determinations, with regard both to public and private affairs †.

The decemviral government continued for one year.

As several eminent men in the republic were of opinion, that some regulations, which would fill two other tables, were necessary to be added to the ten already made, both the senate and people agreed to continue the decemviral government for one year more. The senators were glad at any rate to get rid of the tribunes, and the people extremely desirous to keep the restoration of the consular dignity. *Appius*, that late haughty enemy to the plebeians, now, all affability and complaisance, courted the favour of the meanest citizens. The patricians saw his views, and determined, if possible, to disappoint him. Accordingly, when the time of the *comitia*, for the creation of the new decemvirs drew near, they appointed *Appius* to preside in them: for it was the business of the president to propose to the people the candidates for offices; and it had never yet been known that any one had nominated himself. But *Appius*, contrary to all the rules of decency, proposed himself for the first decemvir; and the people, now entirely devoted to him, readily gave him their suffrages. The other persons he named, were all men at his devotion; and among them, to the great surprize of the senate, were three plebeians, who, though absolutely excluded from this superior magistracy, both by their birth, and by their late express agreement between

Three plebeians chosen at the motion of *Appius*.

* Dion. Hal. l. x. Liv. l. iii. c. 32-34. † Dion. Hal. Liv. ibid. Cic. Tusc. 5. Strabo. l. xiv. Plin. l. xv. c. 5.

the patricians and the people, were, by a plurality of voices added to the number of the decemvirs ‡.

Claudius now threw off the mask, and turned his thoughts wholly on making his domination perpetual. As he governed his colleagues with an absolute sway, he inspired them with his own sentiments, and easily made them agree to be guided by them in every thing they should do. From that time, they appeared reserved and mysterious, and had scarce any intercourse but with those of their own body. This close confederacy alarmed the senate. When the ides of *May* came, and the new decemvirs made their first appearance, the *Romans* were greatly surprised to see each decemvir appear in the *forum*, early in the morning, with twelve lictors bearing axes among their fasces, like those that were antiently carried before the kings, and afterwards before the dictators; so that the *forum* was filled with an hundred and twenty lictors. The people now groaned under a most despotic tyranny. Those that could, retired into the country, hoping that the tempest would cease with the annual power of the decemvirs*.

The ides of *May* returned, when new magistrates were to be elected. But the decemvirs, instead of assembling the people, proposed two new tables of laws, one relating to religion, and the other to marriages, and the rights of husbands. These made up the famous twelve tables, which the *Romans* preserved ever after as a sacred deposit. The last of these laws, forbidding patricians and plebeians to intermarry, was an artful invention of the tyrants, to keep the two parties always divided, that they might reign with more security. In the mean time, the ides of *May* passed, without a word of any *comitia* for an election of new magistrates. The tyrants then shewed themselves barefaced, and, in spite of both the senate and people, retained their power, without any other title but possession and violence. Whoever offended them was proscribed, without mercy.

The *Sabines* and *Aequi*, disdaining to live subject to a city Invasion which had lost her own liberty, invaded the *Roman* territory, of the *Sabines* and advanced within a few miles of *Rome*. This alarmed the decemvirs, who knew not how to raise an army among the *Aequi*, a people dissatisfied with their government. They convened the senate, and *Appius*, in a studied harangue, represented the necessity of an immediate decree for levies. This was The decree absolutely refused by many of the most eminent senators, till consuls should be chosen to head the troops: but the obtain a majority, considering that their present danger would not admit of such a delay, agreed to *Appius*'s proposal. The levy accordingly raised ten legions, eight of which, troops, under the command of as many decemvirs, marched against

‡ Liv. I. iii.c. 35-37.

* Liv. I. iii. c. 38.

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the enemy, whilst *Appius* and *Oppius*, another decemvir, remained with two legions in the city, to keep in awe the domestic enemy, which they feared most of all. The soldiers that took the field, purposely suffered the enemy to gain great advantages over them, and, at last, feigning a sudden fright, dispersed in the night, and returned into the *Roman* territory. The discontent grew general among the troops, and they, as well as all the *Romans*, began to think in earnest of throwing off the yoke, and restoring their country to its ancient liberty. An opportunity soon offered.

The story
of *Appius*
and *Vir-
ginia*.

While *Appius*, with his colleague *Oppius*, remained at home to keep the city in awe, he saw, and fell in love with, a young virgin, the daughter of *L. Virginius*, a man famous in the city for his probity, and in the army for his valour. Her name was *Virginia*. Her mother was dead, and her father, upon his departure for the war, had committed her to the care of an uncle. She was now marriageable, and *Virginius* had already promised her to *Icilius*, who had been tribune of the people, and was to marry her at the end of the campaign. The lustful decemvir tried to corrupt her governesses ; but finding that impossible, he applied to *M. Claudius*, one of his clients, an infamous wretch, fit for any villainous enterprize. This minister of the tyrant's passion, taking with him a band of wretches like himself, seized *Virginia*, declaring that she was the daughter of one of his slaves, and therefore belonged to him. The people rescued her : *Claudius* cited her to appear before the decemvir ; and she, by the new laws, was obliged to follow him to the tribunal. *Appius*, who was alone upon the bench, was just ready to adjudge her to the claimant, when the people, fired with indignation, cried out, that *Virginia*'s relations ought first to be heard. *Appius*, absolute as he was, dared not refuse this. The first that came was her uncle *Numitorius*, attended by a great number of his friends and relations. *Claudius* renewed his claim, founded on a lie concerted between him and the judge. He pretended, that *Virginia* was born in his house, of a slave belonging to him ; that her mother had given her to *Numitoria*, the wife of *Virginius* ; and that *Numitoria* had imposed the child upon her husband, and made *Virginia* pass for his daughter. He added, that he would soon produce undeniable testimonies of what he advanced ; that, in the mean time, it was but just, that a slave should go with her master, and that he would give security to produce her again in court, when *Virginius*, her pretended father, returned from the war. *Numitorius* represented, that it was highly unjust to dispute a citizen's right to his very children, when he was not present to assert it ; adding, that *Virginius*, who was serving his country in the camp, would not fail to be at *Rome* in two days, and that it was reasonable her uncle, who had the care of her person, should, in the mean time, be the guardian

dian of her honour. This, he said, was conformable to the laws, which ordained, that during a law-suit, and before a definitive sentence, the plaintiff should not disturb the defendant in his possession. But this law *Appius* artfully eluded, by observing, that in the present dispute there were two circumstances which altered the case. *Here*, said he, *are two persons claiming; the one as a father, the other as a master.* If the pretended father were present, he, indeed, ought to be allowed the possession: but, he being absent, the person who claims her as his slave ought to be preferred to any other, provided he gives good security to produce her again at the return of the person who is called her father. Having thus spoken, he ordered *Virginia* to be put into *Claudius's* hands. At that instant, *Icilius*; to whom she had been promised in marriage, arrived, and, breaking through the crowd, forced his way to the tribunal, to defend his dear *Virginia*. He clasped her in his arms, and, addressing himself to *Appius*, No, *Appius*, cried he, nothing but death shall separate me from *Virginia*. Add my murder to the many crimes with which thou art already polluted. Assemble all thy lictors, and those of thy colleagues too, I will defend her honour to my last breath. Have you deprived us of our tribunes, only to subject our wives and our daughters to your brutish lust? Go on to exercise your rage upon our estates and lives; but spare the chastity of our virgins. If any attempt be made upon the honour of *Virginia*, I call the gods to witness, that it shall not go unrevenged. What will not *Virginicus* be able to do in the army, and *Icilius* among the people, when the one is to revenge the cause of an injured wife, and the other of a dishonoured daughter. He was going on, when the lictors were ordered to drive him away, and seize *Virginia*. The people, now incensed to the utmost, fell upon the officers of the decemvir, dispersed them, and obliged *Claudius* to take refuge under the tribunal. *Appius*, afraid of the consequences of this rage of the people, called his client to him, whispered in his ear, and then, having caused silence to be made, It is not, said he, the fury of the violent *Icilius* which makes me comply, but the intreaties of *Claudius* my client. He is willing to give up the right he has to carry home his slave, and to commit her to the same bands in which she was before. At his request I will wait for *Virginicus*'s return till to-morrow. Let her friends take care to give him notice. If *Virginicus* does not appear at the time appointed, I would have *Icilius* know, that I shall not want any assistance from my colleagues to put my decree in execution. When he had done speaking, *Claudius* desired that *Icilius* might give security for producing *Virginia* the next day, which he did accordingly, all the people then present offering eagerly to be bound for him. *Icilius* and *Numitorius* immediately dispatched, the first his brother, the second his son, to bring *Virginicus* from the camp. *Appius*, at the same time, sent a courier with orders to the generals to put him under arrest; but the other messengers were most expeditious; and *Vir-*

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ginius, upon the first notice of his daughter's danger, had left the army, and was so fortunate as to escape two parties which were sent, one from the camp, and the other from the city, to stop him. He appeared the next morning in the *forum*, leading his daughter, in deep mourning, attended by a great number of matrons of distinction. He addressed himself to his fellow citizens as he passed, and uttered his complaints with an air of dignity, which seemed rather to demand than implore assistance. *Icilius* too, broke into the throng, inveighed loudly against *Appius*, and transfused his own resentment into every breast. *Appius* was greatly surprised to hear that *Virginius* was in the *forum*. Full of rage he repaired thither; and, though informed of the disposition of the people, he ascended the tribunal, being surrounded by a numerous crowd of his dependents and creatures. *Claudius* spoke the first, renewed his claim, and produced the slave he had suborned to declare, that she was the mother of *Virginia*, and that she had sold her to the wife of *Virginius*. Several other witnesses, gained by great promises of *Appius* and his client, appeared to attest the same thing.

The friends and relations of *Virginius*, to destroy this imposture, urged the little probability of *Numitoria*'s imposing a child upon her husband. He had married her when she was very young, and was almost of the same age with her. *Virginia* was born soon after their marriage. Where then, said they, was the necessity for such a fraud? Besides, had she proved barren, which there could not then be time to judge of, and had designed to introduce a stranger into her family, why should she have chosen the child of a slave, rather than of a free woman? Why a girl, when she might as easily have had a boy? To many other such arguments as these, *Virginius* added undeniable proofs, and brought some of the most considerable women in *Rome*, who deposed, some, that they had seen *Numitoria* when she was big with child; others, that they had assisted at her labour; and some, that they had seen her suckle young *Virginia*, which she could not have done, had she been barren, as *Claudius* pretended.

Appius, observing that these unanswerable proofs made a great impression upon the multitude, interrupted the evidence, and, commanding silence, signified that he himself had something to say. Every one listened with attention. *I must acquaint you, Virginius, said he, and all who are present, with what I myself know of this affair.* *Claudius's father revealed the secret to me at his death, when he made me his son's guardian.* *Afterwards, I examined into the matter, and found it true,* *However, I did not think it became me to meddle in an affair of this nature, and therefore left it to my pupil to recover his right, or to agree with the parties concerned, when he should come of age.* *But now that the cause is brought before me in judgment, being obliged to give sentence according to my own personal*

personal knowledge, I declare, both as judge and witness, that the young woman belongs to Claudio; and my sentence is, that she be delivered up to him, as his property. Virginius, provoked to the highest degree at so unjust and cruel a sentence, was no longer master of himself. He trembled with rage, and, accompanying his words with a threatening gesture, Infamous wretch, said he, I never designed my daughter for thee: I educated her for a lawful husband, and not to be a prey to a lustful ravisher. Must then brutal passions amongst us take the place of honourable marriages? How the citizens here will bear with these things, I know not; but I trust the army will revenge my wrongs. At these words the people set up a loud cry of indignation, if they were determined to oppose the execution of Appius's decree. But the decemvir, having first cast his eyes on all sides, to observe his strength, and see how his friends were posted, told the multitude, with a threatening voice, that he was not unacquainted with the plots that had been laid to cause an insurrection; but that he neither wanted power nor resolution to inflict exemplary punishment on such as should offer to disturb the public peace. Let every one, therefore, said he, retire to his own house, and none presume to give law to a supreme magistrate. As for you, Claudio, added he, seize your slave, and make use of my guard to disperse the crowd. At these words, uttered with an imperious tone, the multitude gave back, and left Virginia standing by herself, an helpless prey to injustice.

The unfortunate father, seeing there was no other remedy, drew near Appius, and, in a suppliant manner, addressed him thus: Pardon, Appius, the unguarded words which have escaped me in the first transports of grief, and allow me to ask, in the young woman's presence, some questions of her nurse, that I may carry home, at least, the comfort of being set right in this matter. Appius granted his request, and Virginius, taking his daughter in his arms, and wiping her tears, drew near a shop in the forum, snatched up a knife that lay there, and, turning to Virginia, My dear daughter, said he, this is the only way to save thy liberty and thy honour. Go, Virginia, go to thy ancestors, whilst thou art yet a free woman, pure and undefiled. With these words he plunged the knife into her heart, and then drawing it out again, reeking with her blood, and turning to Appius, By this blood, cried he I devote thy head to the infernal gods. The decemvir immediately ordered him to be seized; but he, with the knife in his hand, made his way through the crowd, got out of the city, and, mounting his horse, took the road to the camp. Numitorius and Icilius staid by the dead body, shewing it to the people, and exhorting them to revenge. As for Appius, he seemed to have quite lost his reason: instead of endeavouring to pacify the multitude, he retired to his own house, and from thence sent his lictors to seize Icilius, and bring away the corpse of Virginia. But the people fell upon the lictors,

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broke their fasces, and drove them out of the forum. The decemvir then came in person, backed by a chosen body of young patricians ; but *Valerius* and *Horatius*, those sworn enemies of the decemvirs, putting themselves at the head of their friends and clients, obliged him to retire. He then ran to the temple of *Vulcan*, and pretending to act the tribune of the people, demanded that *Valerius* and *Horatius* should be thrown down the *Tarpeian* rock, as disturbers of the public peace ; but his harangue was often interrupted with hisses. At length, *Appius* privately withdrew, and, hiding his face with his robe, took refuge in a neighbouring house. His colleague *Oppius*, one of the plebeian decemvirs, was just then coming to his assistance ; but finding that the party of *Valerius* and *Horatius* was by far the strongest, he judged it best to convene the senate. This quieted the multitude ; for they hoped that the decemvirate would by that means be abolished. But the senators then in *Rome* being all friends to the decemvirs, only ordered the people to behave themselves peaceably, and commissioned some young members of their body to go to the camp near mount *Algidus*, and prevent the sedition which *Virginius* might raise *.

Virginius
stirs up
the army.

They came too late : he had entered the camp, attended by four hundred citizens, and holding the bloody knife in his hand, related to the soldiers the plot *Appius* had laid against his daughter's honour and liberty, and the cruel method he had been forced to take to preserve her chastity. They all assured him they would stand by him in whatever he should undertake against so wicked a tyrant. The decemvirs who commanded the army being informed of *Virginius*'s return, and the disposition of the soldiers, attempted which re- to seize the former, and appease the latter : but the soldiers, volts from disregarding their commands, flew to their arms, snatched their ge- up their colours, and took the way to *Rome*, which they nerals, and reached towards evening, and entered without making the encamps least disturbance. They marched quietly through the city on mount to mount *Aventine*, and there intrenched themselves, declar- *Aventine*. ing, that they would not lay down their arms till the decemvirate was abolished, and the tribuneship restored. *Ap-
pius* not daring to appear in public, *Oppius* convened the se- nate, and three of their body were sent to the army, to ask why they had left the camp without their general's orders, and what their intent was in possessing themselves of mount *Aventine*. As they had not yet chosen an head, they all cried out, with one voice, *Let Valerius and Horatius be sent to us : we will return no answer to the senate but by them*. As soon as the deputies were gone, *Virginius* advised the troops to chuse chiefs to govern them, and manage for them. Accordingly ten persons were elected under the name of mil-

* Diod. Sic. I. xii. Liv. I. iii. c. 44-49.

military tribunes. The army was desirous to have *Virginius* at the head of them; but he declined that honour. *My daughter, said he, is dead, and I have not yet revenged her death. No kind of honour will become me, till her manes are appeased.* Besides, what prudent or moderate counsels can you expect from me, who am so incensed against the tyrants? I shall be of more service to the common cause, by acting in it as a private man.

In the mean time, the three legions sent against the *Sabines*, being stirred up by *Numitorius* and *Icilius*, abandoned their generals, and having, after the example of the other armies army, chosen themselves ten military tribunes, marched through the city, and joined the troops on the *Aventine*. The two armies, thus united, commissioned their twenty tribunes to elect two out of their number, to be supreme over all, and the choice fell upon *M. Oppius* and *S. Manilius*. *Valerius* and *Horatius* were desired by the senate to go to the revolted army; but they protested they would not stir a step, so long as the decemvirs were masters of the government. The two armies, tired with delays, removed their camp to the *Sacred Mount*, intrenched themselves there, and observed the same good discipline as their ancestors had formerly done. In this decampment, they were followed by such numbers of citizens, with their wives and children, that *Rome* was in a manner deserted.

And remove to
the Sacred
Mount.

At length, the senators resolved to abolish the decemvirate, to restore to the people their tribunes, and to the senate its consuls. The decemvirs themselves, finding they could hold their power no longer, offered to resign whenever the senate should think fit to create new consuls; only desiring, that they might not be sacrificed to the hatred of their enemies. Upon this, *Valerius* and *Horatius* repaired to the army, where they were received with inexpressible joy. *Icilius*, whom the army chose for their speaker, after returning the deputies thanks for their constant zeal in behalf of the people, demanded, in the name of all who had retired to the *Sacred Mount*, First, The re-establishment of the tribunes of the people, with a right of appeal to them from the decisions of the consuls. Secondly, An amnesty for all who had left the camp without permission from their generals. Thirdly, That the decemvirs should be delivered into their hands to be burnt alive. Your two first demands, replied the deputies, are agreeable to reason; but the third is the effect of passion. You are offered a shield; do not pretend to take a sword too. The senate has not yet declared you innocent, and will you already presume to give laws to it? The people, satisfied that their interests could not be in better hands than those of these two senators, impowered them to make what terms for them they should think fit. *Horatius* and *Valerius* returned immediately to the senate, with the people's demand; but omitted their threats against the decemvirs, who hearing no mention made of their punishment, readily consented

consented to all that was asked ; only *Appius* seemed unwilling to part with his power*.

The de- A decree was passed, abolishing the decemvirate, and re-cemvirate storing the tribunes. The decemvirs, repairing to the *abolished. rum*, there laid down their authority, to the great joy of the city *. The army then removed back to *Mount Aventine*, and chose themselves ten tribunes, of which *Virginius*, *Rome 300. Icilius*, and *Numitorius* were the first named. An *inter-rex* was afterwards created, who held an assembly of the people by centuries, in which *L. Valerius* and *M. Horatius* were *L. Valeri-* raised to the consulate. These consuls, being very popular, *us and M. Horatius* got several laws passed, which gave the people a superiority over the senate. Formerly, the decrees of the people, convened by tribes, obliged only the plebeians ; but now it was enacted, that all decrees made in the *comitia* by tribes, would have the force of laws, with relation to all citizens. To maintain the tribunes in perpetual possession of the right of judging causes brought before them by appeal, it was likewise enacted, That, for the future, no magistrate of any kind should be invested with such authority as should preclude an appeal to an assembly of the people ; and that it should be lawful for any one to kill the man who should attempt the creation of such a magistrate. Another law was, that the decrees of the senate should, for the future, be carried to the *ædiles*, and kept in the temple of *Ceres*. This was done, lest the succeeding consuls should suppress the decrees now made, and by that means render them useless †.

Appius The republic having now resumed her ancient form, the impeach'd tribunes resolved to prosecute the decemvirs. They began with *Appius*. *Virginius*, in quality of tribune of the people, declared himself his accuser ; and, without enumerating all his other crimes, insisted only on his having, contrary to law, refused a maid of free condition her liberty, while the suit was yet depending. If you do not instantly clear yourself from this breach of the law, said he, I will order you to be carried to prison. *Appius* was silent ; but when the officers of the tribunes offered to seize him, he appealed to the people, and claimed the protection of the laws just made in favour of appeals. *Virginius* answered, that *Appius* was the only person who ought not to enjoy the benefit of the laws, which he himself had violated in his decemvirate ; and that such a monster ought, without mercy, to be carried to that prison which he himself had built, and insolently named the habitation of the people of *Rome*. He was led thither, and his trial was fixed for the third market day ; but before that came, he died in prison. *Oppius*, one of the plebeian decemvirs, was impeached by *Numitorius*, as an accomplice

and car-
ried to
prison,
where he
dies.

* Liv. 1. iii. c. 53, 54.

† Ibid. c. 55.

with

with *Appius*, and, like him, thrown into prison, where he died the same day. The other eight decemvirs retired into *Oppius* voluntary banishment, and their estates were confiscated and meets sold for the benefit of the public. A general amnesty was then proclaimed, and the state enjoyed tranquillity at home same fate. the remaining part of the year*.

The two consuls took the field against the *Æqui*, *Volsci*, The *Æ-* and *Sabines*, who had pillaged the *Roman* territory during *qui*, *Volsci*, the late intestine divisions. *Valerius* defeated the former, and *Sa-* and *Horatius* the latter. The senate, jealous of their too *bines* de-great popularity, refused them a triumph. But this opposi- feated. tion served only to gain the people a new prerogative, that of decreeing triumphs; for the consuls applied to them, and the tribune *Icilius* declared, in the name of the people of *Rome*, that the consuls should, in spite of the senate, have the honour of a triumph, which was thought so legal a one, that it had a place in the *Fasti Capitolini*.

The time for electing new magistrates being come, *Lartius Herminius* and *T. Virginius* were chosen consuls, and as some difficulties had arisen about the election of tribunes, some of the old ones wanting to continue themselves in that post beyond the limited time, a law was passed, enacting, *That if, upon a day of election, the full number of ten tribunes could not be chosen, those who were elected should have power to name their colleagues*. Agreeable to this law, the new tribunes no sooner entered on their office, but they chose their colleagues, and among them, to the great surprise of all, *S. Tarpeius* and *A. Æsernius*, both patricians, old senators, and even Two pa-consulars. This advantage, which the patricians now ob-tricians tained, of getting some of their body into the tribuneship, chosen in order to counterbalance the power of the plebeian tri-tribunes, was soon afterwards defeated by another law, which *L. Trebonius*, one of the tribunes, procured to be passed, and which from him was called the *Lex Trebonia*, whereby it Lex Tre-was enacted, *That whosoever should, for the future, hold the bonia. comitia for electing tribunes of the people, should not dismiss the assembly till the number of ten tribunes was completed by the votes of the people*.

The following consulate of *M. Geganius* and *C. Julius* The *Æ-* produced nothing remarkable. But the succeeding consuls *qui* and *T. Quinctius Capitolinus* and *Agrippa Furius*, found the peo-Volsci de-people highly exasperated against the nobility, and, upon the feated. news of these fresh domestic broils, the *Æqui* and *Volsci* began again to ravage the *Roman* territory, to the very gate of *Rome*. The consuls marched against them, and gained a complete victory. An iniquitous judgment, which the *Roman* people obstinately gave in a cause referred to them by the inhabitants of *Ardea* and *Aricia*, relating to a tract of

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land to which they both laid claim, tarnished the glory of the republic this year ; the *Romans*, on a frivolous pretence of its having formerly belonged to the city of *Corioli*, and therefore now become their property, adjudged it to themselves, instead of giving it to either of the contending parties.

Military tribunes created with consular power, but soon abdicated.

Year of Rome 305.

In the following consulate of *M. Genucius Augurius* and *C. Curtius Philo*, the tribunes, still grasping at an increase of power, demanded, not only that the law by which patricians and plebeians were forbid to intermarry, should be repealed, but likewise, that plebeians should be admitted to the consulate. *Canuleius*, the most active of the tribunes, declared in the senate, in the most solemn manner, that he would constantly oppose all levies of troops, let them be never so much wanted, till these concessions should be made to the people. The consuls and patricians exclaimed loudly against these new incroachments ; but the *Ardeates*, the *Æqui*, the *Veientes*, and the *Volsci*, invading the *Roman* territory at the same time, the senate let the law concerning marriages pass, in hopes that might satisfy the people. They were mistaken ; for the tribunes still insisted on being admitted to the consulship. This dispute would probably have been attended with fatal consequences, had not one of the senators, to preserve the honour of the consular dignity, proposed a medium, which was agreed to by both sides. This was, that, instead of consuls, a certain number of military tribunes should be chosen, partly out of the senate, and partly from among the plebeians ; and that these new magistrates should be invested with consular power. A decree was immediately passed for this fourth revolution in the *Roman* government, and the *comitia* were held without delay. But when the people came to vote, they refused to give their suffrages to any but patricians ; so that only three military tribunes were chosen, and these laid down their office three months after, on the late consul *Curtius*'s declaring, that the auguries preceding it had been inauspicious. An *Inter-rex* was named, that the commonwealth might not remain without an head. *T. Quinctius*, on whom this dignity was conferred, assembled the people, who agreed to restore the old form of government, and *L. Papirius Mutilus* and *L. Sempronius Atratinus* were appointed consuls for the remaining part of the year*. Under the next consuls, *T. Quinctius Capitolinus* and *M. Geganius*, two censors were created, to take, every five years, a general account of the *Roman* people and their effects. The tribunes, not foreseeing to what a pitch of power and grandeur this office would afterwards arise, did not so much as demand that the plebeians should have any share in it. *Papirius* and

The censorship establish'd
Year of Rome 307.

* Dion. Hal. l. xi. Liv. l. iv. c. 7.

Sempronius

Sempronius, the consuls of the preceding year, were the first censors; this dignity being unanimously conferred upon them, to make amends for the short duration of their consulate*.

In the consulate of *Proculus Geganius* and *L. Menenius*, a *Sp. Mæli-* Roman knight, named *Sp. Mælius*, daringly aspired to the *us aspires* sovereign power. A dreadful famine happening in *Rome*, to the *so-* the people, to prevent the evil consequences of it, created, *vereign* with the consent of the senate, an extraordinary magistrate, power. with the title of *superintendant of provisions*. The person named to this office was one *L. Minutius*, an active and prudent man, who immediately sent his agents into the neighbouring countries to buy corn. But *Sp. Mælius*, who was one of the richest men in *Rome*, had already bought it all up, and distributed it among the meaner people; so that his house quickly became the place of refuge for the poor, the idle, and those who had ruined themselves by debauchery†. *Minutius* was continued in his office under the new consuls, *T. Quinctius Capitolinus* and *Agrippa Menenius*, which last found out, that *Mælius*, under cover of this extraordinary liberality, held assemblies at his house, and that great quantities of arms had been conveyed thither by night; and, upon farther inquiry, he discovered, that a conspiracy was carrying on to subvert the present government and that *Mælius* aspired to the sovereign power. *Minutius* immediately gave an account of this to the senate, who, following the advice of *Q. Capitolinus*, impowered him to name his brother *Quinctius Cincinnatus* dictator. *Mælius* was cited to appear before this supreme magistrate, but refused to obey the summons, and attempted to make his escape. A lictor was ordered to seize him; but the populace rescued him, and he was very near getting away, when *Servilius Ahala*, the dictator's general of the horse, overtook him, and killed him on the spot. The dictator then declared, that *Mælius* had been justly slain, and ordered his house to be razed to the ground, and the corn found in it to be sold to the people at low rates. A statue was erected to *Menenius*, as a reward of his vigilance. Three of the tribunes, provoked at the murder of *Mælius*, made loud complaints in the assembly of the people, and obstinately opposed the election of new consuls; so that the patricians, to avoid a tumult, were forced to consent that military tribunes should be chosen for the next year. The people chose three patricians, during whose administration the city of *Fidene* revolted to the *Venientes*, and murdered four ambassadors sent by the senate to ask the reason of their conduct. A war being unavoidable, it was thought more proper to chuse consuls than mili-

Military
tribunes
chosen
a-new.

Q. Cinc-

Mælius

killed.

* Liv. I. iv. c. 8, 9. Dion. Hal. I. xi.

† Liv. I. iv. c. 13, 14.

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tary tribunes for the next year. *M. Geganius* and *L. Sergius* were elected. This last was sent against the *Veientes*, but had so little success, that the senate determined to remove him from the command of the army, and to create a dictator.

Mamercus Æmilius who chose young *Quintius Cincinnatus* for his general of the horse, and appointed *Quintius Capitolinus* and *M. Fabius Vibulanus*, two great commanders, his lieutenant-generals. The new dictator soon came to an engagement with the united forces of the *Falisci*, *Fidenates*, and *Veientes*, and gave them a total overthrow. *Tolumnius*, king of the *Veientes*, was slain in the battle by *Cornelius Cossus*, a legionary tribune, who stripped him of his armour and royal robes, and carried these spoils, called *spolia opima*, on his shoulders in the dictator's triumph, and afterwards deposited them in the temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, they being the second of the four known in *Rome*.

Fidenæ taken by the Romans. The *Fidenates* and *Veientes* renewed the war in the consulate of *Julius Julius* and *L. Virginius*, when the *Romans* were greatly distressed by a plague: but *Q. Servilius Priscus*, being created dictator, gave them battle near *Nomentum*, routed them, and took the city of *Fidenæ*. The following year, *Mamercus Æmilius* was named to the dictatorship a second time, upon a report that all *Hetruria* was preparing for war; but these fears proving groundless, *Æmilius* resolved to do something remarkable at home, and therefore proposed the reducing of the censorship from five years to eighteen months, which was agreed to, and passed into a law. *Æmilius* then resigned his office of dictator.

Military tribunes created for two years three patricians, during whose administration nothing remarkable happened at *Rome*, except a plague, which ceased in the following year, when the republic was again governed by three military tribunes, all patricians. The rich plebeians, vexed to see that none but patricians were chosen to

The use of white garments prohibited that magistracy, though the law allowed three plebeians to be elected, procured a law to be passed, by which the candidates for any office were forbidden to go about, as they had used to do, in white garments, to solicit the votes of the people. As this dress was used only by the nobility on these occasions, the plebeians hoped thereby, in some measure to extinguish a distinction highly displeasing to them. The patricians, to be even with them, resolved to endeavour to get consuls chosen for the next year. The formidable preparations which the *Æqui* and *Volsci* were making for war favoured their design, it being a matter of indifference to the people, whether consuls or military tribunes were chosen, since no plebeians had ever commanded the armies.

The

The consulship was restored, *T. Quinctius* and *C. Julius* The con-
Mento being promoted to that dignity. They were both consul officers of great experience and courage; but a misunder- stored, and standing arising between them, they were defeated by the enemy near mount *Algidus*. Upon this, the senate thought it necessary to name a dictator. The tribunes, who were feated by then in the senate, charmed with a motion which tended to the increase their authority, having withdrawn a while to con- sult, returned with this declaration, that it was the pleasure of the tribunes, that the consuls should obey the senate, or be led to prison, if they persisted in their disobedience. The consuls submitted, and named for dictator *Posthumius Tu- Postumi- bertus*, who made *L. Julius Vopiscus* his general of the horse; us *Tuber-* and having defeated the enemy in a bloody battle, returned *tus consul,* in triumph to *Rome*, and laid down his office*. The next defeatsthe year, *C. Papirius* and *L. Julius Vopiscus* being consuls, a *Æqui* and truce was granted to the *Æqui* for eight years†. Nothing *Volsci*. remarkable happened at *Rome* this year, nor during the suc- ceeding consulate of *L. Sergius* and *Hostius Lucretius*. In that of *T. Quinctius* and *Cornelius Cossus*, which was the next, an extraordinary drought, which occasioned a famine, and was followed by a dreadful plague, desolated *Rome*.

The *Veientes*, before the expiration of the truce they had obtained for eight years, renewed their incursions, and ravaged the lands of the republic. The senate, in the consulate of *L. Papirius Mugilanus* and *Servilius Abala*, resolved to punish them: but a dispute arising between the people and The Ro- the senate, concerning the right of declaring war, those mans de- enemies of the republic escaped this year‡. The next, the feated by tribunes insisted on having the government placed in the hands of military tribunes; and accordingly these four patri- tes, who cians were chosen; *Quinctius Cincinnatus*, *C. Funies*, *M. Post- are over- bumius*, and *A. Cornelius Cossus*. This last staid at *Rome*, and the other three marched against the *Veientes*; but, by their not act- ing in concert, they were routed, and obliged to keep within *Æmilius*. their camp. The people, upon the news of this defeat, insisted on their being superseded by a dictator. This high post was, for the third time, conferred on *Mamercus Æmi- lius*, who gained a complete victory over the united forces of the enemy, and made himself master both of the city of *Fideneæ*, and of the camp of the *Veientes*‡.

The government under military tribunes was continued two years longer; during which the tribunes of the people had still the mortification to see but patricians elected. To dissuade the people from giving this preference to the nobility, some of the most eminent among the plebeians gave

* Liv. l. iv. c. 26-29.

† Id. ibid. c. 30-34.

‡ Liv. l. iv. c. 30-34.

§ Ibid. † Ibid. c. 30-34.

out,

Year of
Rome 323.
Consuls
elected.

Battle be-
tween the
Romans
and *Volsci*.

out, that if they could once be chosen, they would not fail to get the public lands divided among the poor citizens. This made no small impression upon the multitude: but the patricians, who were then in possession of the military tribuneship, to avoid the shame of having plebeians for their successors, agreed among themselves to lead out of *Rome* those who aspired to that dignity, under pretence of attacking the *Volsci*. In their absence, *Appius Claudius*, son of the decemvir, and one of the military tribunes, held an assembly for electing consuls, when *C. Sempronius Atratinus*, and *C. Fa-
bius Vibulanus* were chosen ||.

The new consuls had scarce entered upon their office, when the *Volsci* took the field with a numerous army. *Sempronius*, a man of greater courage than conduct, was sent against them; but he, despising an enemy the *Romans* had so often vanquished, and attacking them with his infantry alone, was surrounded on all sides, and would have been cut off, with all his men, if one *Tempanius*, an old officer of the horse, had not taken upon him the command of the cavalry. This brave officer, observing the danger the legions were in, leaped from his horse, and, addressing himself to his companions, “Follow my lance,” said he, “as if it were a stand-
ard; and let us shew the enemy that we can fight on foot
as well as on horseback.” At these words, the whole body of horse dismounted, and, following their leader, fell upon the enemy with incredible fury. The *Volscian* commander, observing the violence of this attack, ordered his troops to open their ranks, and give passage to *Tempanius* and his men, and then to close again, in order to separate them from the rest of the *Roman* army. *Tempanius*, thus cut off, did his utmost to force his way back; but finding that impossible, he retired to an eminence, and there, drawing up his men in a circle, defended himself with incredible bravery, till night coming on, put an end to the conflict. He expected that the attack would be renewed the next morning, and accordingly exhorted his men to die like *Romans*: but he was greatly surprised when, at break of day, he could neither see friends nor enemies. Both the *Romans* and the *Volscians* had fought till night; and, equally afraid to renew the fight the next morning, had quitted their camps, and retreated, to what place *Temparius* could not tell. He therefore, taking up the wounded *Romans*, marched strait to *Rome*, where he found the people actually assembled; some runaways, who got to the city before him, having given out, that the consul was defeated, and the whole body of cavalry cut in pieces. The tribunes of the people, thinking this a favourable opportunity to humble a consul, cited *Sempronius*,

as soon as the year of his consulate was expired, to answer Sempronius for his conduct in the late battle. Tempanius, who, with us cited to three other officers of the horse, had been chosen tribune of the people, in reward of their services, generously made his constituents his advocates, and saved him for the present, duc^t. though he was tried again some time after, and condemned in a fine.

The tribunes of the people for the next year were of so moderate a disposition, that Rome returned to her antient form of government; and *T. Quinctius Capitolinus*, and *Numerius Fabius* were elected consuls without any disturbance.

The peace which continued this year, gave the new tribunes an opportunity of raising disturbances about the quæstorship. Hitherto there had been only two quæstors, and those chosen annually from among the patricians. Their office was, to collect the taxes, pay the expences of the war, and keep exact accounts of the public money, for which they were answerable. To this time they had never stirred out of Rome. The consuls therefore proposed, that two new quæstors should be added, to attend the generals in the field; to take an account of the spoils; sell the booty; and, above all, provide for the subsistence of the army. The people agreed to it; but when it was going to be passed into a law, their tribunes insisted absolutely, that two of the four quæstors should always indispensably be plebeians. The senate was willing that, in the election of quæstors, as in that of military tribunes, the people should, if they thought fit, chuse as many plebeians as patricians: but this was rejected; and the tribunes, by way of revenge, protested against holding the *comitia* for electing consuls; and insisted on having military tribunes for the next year. The dispute ran so high, that both sides, to put an end to it, agreed to name an *inter-rex*. The senate chose for that office *L. Papirius Mugellanus*, who, by soft persuasions, brought the contending parties to this compromise; that the senate should suffer the people to chuse military tribunes instead of consuls; and, that the tribunes of the people should allow the tribes to bestow the quæstorship on patricians or plebeians, as they pleased. Notwithstanding all the cabals and seditious harangues of the tribunes of the people, not only the military tribunes, but the quæstors too, were chosen out of the patricians only, though one of the tribunes had proposed his brother, and the other his son.

The next year, when the republic was governed by three military tribunes only, *M. Papirius*, *C. Servilius*, and *L. Sergius*, *Labicum*, a city of Latium, about fifteen miles distant from Rome, revolted, and entered into an alliance with the *Æqui*; who, after having pillaged the territory of *Tusculum*, encamped at the foot of Mount *Algidus*. Two of the military tribunes took the field, and, for want of har-

The Romans, between themselves, were entirely defeated. Hereupon the senate ordered a dictator to be created; and C. Servilius, who had with difficulty been prevailed upon to stay the *Aequi*, at home to guard the city, nominated his father, Q. Servilius, who appointed him his general of the horse. The fathers and sons put themselves at the head of a new army, with which they routed the enemy, retook *Labicum*, and returned to *Rome* eight days after they had left it, when Q. Servilius laid down his office*.

Year of Rome 337. Though frequent disputes arose at home about the electing of tribunes and quæstors, the republic enjoyed peace abroad for some years; till, C. Julius *Fulus*, P. Cornelius *Cossus*, and C. Servilius *Abala* being military tribunes, the *Volsci* renewed the war; and, having engaged some of the new allies of the republic to join them, encamped near *Antium*. The senate, apprehending the republic to be in great danger, ordered a dictator to be nominated; but as the three military tribunes had drawn lots for the command of the army, which had fallen to *Julius* and *Cornelius*, those two generals, offended at the distrust the fathers had shewed of their conduct, refused to name a dictator. The senate then desired the tribunes of the people to interpose their authority: but this they refused with a scornful answer. Upon this, C. Servilius, the third military tribune, boldly took upon him to act alone, and to name a dictator. The person he raised to that high station, was P. Cornelius *Rutilus*, who appointed him to be general of the horse. The dictator took the field, gained a complete victory over the *Volsci*, and, returning to *Rome*, laid down his high office. The military tribunes then returned to their functions.

Generosity of the Romans, and ingratitude of the Veientes. The truce with the *Veientes* being now expired, the Romans sent *feciales*, heralds, to demand satisfaction for the injuries they had formerly done to the republic: but the *feciales* meeting envoys on the road from *Veii*, at their request proceeded no farther. These envoys, being admitted to the senate, represented, that their city, being at present disturbed by domestic broils, was not in a condition to give the Romans satisfaction. These dissensions gave the Romans a favourable opportunity of falling upon their old enemies; but they had too much generosity, as *Livy* observes, to take advantage of the misfortunes of a rival state; and therefore did not disturb them this year †. The ungrateful *Veientes*, the very next year, insulted the Roman ambassadors, and drove them out of their city with contempt; upon which the senators ordered a declaration of war against them to be immediately proposed to the people: but the tribunes of the people, reviving the old affair of the *Agrarian* law, opposed

* Liv. l. iv. c. 45—47.

† Liv. l. iv. c. 58.

the

the levies. However, it was agreed that three of the military tribunes should lead an army against the *Volsci*; who, at the approach of the legions, fled, and left their country open to be pillaged. Hereupon the *Roman* generals, having divided their army into three bodies, made incursions into it on three different sides. *Fabius*, one of the military tribunes, laid siege to *Anxur*, and, having taken it by storm, divided the spoil equally among the soldiers of the three armies. This piece of generosity paved the way for a reconciliation between the nobility and people, which was entirely completed by a decree of the senate, that, for the future, the *Roman* infantry should be maintained in the field at the public expence ‡.

Hitherto all the citizens had been obliged to serve in war at their own expence; which was a heavy burthen upon the poorer plebeians, and frequently ruined their families. The senate, pitying their condition, and reflecting on the many disorders which were occasioned by their refusing to list themselves, even for the most necessary war, of their own accord decreed, that the foot should have pay out of the public money; and that, to provide for this expence, a new tax should be raised, from which no citizen whatsoever should be exempt * §. Upon the first news of this decree, the people, transported with joy, flocked to the senate-house, kissed the senators hands, calling them the true fathers of the people, and protesting that they would shed the last drop of their blood for their country, which they now looked upon as a tender mother. But the tribunes of the people, not liking this union of the two orders, which traversed their designs, endeavoured to lessen the value of the favour, by insinuating to the people, that this pay was to come out of their own pockets; that it was not just to make those citizens who had completed their time of service at their own charge, contribute to the support of the new soldiers; that they would protect all those who should refuse to pay the tax. &c. However, as the senators began by laying great sums on themselves, which they paid readily, according to the real value of their estates, the common people followed their example, without shewing the least uneasiness ‡.

The *Roman* infantry begin to receive pay: Year of *Rome* 340.

‡ Ibid.

* We know not what pay was given at this time to each soldier; but in Polybius's time, that is, in the second Carthaginian war, a foot soldier was allowed two *oboli* a day; a centurion, four; and an horseman, six. Two *oboli* were about the third part of an Attic *drachma*, which was about seven pence three farthings of our money.

§ Liv. 1. iv. c. 48, 49.
l. xxiii. c. 3.

‡ Ibid. Zonar. 1. vii. Plin.

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The Romans invest Veii.

And now the senate, finding themselves in a condition to maintain an army abroad, as long as they pleased, began to form great designs. They resolved to begin with *Veii*, one of the strongest places of *Italy*, whose territory was larger than that of *Rome*. The people were assembled; all voted for a war; and chose, for the first time, six military tribunes, all patricians; some of whom staid at home, whilst others took the field against the *Venetiæ*, who, declining a battle, shut themselves up in their city. The *Romans* invested it; but there was little action this year, and less the following, when the army was divided into two bodies; one of which continued before *Veii*, and the other marched against the *Volsci*, defeated them, took and razed the city of *Artena*, and then rejoined the forces before *Veii*. It is thought to have been at this siege that the *Romans* first invented lines of circumvallation and contravallation; at least, this is the first time we find them mentioned in history. They fortified their camp, both on the side of the city they invested, to prevent sallies; and on the side of the country, to guard themselves against any succours which the *Hetrurians* might send to the besieged. The military tribunes, considering likewise, that *Veii* could not be taken, but after a long siege, and then not so much by force as by famine, resolved to keep the army in the field all the winter, and then to block up the city as closely as they could. The besieged, in a sally, surprised the *Romans*, slew a great number of them, set fire to their machines, and ruined, in a few hours, the work of many days. This misfortune, instead of disheartening the *Romans*, gave them fresh courage. Such of the citizens as were rich enough to be placed in the first class among the knights, but had not yet received horses from the republic, (which ceremony was necessary to make a man a knight) went in a body to the senate, and offered to mount themselves at their own expence, and serve at the siege of *Veii*. The offer was accepted; and the people, following the example of the new knights, declared themselves ready to serve, and supply the places of the soldiers who had been killed. The senate ordered the same pay to be given to the volunteers as to the rest of the army; and decreed at the same time, that, for the future, the cavalry likewise should receive pay out of the public treasury*.

The cavalry receive pay.

L. Virginius, and *Manius Sergius*, two of the six military tribunes for the next year, continued the siege of *Veii*. These two generals disagreeing, each of them had a body of troops under his command, as if it had been a separate army. *Sergius* commanded the attack, and *Virginius* covered the siege. While the army was thus divided, the *Falisci* and *Capenates*

* Liv. l. v. c. 1—3.

fell upon *Sergius*; and at the same time the besieged, sallying out, attacked him on the other side. The *Romans*, thinking they had all the forces of *Hetruria* to deal with, gave way. *Virginius* could have saved his colleague's troops, for his forces were ranged in order of battle at a small distance; but *Sergius* was too proud to send to him for succour, and *Virginius* resolved not to send him any unless he asked it. Thus the public good was sacrificed to a private pique. The enemy made a dreadful slaughter of the *Romans* in their lines; *mans* rout- but *Sergius* himself escaping fled to *Rome*; not so much to ed before justify his own conduct as to complain of that of his col- *Veii*, league. *Virginius* was recalled; and both commanders, being ordered to give an account of their conduct to the senate, inveighed bitterly against each other. To quiet the matter, a decree was made, that all the military tribunes of that year should resign, and the people immediately proceed to a new election. These new magistrates were ordered to begin again the siege of *Veii*. *Sergius* and *Virginius*, the two generals of the last year, were cited before the people, and condemned in a great fine for their misconduct.

The tribunes of the people renewed their domestic broils, and proposed two laws; the first requiring a partition of the lands, as formerly; the second exempting the people from any more contributions towards the pay of the troops. But these disturbances were quieted by chusing *P. Licinius Calvus*, A plebeian, into the military tribuneship. *Licinius*, though an chosen a plebeian, was an old senator; for, some time since, the military considerable plebeians had begun to be admitted into the se- tribune. nate. The tribunes of the people were so much rejoiced to see a plebeian raised to the supreme magistracy, that they dropped their opposition to the tax. The next year, five Five plebeian military tribunes were elected, and only one patri- beian mi- cian. They carried on the siege of *Veii* with great vigour, litary tri- and entirely defeated the confederate forces of the *Falisci* bunes. and *Capenates*. The year after, the military tribuneship was restored to the patrician order. They were succeeded by other patricians, and these again by six plebeians; two of which, *Atinius* and *Genucius*, marched with some troops to oppose a great body of *Hetrurians*, who were coming to attack the *Roman* intrenchments before *Veii*: but, falling into an ambush, *Genucius* was killed, and his colleague driven out The Ro- of the field. The news of this defeat so terrified the senate, mans over- that they had recourse, as usual in such cases, to a dictator. come by *M. Furius Camillus* was raised to that supreme dignity. He the *Hetrurians* named *P. Cornelius Scipio* for general of the horse, and ordered *rians*. new troops to be raised. He soon came to a battle with the *M. Furius* united forces of the *Falisci*, *Capenates*, and *Hetrurians*; de- *Camillus*, feated them entirely, sat down before *Veii*, and pushed on dictator, the siege with great vigour. Despairing to carry by assault a defeats the place which had a whole army for its garrison, and which *Falisci*, still defended itself as obstinate as ever, he had recourse to &c.

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mines and sapping. A passage under ground was opened to the very castle. *Camillus*, then pretty sure of succeeding, sent to the senate, to know how they would have the spoils of the city disposed of. The senate assembled, and decreed, that they should be divided between the army and those citizens who should be in the camp when the town was taken. Accordingly numbers flocked thither, well armed, and joined the dictator's troops in the attack. Part of the army scaled the walls, while the soldiers in the mines sallied out within the city, possessed themselves of the castle, broke down the gates, and let in the *Roman* army. Thus was the rich city of *Veii* taken, like a second *Troy*, after a siege of ten years. The booty was divided among the soldiers; but the prisoners of free condition were sold to the best bidder, and the money arising from thence put into the public treasury. Though this was the only part of the spoil from which the public reaped any benefit, the people murmured at it, and inveighed both against the senate and the dictator.

Veii taken after ten years of siege. Year of Rome 349.

Some singularities in the pomp of *Camillus*'s triumph increased the displeasure of the multitude. He entered the city in a stately chariot, drawn by four milk-white horses, and coloured his face with vermillion. White horses, since the expulsion of the kings, had been allowed only to *Jupiter* and the *Sun*; and the statues of the gods were commonly painted with vermillion. What still more incensed the people against him, was his demanding back from them a tenth part of the spoil of *Veii*, to discharge a vow he had made to *Apollo* just before the assault, and afterwards forgot.

The six military tribunes for the following year proposed, that half of the senators, knights, and people of *Rome*, should remove to *Veii*, and settle there: but this motion was rejected, chiefly thro' the opposition of *Camillus*, lest two such cities should by degrees become different states, which, after a destructive war with each other, would at length fall a prey to their common enemies.

Camillus besieges *Falerii*.

Camillus was chosen one of the six military tribunes for the next year, and the conduct of the war against the *Falisci* was committed to his care. He besieged *Falisci*, their capital city, and surrounded it with lines; but at so great a distance from the walls, that there was sufficient room for the besieged to take the air without danger. The *Falisci* had brought from *Greece* the custom of committing all their children to the care of one man, who was to instruct them in the several branches of polite literature; to take them out a walking with him, and see them perform the exercises proper for their age. The present schoolmaster proved a traitor. He at first led the youths only along the walls; then carried them a little farther; and, at length, when a favourable opportunity offered, he led them through the guards of the *Roman* camp quite to the general's tent. As they were

children

children of the best families in the place, their treacherous leader, when he came into *Camillus's* presence, addressed him thus: *With these children I deliver the place you besiege into your hands: they were committed to my care and tuition; but I prefer the friendship of Rome to my employment at Falerii.* *Camillus,* struck with horror at the treachery, ordered his lictors to strip the traitor, to tie his hands behind him, and furnish the youths with rods to whip him back again into the city. The *Falisci*, who, but just before, had protested, that they would rather undergo the fate of the *Veientes*, than submit to *Rome*; *sci* submit won by this generous action, immediately sent a deputation to *Rome*. to *Camillus*, to treat of a surrender. *Camillus* referred them to the senate; and the senate left to him the terms of the peace that was to be made with the *Falisci*, not as a conquered people, but as a nation which voluntarily submitted to the dominion of the republic. He therefore entered into an alliance with them, and demanded only the expences of the present campaign. He then led back his army to *Rome*, where his soldiers increased the number of his enemies, disappointed in their hopes of sharing the plunder of *Falerii**.

While the republic prospered abroad, new disturbances were raised at home. When the time came for electing tribunes of the people, the multitude was for continuing those who had proposed the law for going to *Veii*; and the patricians were for re-electing those who had opposed it. The former prevailed; and the patricians, in revenge, restored the consular government. *L. Lucretius Flavus*, and *Severus Sulpitius Camernius*, were chosen consuls. The dispute about removing half of the people and the senate to *Veii* was renewed with great warmth. Two of the last year's tribunes of the people, who had opposed it, were cited to appear before the tribes, and fined ten thousand asses of brass. The whole senate was offended at this sentence, but especially *Camillus*, who advised the conscript fathers to appear in the *comitium*, when the tribes assembled to determine the affair, as men prepared to defend their temples, their household gods, and their country. They did so; and, by dint of prayers and intreaties, prevailed to have the law rejected, though it was only by a majority of one tribe. The senate was now so well pleased with the people, that, the very next morning, a decree was passed, assigning six acres of the lands of *Veii*, not only to every father of a family, but to every single person of free condition. On the other hand, the people, delighted with this liberality, made no opposition to the election of consuls. *L. Valerius Potitus*, and *M. Manlius Capitolinus*, were raised to the consulate: but before the expiration of this year, being seized with a contagious dis-

Consuls
created
instead of
military
tribunes.

* Plut. in *Camillo*. Liv. I.v, c. 26, 27.

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temper which then prevailed, the superstitious multitude, imagining they had been inauspiciously chosen, they resigned their office by order of the senate*.

Military tribunes elected again.

An inter-regnum for a few days followed this resignation, and after that six military tribunes were again elected. By a *census* taken this year, it appeared, that the number of citizens, able to bear arms, amounted to one hundred and fifty-two thousand, five hundred, and eighty-three †. No wonder, therefore, that numerous armies were often raised within the city only. The troops, since their receiving pay, were more obedient than formerly to their commanders, who kept them in the field summer and winter. They had never had a more gallant or experienced commander than *Camillus*. The frontiers of the republic were now extended above sixty miles beyond the *Tiber*; and the people seemed to be in a settled tranquility, and perfectly reconciled to the senate. But this unusual prosperity was interrupted by the *Gauls*: a memorable event which almost ruined the *Roman* nation. The occasion of it was this:

Clusium besieged by the Gauls.

Camillus banishes himself.

The Romans send deputies to the Gauls.

Arunx, one of the chief men of *Clusium* in *Hetruria*, had been guardian to a young lord of that country, who fell in love with his guardian's wife, and carried her away. *Arunx* applied to the *Hetrurians* for redress, and on their refusing to do him justice, he had recourse to the *Senones*, a nation of *Gauls*, and invited them into *Italy*. The *Gauls* readily agreed to this proposal. A numerous army was immediately formed, which passed the *Alps*, fell upon *Umbria*, and possessed themselves of all the country from *Ravenna* to *Picenum*, and at length laid siege to *Clusium*. The *Romans*, at other times so very jealous and watchful of every motion of their neighbours, seem now to have been under no apprehension of danger from the *Gauls*, notwithstanding their daily progress. So far from it, that they suffered the great *Camillus*, to be accused by one of the tribunes of the people, of having applied to his own use a brass door brought from *Veii*. *Camillus*, fired with indignation at this treatment, banished himself from *Rome*‡. He was no sooner gone than envoys arrived from *Clusium*, to implore the assistance of the republic against the *Gauls*. The senate, unwilling to quarrel with a people who had never offended them, sent a deputation of three young patricians, all brothers, and of the *Fabian* family, to bring about an accommodation between the two nations. Being conducted to *Brennus*, the leader of the *Gauls*, they offered the mediation of *Rome*, and asked what injury the *Clusini* had done him, or what pretensions any people from a remote country could have upon *Hetruria*. *Brennus* proudly answered, *That his right lay in his sword*,

* Liv. l. v. c. 29—31.

† Ibid. c. 31, 32.

‡ Liv. l. v. c. 32.

and

and that all things belonged to the brave. The *Fabii* were highly provoked at this haughty answer; but, dissembling their resentment, they desired leave to go into the town, under pretence of conferring with the magistrates. They were no sooner there than, forgetting their character, they spirited up the inhabitants to a vigorous defence, and even put themselves at the head of the besieged in a sally, in which *Q. Fabius*, the chief of the ambassadors, slew, with his own hands, one of the principal officers of the *Gauls*. Hereupon *Brennus*, calling the gods to witness the perfidiousness of the *Romans*, immediately broke up the siege of *Clusium*, and marched leisurely to *Rome*, having sent an herald before him to demand, that those ambassadors, who had manifestly violated the law of nations, should be delivered up to him. The affair was laid before the senate. The wisest and most prudent thought the demand just and reasonable; but as it concerned persons of great consequence, they referred it to an assembly of the people, who, instead of condemning the three brothers, raised them to the dignity of military tribunes at the very next election. *Brennus*, looking upon this as a high affront, hastened his march to *Rome*.*

The six military tribunes marched out of *Rome* at the head of forty thousand men, and advanced boldly against the *Gauls*, who were seventy thousand strong. The two enemies met near the river *Allia*, about sixty furlongs from *Rome*. The victory was decisive in favour of the *Gauls*, and the *Romans*, in the utmost disorder, instead of returning to *Rome*, fled to *Veii*. The next day, *Brennus* marched his troops into the neighbourhood of *Rome*, and encamped on the banks of the *Anio*. There his scouts brought him word, that the gates of the city lay open, and that not one *Roman* was to be seen on the ramparts. *Brennus*, not able to conceive the meaning of this, and suspecting some ambuscade, advanced very slowly, which gave the *Romans* an opportunity to throw into the capitol all the men that were fit to bear arms. The old men, women, and children, seeing the city quite defenceless, fled to the neighbouring towns. Amidst this general confusion, about fourscore of the most illustrious and venerable old men, rather than fly from their native country, chose to devote themselves to death by a vow, which *Fabius*, the high pontiff, pronounced in their names. The *Romans* believed, that by these voluntary devotements to the infernal gods, disorder and confusion was brought among the enemy. To complete their sacrifice with a solemnity becoming the magnanimity of the *Romans*, they dressed themselves in their pontifical, consular, and triumphal robes, according to their several ranks and stations, and repairing to the *forum*, seated themselves there in

* Liv. l. v. c. 36.

their

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their curule chairs, expecting the enemy and death with the greatest constancy*.

Brennus
enters
Rome.

At length, *Brennus* entered the city, the gates of which he found open, the walls without defence, and the houses without inhabitants. *Rome* appeared to him like a mere desert; and this solitude increased his perplexity. The walls of the citadel were the only place where he could see any armed men. Having secured all the avenues to the capitol with strong bodies of guards, he gave the rest of his soldiers leave to disperse themselves all over the city, and plunder it. He then advanced into the *forum* at the head of his troops, and was struck with admiration at the unexpected sight of the venerable old men, who had devoted themselves to death. The magnificence of their habits, the majesty of their countenances, the silence they kept, their modesty and constancy at the approach of the troops, struck the *Gauls* with such an awful reverence, that they almost took them for gods, and seemed afraid to advance. At length, one of the soldiers ventured to touch the beard of *M. Papirius*. The venerable old man, not used to such familiarity, gave him a blow on the head with his ivory staff. The soldier, in revenge, immediately killed him; and the others, following his example, slaughtered all the rest of these venerable *Romans*†. This seemed the signal for a general havock. The *Gauls* now broke open every place, dragged out all the *Romans* they met with, and, without distinction of age or sex, put them to the sword. *Brennus* then invested the capitol, but being repulsed with great loss, to be revenged of the *Romans* for their resistance, he ordered the city to be burnt, the temples and edifices to be destroyed, and the walls to be razed to the ground. Thus was the famous city of *Rome* entirely destroyed: nothing was to be seen in the place where it stood, but a few little hills covered with ruins, and a wide waste, in which the *Gauls* who invested the capitol were encamped. *Brennus*, finding that place impregnable by force, turned the siege into a blockade. In the mean time, his army being distressed for want of provisions, he sent out parties to pillage the fields, and raise contributions in the neighbouring cities. One of these parties appeared before *Ardea*, where the great *Camillus* had now spent two years in a private life. The affront he had received at *Rome* had not diminished his love for his country. More afflicted at her calamities, than at his own banishment, he desired to be admitted into the council of the *Ardeates*, and prevailed upon them to arm their youth, and refuse the *Gauls* admittance into their city.

Rome
burnt by
the *Gauls*.

Year of
Rome 365.

The *Gauls* encamped before the place, but observed neither order nor discipline, spending their time in merriment

* Plut. in Camillo. Liv. I. v. c. 37-40. † Liv. I. v. c. 41: and

and drinking, not thinking the *Ardeates* an enemy of any consequence. *Camillus*, taking advantage of their security, put himself at the head of the youth of the city, marched out of *Ardea* in a very dark night, surprized the *Gauls* head of drowned in wine, and made a dreadful slaughter of them. This defeat of the enemy revived the courage of the scattered *Romans*, and particularly of those who had retired to the *Gauls*. *Veii*, after the unfortunate battle of *Allia*. They resolved to send ambassadors to *Camillus*, to beseech him to take into his protection the wrecks of a fugitive people. But *Camillus* would not accept of the command of the troops, till the people, legally assembled by *curiæ*, had conferred it upon him : he thought that the public authority was lodged in the hands of those who were shut up in the capitol, and therefore insisted on having a commission from them. The difficulty was, how to procure it, the place being invested on all sides by the enemy. However, one *Pontius Cominius*, a man of mean birth, but bold, and ambitious of glory, undertook it. He swam down the *Tiber*, in the night, to the foot of the capitol, and, with great difficulty and infinite danger, climbed up the rock, and having made himself known to the guard, was conducted to the magistrates. The senate was immediately assembled ; *Pontius* gave them an account of *Camillus*'s victory, and a decree was instantly made out, appointing *Camillus* dictator, with which *Pontius* had the good luck to return safe. His promotion to this supreme command was no sooner known, but soldiers flocked from all parts to his camp, and he soon saw himself at the head of above forty thousand men, all of whom thought themselves invincible under so great a general*.

Whilst *Camillus* was taking measures to raise the blockade of the capitol, some *Gauls* perceived, by the print of *Pontius*'s hands and feet, and by the moss being torn off the rock in several places, that somebody had lately gone up to, and returned from that citadel. They communicated their discovery to *Brennus*, who thereupon ordered a number of chosen men to climb up the same way in the dead of night, surprise in order to surprise the place. They proceeded with such silence, that they were not discovered, either by the centinels who were upon guard in the citadel, or even by the dogs, that are usually awaked and alarmed at the least noise. But they could not escape the vigilance of the geese, a flock of which was kept in a court of the capitol, in honour of *Juno*, and near her temple. These, alarmed at the first approach of the *Gauls*, ran up and down, cackling, and beating their wings, till they awaked *Manlius*, a gallant officer, who some years before had been consul. He immediately discovered an alarm, and was the first man who mounted the and re-

* Plut. in Camill. Liv. I. v. c. 46.

rampart,

pulsed by rampart, where he found two Gauls already upon the wall, *M. Manlius*. One of these offered to discharge a blow at him with his battle-ax ; but *Manlius* struck off his right hand, and gave the other such a push with his buckler, that he threw him headlong from the top of the rock to the bottom. He, in his fall, drew many others with him. In the mean time, the Romans crowding to the place, beat down the rest of the Gauls, and very few got safe back to their camp †. Geese were ever after held in honour at *Rome*, and a flock of them was always kept at the public expence; whilst dogs were from this time held in abhorrence by the Romans, who every year impaled one of them on a branch of elder ‡.

The siege of the capitol had already lasted seven months, and famine began to be felt both by the besieged and besiegers. *Camillus* kept the Gauls pent up, so that they could not stir beyond their lines, and, besides this, a plague raged in their camp. *Camillus* waited only for a favourable opportunity to fall upon the enemy, and, in the mean time, he let them pine away in their infected camp; not knowing the extreme want the Romans endured in the capitol, where they were so destitute of all sorts of provisions, that it was not possible for them to subsist any longer. Neither *Camillus* nor the Romans in the capitol knew each other's situation, nor had the latter any notion of his being so near relieving them. In this situation, the besieged and the besiegers, equally distressed by hunger, entered upon a negociation, in which it was agreed, that the Romans should pay the Gauls a thousand pounds weight of gold, and that the latter should raise the siege of the capital, and quit the Roman territories. *Sulpitius*, the Roman tribune, brought the gold agreed on, and *Brennus* the scales and weights to weigh it. The weights, we are told, were false, and the scales untrue; which *Sulpitius* complaining of, *Brennus*, instead of redressing the injustice, threw his sword and belt into the scale where the weights were; and when the tribune asked him the meaning of so extraordinary a behaviour, the only answer he gave was *Væ victis! Woe to the conquered!* *Sulpitius* was so stung with this haughty answer, that he was for carrying the gold back into the capital, and sustaining the siege to the last extremity; but others thought it more adviseable to put up that affront, since they had already submitted to a far greater one, in consenting to pay any thing at all.

The Romans agree to purchase a peace for a thousand pounds weight of gold.

Camillus surprises Brennus,

While the gold was weighing, *Camillus*, who had advanced with his army, being informed of what was doing, hastened to the place of parley with the choicest of his men. The Romans, overjoyed at his unexpected arrival, opened

† Liv. l. v. c. 47. Plut. in Camill. et de fortuna Rom.

‡ Liv. l. v. c. 47. Plut. de fortuna Rom.

to make room for him, told him what treaty they had made and cuts with the *Gauls*, and how unjustly they were then used. the *Gauls* They had scarce done speaking, when *Camillus* cried out, all to *Carry back this gold into the capitol ; and you, Gauls, retire pieces. with your scales and weights.* Rome must not not be redeemed with gold, but with steel.

Brennus replied, that he contravened a treaty, which was concluded and confirmed with mutual oaths. Be it so, answered *Camillus*, yet it is of no force, having been made by an inferior magistrate, without the privity or consent of the dictator. I, who am invested with the supreme authority over the Romans, declare the contract void. At these words *Brennus* flew into a rage, and both sides drawing their swords, a scuffle ensued in the midst of the ruined buildings, the *Gauls* were worsted, retired to their camp, and marched away in the night. *Camillus* pursued them the next day, and gave them a total overthrow. The few that escaped death in the battle, wandered up and down in the fields, where they fell an easy prey to the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages. In short, not a single *Gaul* was left, to carry his countrymen the news of this catastrophe.

The city being now quite demolished, and its walls razed, the tribunes of the people renewed, with more warmth passed for than ever, the project for dividing the senate and government between *Veii* and *Rome*. Some were even for abandoning the doing entirely this last place, and for making *Veii* the sole seat of the empire. The people too were, in general, for this opinion ; but *Camillus*, and with him the senate, were for rebuilding the old city ; and their advice prevailed. A decree was passed accordingly *.

Though the tribunes of the people were defeated by *Ca- Q. Fabius, millus* in this point, they succeeded, and indeed justly, in cited before their attack upon another patrician. This was *Q. Fabius*, who had violated the law of nations, and thereby provoked the *Gauls*, and occasioned the burning of *Rome*. He was killed him- summoned before the assembly of the people ; but, conscious of his guilt, he killed himself, to avoid the shame of a public punishment †. On the other hand, the republic gave a house, situated close by the capitol, to *M. Manlius*, as a monument of his valour, and of the gratitude of his fellow citizens. *Camillus* closed this year by laying down his dictatorship ; whereupon an *inter-regnum* ensued, during which he governed the state alternately with *P. Cornelius Scipio* ; and it fell to his lot to preside at the election of new magistrates, whose first care was to collect all the antient monuments of the religious and civil laws of *Rome*, which could be found among the ruins of the demolished city. Their next care was to rebuild the city. The ædiles had the direction of the works, but so little taste for order or

* Plut. in Camill. Liv. I. v. c. 50-55.

† Liv. I. vi. c. 1.

beauty,

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beauty, that the streets and buildings were made even less regular than in the time of *Romulus*; a defect, which still subsisted in *Augustus's* time, when *Rome* was the capital and mistress of the world. *Plutarch* tells us, that as the workmen were digging among the ruins of the temple of *Mars*, they found *Romulus'* augural staff, untouched by the flames; and that this was looked upon as a prodigy, from whence the *Romans* inferred, that their city would continue for ever.

**Year of
Rome 369.**

**Camillus,
a third
time dic-
tator.**

**Defeats
the *Volsci*
and *La-
tines*.**

**Recovers
Sutrium
from the
*Hetruri-
ans*.**

**New dis-
turbances
raised by
the tri-
bunes.**

Rome was scarce restored, when all her neighbours entered into a confederacy against her. The *Æqui*, the *Volsci*, the *Hetrurians*, and even her old allies the *Latines* and the *Hernici*, joined to oppress her, before she had recovered her strength. In this danger, *Camillus* was nominated dictator a third time. He appointed *C. Servilius* his general of the horse, and ordered all the citizens to take arms, not excepting even the old men. These levies were divided into three bodies. The first, commanded by *A. Manlius*, encamped under the walls of *Rome*; the second was sent into the neighbourhood of *Veii*; and *Camillus* himself, at the head of the third, marched to the relief of the tribunes, who were closely besieged in their camp by the united forces of the *Volsci* and the *Latines*. The enemies were encamped on the declivity of a hill, and, on the news of *Camillus's* approach, shut themselves up in their camp. *Camillus* forced it, defeated the enemy, and divided the spoil among his soldiers. He then entered the country of the *Æqui*, took their capital city *Bola*, and from thence marched against the *Volsci*, whom he entirely reduced, after they had waged war with the *Romans* for an hundred and seven years. After this, he penetrated into *Hetruria*, in order to relieve *Sutrium*, a town in that country in alliance with *Rome*, and besieged by a numerous army of *Hetrurians*. The place, reduced to the utmost distress, had been obliged to surrender before he could possibly arrive. The *Hetrurians* were then wholly taken up with plundering the houses, carrying off the booty, and feasting on the provisions they had found in the city, not dreaming that *Camillus* was so near. He fell upon them, put many to the sword, made an incredible number of prisoners, and restored the city to its antient inhabitants. He then returned to *Rome*, and entered it a third time in triumph †, after which he resigned his dictatorship, and six new military tribunes were chosen.

Rome being now reinstated in her former flourishing condition, the tribunes of the people, who had been for some time quiet, began to renew the old quarrel about the division of the conquered lands: but the poverty of the people, who would not have been able to stock those lands, if they

* Plut. in Camill.

had had them, soon put an end to the dispute, and the *Pomptine* territory, lately taken from the *Volsci*, remained in the hands of the patricians.

The expectation of an approaching war induced the centuries to chuse *Camillus* one of the military tribunes for the chosenone next year. His colleagues, all men of moderation, agreed to invest him with the sole management of affairs in time of war, and accordingly, in full senate, transferred all their bunes. power into his hands ; so that he became in effect dictator.

It had been already determined to turn the arms of the republic against the *Hetrurians* ; but, upon advice that the *Antiates* had entered the *Pomptine* territory, and obliged the *Romans* to retire, it was thought proper first to humble them.

The *Antiates* had been joined by the *Latins* and *Hernici*, and were so extremely numerous, that the *Roman* soldiers ates, *Latines*, *Hernici* seemed backward to engage. *Camillus*, observing this, tines, and mounted his horse, rode through all the ranks of his army, *Hernici* and encouraged his troops as much as possibly he could ; defeated then, dismounting, he took the next standard-bearer by the hand, and, leading him towards the enemy, cried out, *Sol-lus*. *diers, advance*. Animated by the example of their general, they fell upon the enemy with prodigious fury. *Camillus*, to increase their eagerness still more, ordered a standard to be thrown into the midst of the enemy's battalions. His troops, eager to recover it, rushed on with such violence, that the *Antiates*, unable to resist them, gave way, and were intirely defeated. The *Latines* and *Hernici* separated from the *Volsci*, and returned home. The *Volsci* took refuge in the neighbouring city of *Sutricum*, which *Camillus* immeditately invested, and took by assault ; as he also did, soon after, the city of *Nepet*, which had surrendered to the *Hetrurians*. *Nepet* and *Sutrium* were the keys of *Hetruria*. This last was also besieged by the *Hetrurians*, and reduced to great streights, the enemy being already in possession of its gates ; but *Camillus* forced them to retreat, with great slaughter.

M. Manlius, who had saved the capitol, jealous of *Camillus*'s glory, practised every art he could devise to ingratiate himself with the people, and supplant *Camillus* in their ofaspiring esteem ; courting the multitude, and even entering into the atsupreme faction of the tribunes of the people. Though he was a power. patrician, he inveighed against the nobility, and espoused the cause of the people, in the affair of the distribution of lands. He opposed the rich, whenever they seized their debtors, and set at liberty those who were already in chains ; so that he was always attended by a kind of guard, of those he had so assisted. The senate, alarmed at *Manlius*'s pro-

* Liv. 1. vi. c. 7, 8.

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ceeding, thought it necessary to create a dictator, to prevent the evil consequences of his too great popularity, and to crush the rising faction. The army which the *Volsci* had just then raised, furnished them with a specious pretence.

Cornelius Cossus dictator. The dictatorship was given to *A. Cornelius Cossus*, who came to an engagement with the *Volsci* in the *Pomptine* territory, and intirely defeated them, though they were much more numerous than the *Romans*. The dictator kept his army in the field till the disturbances raised by the factious *Manlius* called him back to the city.

Year of Rome 373. *Manlius's* discourses were openly seditious, and, besides his paying the debts of numbers of plebeians, in order to gain their affection, he sold by public auction part of his paternal estate, and declared, that he designed to apply the whole to the paying of the debts of insolvent debtors. He went further yet, giving out, that the nobility, not satisfied with robbing the people of their right to a share in the conquered lands, had concealed, with an intent to appropriate to their own use, the gold which was to have been given to the *Gauls*, and had been raised by the voluntary contributions of all the citizens then in the capitol : a treasure, which alone would be sufficient to discharge all the debts of the poor plebeians. He even promised to shew them, in due time, the place where this treasure was concealed ; so that the whole care of the people was to draw those riches out of the hands of the patricians. Such proceedings were justly looked upon as extremely dangerous in a republican state, always alarmed at anything that tended in the least to monarchy. *Manlius* was cited to appear before the dictator. He obeyed the summons, but came attended with his usual guard. The dictator challenged him to declare, as he had promised, the persons who had concealed the pretended treasures, and the place where they were hid ; threatening otherwise to send him to prison as an incendiary and a flanderer. His answers were so plainly evasive and insolent, that the dictator immediately ordered him to be seized and carried to prison. This sentence was immediately executed, without the least opposition : such was the ready submission of the *Romans* to the command of a lawful magistrate. His most zealous adherents expressed their concern only by habits of mourning.

Manlius committed to prison.

The senate releases him

The seditious spirit of the populace revived as soon as *Cossus's* dictatorship expired. The multitude, now free from the dread of an uncontrollable magistrate, no longer kept within any bounds, but surrounded *Manlius's* prison day and night, and threatened to break it open. The senate, fearing the consequences of this fury of the incensed populace, thought to quiet the disturbance by releasing him. But this timorous proceeding only gave the seditious a

† Plut. ibid. Liv. I. vi. c. ii.

leader, provoked by the shame of his imprisonment, and incapable of following sober counsels §. Accordingly, the moment he was at liberty, he began his factious intrigues anew. His house was crowded day and night with the mutinous, whom he harangued without reserve, exhorting them to shake off the yoke they groaned under, to abolish dictatorships and consulates, to establish an exact equality among all the members of one and the same republic, and to make themselves an head, who would govern and keep in awe the patricians as well as the people. “*If you judge me worthy of that honour, said he, the more power you give me, the sooner you will be in possession of what you have so long wished for. I desire authority with no other view but to make you all happy.*” It is said, that a plot was formed to seize the citadel, and declare him king. The senate, alarmed at the danger which threatened the state, ordered the military tribunes to be watchful, that the republic received no damage; a form of words which was never used but in the greatest dangers, and which invested those magistrates with an authority almost equal to that of a dictator. After this, different means were proposed for defeating the evil designs of *Manlius*. Some were for assassinating him; but *M. Mænius* and *Q. Publilius*, two of the tribunes of the people, thought it more adviseable to take him off by the usual forms of law, and offered to prosecute him before the *comitia*, not doubting but the people peached would immediately desert him, when they saw their own tribunes become his accusers. This advice was approved, by two and *Manlius* was summoned to his trial before the *comitia* by tribunes centuries. The crime laid to his charge was his aiming at of the sovereign power. He appeared before his judges in deep mourning; but neither his own brothers, nor any of his relations, changed their dress, or solicited the judges in his behalf, as was usually done by the friends of a person accused; so much did the love of liberty prevail in the hearts of the Romans, over all the ties of blood and kindred. He was found guilty, and condemned to be thrown headlong down from the very capitol which he had saved. His house was razed to the ground; and it was decreed, that no patrician should ever after dwell on the capitol.

The *Volfci* threatened the republic with a new war; the cities of *Circei* and *Velitræ* had actually revolted; *Lanuvium*, till now ever faithful to *Rome*, declared against her, and all the cities of *Latium* seemed ready to rise. The *Prænestini* too were already in arms. To add to the misfortunes of the Romans, a plague, which broke out immediately after the execution of *Manlius*, and which the fickle and superstitious multitude ascribed to the anger of *Jupiter* against the

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authors of his death*, still raged in the city. However, the senate judging it absolutely necessary that war should be declared against the several enemies of *Rome*, assembled the people, and, with their consent, decreed a war. *Camillus* was raised a sixth time to the military tribuneship. The command of the army which was to be employed against the *Volsci*, was decreed to *Camillus* by the senate; but it fell by lot to *L. Furius* to be joined with him. These two generals took the field at the head of sixteen thousand men. They soon came up with the *Volsci*, who were far more numerous, and, contrary to the advice of *Camillus*, *Furius* attacked them with great violence. The *Romans* were repulsed, and obliged to retire in great disorder. The *Volsci* pursued them to the very gates of their camp. *Camillus*, who, either because he was not well, or that he was unwilling to have any concern in what he foresaw would be the consequence of *Furius*'s rash attempt, had remained in his camp with a body of reserve, no sooner heard that the *Romans* were defeated, than he quitted his tent, and hastening to the assistance of the flying legions, put himself at the head of his reserve, rallied the fugitives, and obliged the

The Romans, engage the *Volsci*, but are repulsed.

The Volsci defeated by *Camillus*.

The *Volsci* enemy to retire, which was all he could do that day. The next day, drawing up his troops in the plain, he renewed the engagement. The numerous army of the *Volsci* was entirely routed, their camp taken, and their chief commanders either killed or made prisoners †.

T. Quinctius dictator, defeats the Prænestini, and takes Præneste.

The administration of the next military tribunes was disturbed by domestic seditions and a foreign war. The latter was occasioned by some incursions of the *Prænestini*, and the former by the election of new censors, which the patricians wanted to keep off for fear of a *census*, which would discover their riches and excessive usury, and which the tribunes of the people used their utmost endeavours to bring on as soon as possible. The disputes ran so high that the senate, thinking it necessary to have recourse to the usual grand expedient in cases of extremity, named *Titus Quinctius dictator*. The necessary troops were raised without opposition. *Quinctius*, coming up with the *Prænestini*, near the banks of the *Allia*, gave them a total overthrow, took all their strong holds in a few days, and then appeared before *Præneste*, which capitulated. He returned to *Rome*, entered the city in triumph, and then laid down his office, which had lasted but twenty-five days ‡.

Of the six military tribunes for the next year, three were patricians, and three plebeians. The two *Manlii*, who were patricians, were appointed to command the army against the *Volsci*. But the *Romans* had soon occasion to repent their

* Plut. in *Camill.* Liv. l. vi. c. 20.

† Liv. l. vi. c. 23, 24. ‡ Ibid. c. 28, 29.

their

their choice: for the *Volsi*, artfully drawing the two generals, who had separated their forces, into narrow passes, hemmed them in in such a manner, that, had they not fought with even man camp desperate bravery, they must all have been cut to pieces. taken and They lost a prodigious number of men; and, to add to their plundered misfortune, whilst they were wholly intent on defending by the themselves against one body of the enemy's army, another *Volsi*, plundered the two *Roman* camps without resistance.

The next year, only patricians were chosen for military Two centribunes; and two censors were also elected, who set about for relieving the poor debtors from the oppression of their avaricious creditors. But this work was interrupted by a fresh incursion of the *Volsi*. Two armies were raised, which marched different ways into the enemy's country, laid it waste, and returned to *Rome* with an immense booty; the *Volsi* not daring even to appear. The next year, the *Latines* and the *Volsi* entering into a new confederacy against the republic, took the field together, and encamped near *Satricum*. Three *Roman* armies were raised without the least opposition. One of them was to guard the city; another to be ready to march on the first notice; and the third, and most numerous, marched against the enemy, under the command of *P. Valerius* and *L. Æmilius*. A battle soon ensued, but was interrupted by so violent a rain, that neither party could keep the field. It was renewed the next day, at first, with pretty equal success on both sides; but, at length, the *Latines* were put in disorder, and the whole confederate army was defeated. Of those that escaped, some fled to *Satricum*, and others to *Antium*. The *Antiates*, not thinking their city in a condition to hold out long, were for surrendering to the *Romans* on honourable terms; and, indeed, the rest of the *Volsi*, being also weary of the war, seemed to desire peace. Upon this, the *Latines* separated from them in a violent rage, and vented their fury upon *Satricum*, which, though belonging to their friends, they reduced to ashes. From thence they marched into the country of the *Tusculans*, surprized their city, and put all the inhabitants they met with to the sword, for their having renounced the *Latine* confederacy, and accepted the privileges of *Roman* citizens. Those who had retired into the citadel, with their wives and children, sent to the *Romans*, to acquaint them with their situation. An army was immediately sent to their relief; *Tusculum* was taken by assault, and all the *Latines* within the walls were put to the sword,

A peace concluded with the *Antiates*, and the defeat of the *Latines*, gave the republic an interval of rest from foreign wars: but at home, the avarice and over-bearing temper of the patricians increased the misery of the poorer sort of people, whose condition grew insufferably hard. The spirits, not only of the meaner plebeians, but even of the most con-

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fiderable of that order, were so sunk by a series of cruel oppression, that, indifferent what might happen, they not only ceased to stand in competition with the nobles for the military tribuneship, but even neglected to sue for the plebeian magistracies. To this succeeded, on a sudden, as great a violence for the other extreme, occasioned by the trifling accident of a woman, whose elder sister, married to a patrician, at that time one of the military tribunes, was treated with the honours due to her rank, whilst she herself, being married to a plebeian, was considered only in the light of any other woman. She complained to her father of the great difference between her sister's condition and her own. Her father, who was very fond of her, bid her not be uneasy, and assured her, that she should soon be as much honoured as her sister. To this end, he entered into an association with his plebeian son in-law, *Licinius Stolo*, and *L. Sextius*, a young plebeian of great parts, who wanted nothing but a noble birth to qualify him for the highest offices of the republic. Their design was to abolish the military tribuneship, restore the consulship, procure the plebeians a share in that supreme dignity, and, in short, to put the patricians and plebeians upon an equal footing. To this end it was thought expedient, that *Licinius* and *Sextius* should begin with getting the plebeian tribuneship for the next year, as a step towards their rising afterwards to the highest dignities. Having gained this first point, they bent all their thoughts and power to destroy the grandeur of the patricians, and promote the interest of the people. They immediately proposed a law for suppressing the military tribuneship, restoring the consulate, and requiring, that of the two consuls to be annually chosen, one should always be a plebeian. To engage the people to pass this law, they added two others to it, relating to the debts and the conquered lands. The first was, That whatever interest had been paid, should be reckoned as a discharge of so much of the principal, and that the remainder should be paid at different equal payments. The second, that no *Roman* citizen should possess more than five hundred acres of land; and that whatever any one had beyond that limitation, should be taken from him, and divided among the poorer citizens.

Licinius
and *Sextius*
at-
tempt to
put the
patricians
and ple-
beians up-
on an e-
qual foot-
ing.

They are
opposed
by the
other tri-
bunes.

The patricians, alarmed and terrified, met frequently to consider how they might best avert the impending evil. No method seemed to them so effectual as that of dividing the tribunes of the people, and engaging one part of the college to oppose the attempts of the other. Accordingly, they gained over the other eight, who, as often as *Licinius* and *Sextius* assembled the people, in order to get their law passed, always entered their protest against it. *Licinius* and *Sextius*, in their turns, to be revenged of their colleagues, as constantly protested against whatever they proposed. This perverse opposition, sometimes by one side, and sometimes by

by the other, was sure to be renewed upon every occasion during five years that these two plebeian tribunes were continued in their office : the consequence was, that the republic fell into a kind of anarchy, none but plebeian officers, that is, tribunes and aediles, being elected. The patricians were, by this means, entirely excluded from the government ; and this intermission of superior magistrates placed *Licinius* and *Sextius*, who were at the head of the tribunes of the people, in some degree, at the head of the republic.

Licinius and *Sextius* were elected tribunes of the people a sixth time, when the *Veliterni* declared war against *Rome*, over-ran the lands of the republic, and even laid siege to the city of *Tusculum*. Upon this occasion the tribunes waved their opposition, and suffered an army to be raised, with which six patricians, in quality of military tribunes, marched against the enemy, defeated them, raised the siege of *Tusculum*, and invested *Velitrae*. This city holding out till the year of the present military tribunes was expired, six new ones were therefore created, among whom, unfortunately for the patricians, was *Fabius Ambustus*, the father in law of *Licinius Stolo*. The promotion of this man encouraged the tribunes of the people to pursue their point with redoubled vigour. They found means to gain over three of their colleagues, so that of the ten tribunes, five were now for the publication of the laws, and five against it.

The eighth year of the plebeian tribuneship of *Licinius* and *Sextius*, and likewise that of the military tribunes, expiring before the return of the army from the siege of *Velitrae*, new ones were chosen, and *Licinius* and *Sextius* were still continued in their office, the people being eager to have these two opposers of the patrician party carry on their designs, and complete them. The *Roman* army was no sooner returned, than *Licinius* and *Sextius* summoned the people, and declared, that they would proceed to the publication of the law, without any regard to the opposition of their colleagues. The patricians, seeing their cause desperate, had recourse to the last refuge, which was, to nominate a dictator.

Camillus, the fittest man to sit at the helm in so tempestuous a season, was raised a fourth time to that high dignity. From the moment of his nomination, the power of the tribunes ought to have been suspended ; but *Licinius* and *Sextius* still continued to assemble the people, and read to them the laws which they had drawn up. The tribes had already begun to vote in favour of the laws, when the dictator, full of indignation, and attended by a great body of patricians, repaired to the assembly, and there seated himself on his tribunal. He then declared, that he was come to support the privileges of the people ; and that he would never suffer one part of the tribunes to deprive the other of their right of opposition. The two heads of the tribunes, without

paying any regard to what he said, continued to collect the votes, which so provoked *Camillus*, that he ordered his lictors to drive away the tribes, protesting, that if they did not disperse immediately, he would assemble them in the laws *Campus Martius*, inlist them, and make them march directly into the field. The tribunes had the boldness to threaten the dictator, that as soon as his dictatorship was expired, they would get him condemned in a fine of fifty thousand drachmæ, if he prevented the people from giving their suffrages. However, the tribes, terrified at the menaces of a magistrate who had the power of life and death, retired, and the *comitia* were postponed to another day. *Camillus*, seeing that no good could be done, either by authority or persuasion, withdrew to his own house, and soon after laid down his office*.

P. Manlius *dictator.* After a short *inter-regnum*, the senate named *P. Manlius* to succeed *Camillus*. *Manlius* soon shewed himself a great favourer of the people; for the first thing he did was to appoint a plebeian his general of the horse. *Sextius* and *Licinius* now thought themselves sure of bringing their designs to bear. They assembled the people, who were very earnest to pass the laws concerning the debts and conquered lands, but who did not like either the law by which one of the consuls was always to be a plebeian, or that by which the *duumviri*, who kept the *sibylline* books were to be changed into *decemvirs*, and told them, that if they would not suffer all of them to be passed, they should have none. Notwithstanding this difference, *Licinius* and *Sextius* were chosen tribunes the tenth time; and soon after this re-election, they obtained the passing of the law relating to the *decemvirs*.

Camillus *dictator* for the fifth time. Six military tribunes, all patricians, were created for the next year, without disturbance. In the very beginning of their administration, the tribunes used their utmost efforts to get the other laws passed, and the disputes ran so high on both sides, that the citizens were upon the point of taking up arms against each other, when news was brought to *Rome*, that a numerous army of *Gauls* was in full march from the coasts of the *Adriatic*, to revenge the defeat of their countrymen. The approach of so tremendous an enemy suspended all domestic divisions. Both parties united, and agreed to name a dictator. The great *Camillus*, now fourscore years of age, was raised to this dignity the fifth time. Old as he was, he undertook this charge with pleasure, for Year of *Rome* 401. his country's sake, and, coming up with the *Gauls* on the banks of the *Anio*, once more defeated them, with prodigious slaughter. Those who escaped the sword of the conquerors, fled into *Apulia*. Some writers are of opinion, that the *Gauls*, from this time the *Gauls* began to spread themselves into *Il-*

* Liv. I. iv. c. 38.

Lycum, Pannonia, Thrace, Greece, and Asia Minor. After this, the dictator led his victorious army against *Velitræ*, the siege of which had been interrupted. The *Veliterni* immediately submitted to him, without the least resistance, and he returned to *Rome*, where the honours of a triumph were decreed him both by the senate and people*.

The republic was in too great a ferment for the senate to consent to his resigning the dictatorship. The patricians thought, that under the shelter of his great name, and absolute authority, they should be better able to contend with their adversaries : for the people, proud of their late victory, were more obstinately bent than ever on passing the laws so long disputed. *Sextius* and *Licinius*, seeing themselves backed and supported by the multitude, grew more audacious than ever, and took a most extraordinary step to effect their purpose. As the dictator was one day sitting on his tribunal in the *forum*, an officer, sent by those tribunes, commanded him to rise and follow him, insolently laying his hand upon him, at the same time, as if he designed to seize him, and carry him away by force. Hereupon such a noise and tumult arose in the *forum*, as never had been heard before ; the patricians, who attended *Camillus*, driving back the officer, and the multitude at the foot of the tribunal crying out, *Pull him down, pull him down.* The tribunes design was, by this violence, to frighten *Camillus* into an abdication ; but he, though at a loss what to do in this exigence, would not lay down the authority which had been legally conferred upon him. In the midst of this confusion, he took refuge in the senate-house, whither the patricians followed him, and there the demands of the people and their tribunes were taken into consideration. On this occasion, *Camillus* made a vow to build a temple to *Concord*, in case he succeeded in quieting their commotions. As the populace could not be prevailed upon, by any means, to abate of their pretensions, it was at length resolved to comply with their request, and to accept the three laws in question, as the only means to extinguish their obstinate fury. Thus the government was changed, the consulate revived, and the military tribuneship laid aside for ever †.

The tribunes
bunescend
to seize
Camillus,
dictator.

The people having thus carried their point, the *comitia* were held for the election of consuls, when *L. Æmilius Mancinus* and *L. Sextius*, the plebeian tribune, was raised to consul. that dignity ; but the senate absolutely refused to confirm the election of *Sextius*. New disputes arose on this occasion, and were carried to so great a height, that the people were ready to leave *Rome*, and separate themselves from the patricians, as they had formerly done. All the wisdom or

* Plut. in *Camill.* Liv. I. vi. c. 41.

† Plut. *ibid.* Liv. *ibid.*

so great a man as *Camillus* was necessary to bring about an accommodation. The consuls, and military tribunes, who long supplied their places, were generals of the *Roman* armies, and, at the same time, judges of civil affairs. As they could not attend to both at the same time, *Camillus*'s expedient was, to separate this last function from the consulate, and to create a judge with the title of *Prætor*. He advised the senate to suffer one consul to be chosen annually out of the plebeians, on condition that the *prætors* should always be patricians*. This was agreed to by both parties; the election of *Sextius* was confirmed; and all feuds and dissensions in the republic were laid aside†.

Tranquility being thus restored, the senate, in gratitude to the gods, ordered the great games to be celebrated; and two curule ædiles were created, chosen from among the patricians, to preside at them. The temple of *Concord*, which *Camillus* had vowed, was built at the expence of the public, upon an eminence at the foot of the capitol. Thus ended a year so glorious for *Camillus*. He had overcome the most formidable enemies of *Rome*, restored peace to the republic, and calmed the people, without exasperating the nobility. Full of glory, and of years, he laid down the dictatorship, wholly bent on spending the small remainder of his days in the repose and tranquility of a private life.

*Under the consulship of L. Genucius, a plebeian, and Servilius Abala, a patrician, a dreadful plague broke out in Rome, which swept away prodigious numbers; among the rest, one censor, three tribunes of the people, and one curule ædile: but the most fatal stroke of all was the death of the great Camillus, who was much regretted by all ranks of people. He was deservedly styled a second Romulus; the first having founded, and he restored, the city**. He is said never to have fought a battle, without gaining a complete victory; never to have besieged a city, without taking it; and never to have led an army into the field, which he did not bring back loaded both with glory and booty. He was a zealous patriot, and, though persecuted by his ungrateful country, would never listen to his just resentments. The

Death of
Camillus.

His cha-
racter.

* They were afterwards chosen out of either the patricians or plebeians, as the people pleased. The prætorship was then looked upon as the second dignity in the republic, the prætor being elected in the *comitia* by centuries, and under the same auspices as the consuls; so that they were in a manner colleagues. The consul had the management of political and military affairs; and the prætor was the chief magistrate concerned in the administration of justice. At first, only one prætor was appointed; but the number of prætors was afterwards increased, at different times, as we shall observe in the course of this history.

† Liv. I. vii. c. 1. * Ibid. s. 2,

necessities

necessities of the public no sooner obliged the people to have recourse to him, than, forgetting the affronts he had received, he took upon him the conduct of the most difficult and laborious affairs. He was a patrician by descent, but not actuated by party-zeal, his love for the public being the only rule of his conduct. He favoured the plebeians, when the interest of the public required him so to do, but without flattery, or self-interest. He had nothing in view, but to do every one justice, and put an end to the dissentions which weakened the republic; so that he left his country in the enjoyment of a perfect tranquility, at his death, by means of the equality he had wisely introduced, and the just balance he had settled between all orders of men in the republic. *Rome* may be said to have furnished the world with many noble patterns of probity, but none perhaps more perfect than that of the incomparable *Camillus*.

The *Hernici* were the first enemies that disturbed the peace which *Rome* now enjoyed. Encouraged by the distressed *mans* desituation to which the plague had reduced the *Romans*, they feated by revolted, and attacked the territory of the republic. *Genu-* the *Her-*
cius, the first plebeian who had ever been consul, was sent *nisi*, who against them with an army; but he fell into an ambuscade, are con- in which his troops abandoned him, and he was killed. quered by Hereupon it was resolved to create a dictator. *Servilius*, the *Appius* surviving consul, named to that high office *Appius Claudius, Claudio-* the most inveterate enemy of the plebeian party, that he Year of might repair the losses which the republic had sustained by *Rome* 462. the mismanagement of a plebeian consul*. The dictator, with a new army, marched against the *Hernici*; and, after an obstinate battle, defeated them, and pursued them to their camp, which, night coming on, he could not then attempt to force; and the next morning the *Romans* found it abandoned. This victory is said to have cost the *Romans* a fourth part of their army, and a great number of knights.

As the most violent enemy of the plebeians had been nominated dictator the last year by the patricians, so the most enterprising adversary of the nobility, *C. Licinius Stolo*, was now raised to the rank of consul, by the plebeians; and with him *C. Sulpicius*, furname *Peticus*. The two consuls entered the enemy's country together, and took *Ferentium*, *Ferentium* formerly a city of the *Volsci*, but since given up to the *Her-* taken, *nici* by the *Romans*. After the surrender of this place, they took the road to *Rome*; but, when they came to *Tybur*, they were surprized to find the gates of that city shut against them; and, upon enquiry, found that the *Tyburtes* were in secret alliance with the *Gauls*, who were again in motion. The apprehension of a war with so formidable an enemy,

* Liv. I. vii. c. 6.

made them determine to create a dictator. *T. Quintius Pennus* was nominated to that dignity, and he appointed *Cn. Cornelius* to be his general of the horse. While the Romans were preparing for the war, the Gauls advanced as far as the banks of the *Anio*, within three miles of *Rome*. The Roman army, under the command of the dictator, advanced to meet them, and encamped on the opposite bank of the river. A bridge was between them, which became the place of several combats between the champions of both armies. Among others, a Gaul of gigantic stature, and fierce aspect, advancing upon the bridge, cried out, with a loud voice, *Let the bravest man in the Roman army enter the lists with me; the success of our combat shall determine which is the most valiant nation.* Not a Roman offered to accept the challenge, till young *Manlius*, the son of him who saved the capitol, touched with the affront offered to the Roman name, begged the dictator's leave to encounter the Gaul. His request being granted, he changed his round buckler, which he wore as a Roman knight, for a square one, and took a short sword. That of the Gaul was very long and heavy. *Manlius*, parrying the first blow that was aimed at him, closed in with his adversary, before he could recover himself, and stabbed him in two places. The Gaul fell: *Manlius* cut off his head, and, without troubling himself about the rest of his spoils, only tore a golden collar from his neck, and, bloody as it was, put it about his own, in token of victory. Hence he got the surname of *Torquatus*, which he transmitted to his posterity. The event of this combat so discouraged the Gauls, that they abandoned their camp in the night, and retired into *Campania* †.

The two consuls for the next year, *C. Pætilius Lilo*, and *M. Fabius Ambustus*, were ordered, the former to go and punish the *Tyburtes*, and the latter to march against the *Hernici*, who still persisted in their revolt. They had no sooner left *Rome* but the Gauls appeared again, and advanced so near the city that they blocked up the gate *Collina*. The senate, not chusing to recall either of the consuls, desired them to name a dictator. They made choice of *Servilius Abala*, who, arming all the young men that were left in *Rome*, came to an engagement with the Gauls under the very walls of the city, and defeated them with great slaughter. They fled to *Tybur*, and took shelter there, notwithstanding the consul *Pætilius*'s endeavour to intercept and cut them off. *Fabius*, on his side, fought the *Hernici* with success, and overcame them in a general action. Thus was the republic this year victorious on all sides. *Servilius* declined the honours of a triumph, and, on his return to *Rome*, abdicated

Young
Manlius
kills a
champion
of the
Gauls.

Servilius
Abala,
dictator,
defeats
the Gauls
and *Her-*
nici.

† Liv. 1. vii. c. 9, 10, 11. Oros. 1. v. c. 6.

the dictatorship. *Pætilius* had a triumph; and his colleague, *Fabius*, an ovation †.

The next year, the *Tyburtes* came, in the dead of the night, *The Hernici* to the very gates of *Rome*, and alarmed the city with an apprehension that the *Gauls* were come again. They were easily repulsed the next day. The consuls for the following year were *C. Fabius Ambustus* and *C. Plautius Proculus*. The latter marched against the *Hernici*, and totally subdued them; but the former, being sent against the *Tarquinenses*, who had entered the *Roman* territory in arms, was defeated by them. This disadvantage was followed by a new alarm from the *Boii*, who appeared on a sudden in the plain of *Præneste*, and had advanced within ten miles of *Rome*. The *Latines*, very seasonably, renewed their alliance, and furnished such a body of troops, that the republic, with this reinforcement, was able to make head against all her enemies. As the two consuls were employed elsewhere, *Sulpicius*, surnamed *Peticus*, was created dictator, to conduct the war against the *Gauls*. He named *M. Valerius* his general of the horse, and marched against the enemy with the best legions of the two consular armies. Both sides were impatient to come to a battle; but the dictator, knowing that the *Gauls* must soon be distressed for want of provision, restrained the impetuosity of his troops as long as he could, till at length they openly declared, that they would either attack the enemy without his leave, or quit the camp, and march back to *Rome*. *Sulpicius*, to quiet his soldiers, was forced to engage the *Gauls* the next day. The fight was very obstinate; but, by the valour of *Sulpicius*, *Sulpicius* ended in favour of the *Romans*. The *Gauls* were, almost all, *Peticus* cut to pieces. *Sulpicius* was honoured with a triumph; after defeats which he resigned the dictatorship, and the government returned into the hands of the two consuls for the year. During their administration, a law was passed against canvassing for votes at elections.

Under the succeeding consuls, *C. Martius Rutilus*, and *Ca. Manlius Imperiosus*, the interest of money, which before was arbitrary, was settled at one per cent. A law was likewise made against holding the *comitia* for elections anywhere but at *Rome*, in order to guard against the influence of the military people, particularly the consuls, in case they should think of assembling them in the camp.

The two consuls for the following year, *M. Fabius Ambustus*, and *M. Popilius Lænas*, were employed; the first against the *Falisci*, the *Tyburtes*, who, not appearing in the field, had their country ravaged and plundered; and the latter against the *Falisci*, *quinientes*, and *Tarquinenses*, over whom he gained some advantage; but all *Hetruria* taking up arms against him, he was obliged to return.

† Liv. l. vii. c. 11, 12.

Year of
Rome 407.
C. Martius Rutilus, dictator.

Triumphs
over the
Hetruri-
ans.

retire *. Upon his retreat, a numerous army of *Hetrurians* advanced within a few miles of *Rome*. This obliged the *Romans* to have recourse to a dictator. The consul *Papilius*, who was himself a plebeian, in the absence of his colleague, pitched upon *C. Martius Rutilus*, the plebeian consul for the last year; and he likewise chose a plebeian, *C. Plautius Proculus*, for his general of the horse. The patricians, highly provoked at these promotions, did all they could to prevent the dictator from having such things decreed him as were necessary for the war. But the people, on the other hand, hastened the preparations with such dispatch, that the dictator was able to take the field even earlier than usual. He marched strait to the enemy's camp, and surprised and forced it; nothing being able to withstand the *Roman* soldiery, under the conduct of the first plebeian that had ever been raised to the high office of dictator. We are not told what number of *Hetrurians* perished in the battle; but if we may judge by the prisoners, who did not amount to less than eight thousand, it must have been prodigious. This victory well deserved the honour of a triumph, and accordingly *Martius* had it, in spite of the opposition of the jealous patricians †.

This administration was succeeded by a short interregnum, during which the state was governed by six patricians, who, when the election of new consuls came on, managed so well, that two patricians, *C. Sulpicius Potitus*, and *M. Valerius Poplicola*, were chosen; though, for the last eleven years, one of the consuls had always been a plebeian. The tribunes exclaimed against this election, as contrary to the laws; but they were over-ruled. The consuls of this year did nothing worth mentioning, except their taking of *Empulum* from the *Tyburtes*. When the time came for new elections, they declared that they would not resign their dignity into any hands but those of the senate and patricians, from whom they received it. This occasioned such disputes, that the people protested they would leave *Rome*; and some of them did actually go. Notwithstanding this, two patricians were again chosen consuls; *M. Fabius Ambustus*, and *T. Quintius Peninus*; who immediately took the field against the *Tyburtes* and *Tarquinenses*; the former of whom were totally subdued by *Fabius*, and the latter defeated in a bloody battle by *Quintius*. These victories gained the *Romans* such reputation

The Sam-
nites enter
into an al-
liance
with *Rome*.

* Liv. 1. vii. c. 17,

† Ibid. Oror. 1. iii. c. 5. Eutrop. 1. ii. Fast. Capit.

The consuls for the next year, *C. Sulpicius Potitus*, and *M. Valerius Poplicola*, were again patricians. The former marched against the *Tarquinenses*, and the latter against the *Volsci*, who were again in motion. But they had scarce taken the field, when *Valerius* was recalled to nominate a dictator, the senate being informed by *Sulpicius*, that the *Cærites* were disposed to take part with the *Tarquinenses*, and that the *Falisci Manlius* had already joined them. *Valerius* named *T. Manlius Torquatus* to the dictatorship, though he had never been consul; dictator. a necessary step to that supreme dignity. The new dictator was preparing to march against the *Cærites*, when they, sensible of their inability to resist the brave *Torquatus*, sent deputies to implore the clemency of the *Romans*. A truce was granted them for an hundred years, in consideration of their having received the vestals when *Rome* was taken by the *Gauls*. The dictator then led his army against the *Falisci*: but they not appearing, he laid their country waste, and returned to *Rome*. The dictatorship and the consulate expiring together, an inter-regnum ensued. The disputes about the next election ran so high, that there was danger of an open revolt of the people. The patricians, to satisfy them, suffered the *Licinian* law to take place; and *P. Valerius Poplicola*, a patrician, and *C. Martius Rutilus*, a plebeian, were elected consuls.

The first care of the new consuls was to regulate the payment of debts, the only obstruction now to a perfect union of the patricians and plebeians. They no longer considered the relief of the debtors as a private affair, but as a general concern to the public, and therefore chose out five men of known probity, and great experience, to take an account of all the debts of the plebeians. These five were called *bankers*, and had the command of the public treasury to enable them to discharge their commission; which they did to the satisfaction of both parties. Those who, out of sloth and idleness, had plunged themselves into debts, either borrowed money of these bankers, giving the treasury security for it, or deposited the value of their debts in their creditors hands in effects, which were valued by the bankers. By this means the greatest part of the debtors were relieved, without doing injury to any person, and with little loss to the public.

The *Romans*, taking the opportunity of the peace they now enjoyed, fixed a day for the *comitia* to proceed to the election of new censors. Hitherto, none but the most illustrious patricians had ever enjoyed this dignity: but *C. Marcius Rutilus*, thinking himself, though a plebeian, qualified for any post in the republic, after he had been twice consul, and once dictator, stood candidate for this office; and, in spite of all the opposition of the nobles, was elected with *Cn. Manlius*, a patrician. *Ovinus*, one of the tribunes of the people, to give a new lustre to an office to which a plebeian had, for the first time, just been promoted, proposed a law, the plebeians depriving

A GENERAL HISTORY

depriving the consuls of the prerogative of filling up the senate, and lodging this power in the censors. The law passed; and, what is very extraordinary, this important change was made in the republic without the least disturbance.

M. Popilius Lænas, a plebeian; and *L. Cornelius Scipio*, were the next consuls. This last falling sick soon after his election, the plebeian consul, to the great mortification of the nobility, became sole general of the *Roman* troops*.

The Gauls enter Latium, The *Gauls* at this time having entered *Latium* anew, were advancing towards *Rome*. *Popilius* ordered levies to be made; and so great a number of soldiers enlisted on this occasion, that two armies were immediately raised; one to guard the city, under the command of *M. Valerius Poplicola*, who was then *prætor*, and the first in that employment who was seen at the head of an army. *Popilius*, with the other, marched against the *Gauls*, whom, with some difficulty, he defeated, and then plundered their camp. He himself was wounded in the battle with a javelin. He was decreed a triumph at his return to *Rome*; but his wound hindered his enjoying it just then. As his colleague, *Scipio*, continued likewise indisposed, the senate desired the two consuls to name a dictator, to preside at the approaching election. They made choice of *L. Furius Camillus*, son of the great *Camillus*. The dictator himself was chosen for one of the consuls; and *Appius Claudius*, surnamed *Craffus*, another patrician was appointed his colleague†.

and plun- der it. In the beginning of their consulate, the *Gauls*, who, in their late defeat, had fled for refuge to the hills of *Alba*, appeared again in great numbers on the sea-coast of *Latium*, and plundered that country, from the mouth of the *Tiber* up to *Antium*. *Appius* dying, the care of driving away these dangerous enemies was left to *Camillus*, whose very name was an omen of success in a war with the *Gauls*. While the two armies lay observing each other, a fierce *Gaul*, remarkable both for his stature and the richness of his armour, challenged the bravest man in the *Roman* legions to a single combat. *M. Valerius*, a legionary tribune, accepted the challenge, and killed his enemy. Whilst *Valerius* was preparing to strip him, the *Gauls* poured in upon him, and the *Romans* hastening to the assistance of their countrymen, a general battle ensued, in which the *Gauls* were entirely defeated. Those who escaped, took their way through the country of the *Volsci*, and, entering *Campania*, crossed the plains of *Falernum*, penetrated as far as *Apulia*, and retired to the coasts of the *Adriatic* sea.

The Gauls defeated.

The time for electing new consuls coming round, before *Camillus*, who thought it necessary to remain a while on the

* Liv. l. vii. c. 22. † Liv. l. vii. c. 23. Appian. Celtic. coast

coast of *Latium*, to watch some *Greek* pirates who hovered about there, could return to *Rome*, he was obliged to nominate a dictator to preside in the *comitia*. The person he promoted to that dignity was the famous *Manlius Torquatus*, *Manlius* who, charmed with the exploit of *Valerius*, so much resembling his own, and having great influence in the elections, *Torquatus* prevailed with the people to chuse him one of the consuls, Year of tho' he was but twenty-three years of age, and too young *Rome* 415. even to have a place in the senate. His colleague was *Popilius Lænas*.

Whilst the *Romans* enjoyed a profound peace both at home and abroad, under the administration of these two consuls, ambassadors came from *Carthage* to *Rome*. The *Carthaginians* were the first nation the *Romans* were acquainted with with *Carthage* out of *Italy*, and with whom they entered into a treaty, relating chiefly to navigation and commerce, as early as the first year after the expulsion of the *Tarquins*. The negotiating of this treaty was the whole employment of the present consuls. They were succeeded by *C. Plautius Hypsæus*, and *T. Manlius Torquatus*, who had been twice dictator, but was now for the first time consul. During this consulate, the republic enjoyed a profound peace. The interest of money was reduced to one half *per cent.* and debtors were allowed, on paying down one fourth of their debts, three years to discharge the remainder, by annual and equal payments. A new war broke out during the administration of the succeeding consuls; *Valerius Corvus*, the conqueror of the champion of the *Gauls*, now a second time consul; and *C. Petilius Libo*. *Valerius* defeated the enemy, took from them *Satricum*, and burnt it, sparing only the temple of the goddess *Matuta*. He was honoured with a triumph, in which four thousand captives marched before his chariot. In this consulate, the secular games, instituted in the year of *Rome* 297, were taken. celebrated the second time. The next year's consuls, *M. Fabius Dorso*, and *S. Sulpicius Camerinus*, named *L. Furius Camillus* dictator a second time, on occasion of a war with a new enemy, the *Aurunci*, a petty nation near the confines of *Latium*, on the coast of the *Tyrrhenian* sea. *Furius* overthrew them, and, at his return, built a temple, which he overhad vowed during the battle, to *Juno Moneta*. The next year, *P. Valerius* was appointed dictator for the solemnization of the festival called *feriae Latinae*.

M. Valerius Corvus, and *Cornelius Cossus*, were chosen consuls for the next Year. During their administration, the friendship between the *Romans* and the *Samnites* was, on a sudden, changed into a violent and lasting hatred. The occasion of it was this. The *Sidicini*, a People of *Aufania*, being attacked by the *Samnites*, and not able to defend them-

† Liv. ibid.

selves,

Occasion selves, had recourse to the people of *Campania*, who took up of the war arms, as well to assist their injured neighbours, as to guard with the against the farther progres of a powerful enemy, which they *Samnites*. themselves had great reason to fear. Hereupon the *Samnites*, Year of having a prospect of greater advantages in the conquest of *Rome* 420. the *Campanians*, than in that of the *Sidicini*, turned their arms against the former, and, after defeating them in two pitched battles, threatened to besiege the city of *Capua*, their metropolis. In this distress, the *Capuans* sent an embassly to *Rome*, to implore the assistance of the republic. The senate answered, that they thought them worthy of the protection of the *Romans*, but that they could not take arms for them, confisstent with their antient friendship for the *Samnites*, whom they would however desire to put an end to their hostilities. The deputies of *Capua* had hitherto spoken only of an alliance and confederacy with the *Romans*; but now, pursuant to the powers with which they had been invested, they made this farther declaration: *Since the Romans scruple to attack openly the Samnites, contrary to the faith of their treaties; let them, at least, not be afraid to defend their own property against the unjust usurpation of their enemies: the people of Campania, the city of Capua, our lands, our temples, every thing we have, divine and human, we absolutely give and surrender to you. From this time, therefore, all our losses will be yours**.

The conscript fathers, thinking this donation of too much consequence to be slighted, immediately dispatched ambassadors to desire the *Samnites*, as friends, to spare a province that belonged to *Rome*. The *Samnites*, instead of paying any regard to this message, sent for the commanders of their troops, and, in the preience of the *Roman* ambassadors, ordered them to go instantly and ravage *Campania*. This insult filled both the people and senate with indignation. War was solemnly declared against the *Samnites*. Two armies were raised; one of which, under the command of the brave *Valerius*, was ordered into *Campania*, whilst *Cornelius*, with the other, carried the war into *Samnium*. *Valerius* and the *Samnites* engaged with pretty equal numbers, and the victory was long disputed, till *Valerius*, throwing himself into the midst of the *Samnites* cohorts, bid his legions follow him. Who are This bold action turned the scale at once. From this moment a dreadful havock ensued: the dead lay in heaps round the standard of the army, who yet kept their ground. defeated by *Valerius*. The battle lasted till night came on; and all that the *Romans* knew by the next day that they had gained the victory, was, that the *Samnites* had abandoned their camp in the night †.

Cornelius Whilst *Valerius* was thus signalizing his valour in *Campania*, brings his *nia*, his colleague, *Cornelius*, brought his army into great army into danger in *Samnium*, by imprudently leaving an advantageous

* Liv. l. vii. c. 29—31.

† Ibib. c. 32, 33.

post where he was encamped, and marching his troops great dan-
through a mountainous country into a forest, out of which ger.
there was no way but through a valley, which, as well as
the wood, was lined with enemies. *P. Decius Mus*, who
was then only a legionary tribune, and who afterwards sign-
alized his love for his country in an eminent manner, for-
tunately extricated him from this danger by a happy strata-
gem. Observing at a distance an eminence which com-
manded the camp of the *Samnites*, and which had been neg-
lected by them, he proposed to the consul, that he might be
detached with a small body to take possession of it. *When*
you see me posted there, added he, *be under no apprehensions of the*
enemy, but continue your march. *Cornelius* approved of the de-
sign. *Decius* was not perceived till he and his soldiers were *Decius*
actually climbing up the rock. The *Samnites* were in such *Mus ex-*
surprise, that they knew not whether they should attack the *tricates*
consul or Decius. While they were in this suspense, *Corne-* him.
lius marched out of the valley without molestation. *Decius*
remained posted on the hill till the middle of the night, and
then, having before agreed with his men to cut their way
through the enemy, if they could not escape otherwise, he
put himself at the head of his troop, and marched down the
rock in great silence. They had got half way through the
enemy's camp, when a *Roman* soldier, striking his foot
against the buckler of a *Samnite*, awaked a sentinel, who
gave the alarm in that quarter. The *Samnites*, not yet
knowing what the matter was, ran to arms in strange con-
fusion; which *Decius* observing, he ordered his men to give
a great shout. This redoubled the consternation of the *Sam-*
nites; which the *Romans* taking advantage of, gained the
plain, joined the army under *Cornelius*, whom he advised to
march away immediately, and surprise the enemy's camp:
The consul did so. He found the *Samnites* scattered, as
Decius imagined they would be, and pursued them to their *Cornelius*
camp, which he took and plundered, after having cut to defeats
pieces above thirty thousand of them. *Decius* was honoured, the *Sam-*
both by his general and his fellow-soldiers, with all the mi- *nites*,
litary rewards that were ever given to a subaltern. This
campaign did not end with this victory; for *Valerius* like- who are
wise overthrew the *Samnites*, who had recruited, with so conquered
great slaughter, that, we are told, his soldiers brought him again by
forty thousand of the enemy's bucklers, together with an *Valerius.*
hundred and twenty of their standards. Both consuls re-
turned to *Rome*, and were honoured with a triumph. This
year ended with a *census*; by which it appeared, that the
number of *Romans* able to bear arms amounted to one hun-
dred and sixty thousand.

The next year *Privernum* revolted, but was quickly re-
duced by *C. Plautius Hypsæus*, now the second time consul.
His colleague, *L. Æmilius*, laid waste the country of the *Sam-*
nites, who were so weakened by their two late overthrows,

that they were glad to sue for peace and an alliance with The Sidi-*Rome*; which was granted. The *Sidiceni* and *Campanians* joined the *Latines*, and an army of these three united nations entered *Samnium*, and laid all waste before them: but as and La- they could not bring the *Samnites* to a battle, they soon tines, unite tired for want of provisions.

against the In the beginning of the consulate of the famous *Manlius* republic. *Torquatus*, and *Decius Mus*, the former of whom was a patrician, and the latter a plebeian, *Alexander*, king of

Alexander king of *Epirus*, comes to *Italy*. *Epirus*, and brother to *Olympia*, the mother of *Alexander* the Great, came into *Italy*, on the invitation of the *Tarentines*, to assist them against the *Brutians*. This prince hoped to have subdued all *Italy* with the same ease as his nephew had reduced *Perisia*: but he was soon made sensible of his mistake,

The Romans march against the *Latines*: and found it necessary to court the friendship of the *Romans* in particular, with whom he concluded an alliance*. After this the two consuls made it their whole busines to prevent the revolt of the *Latines*; and, to this end, ten of the *Latin* chiefs were summoned to appear at *Rome*, and give an account of their preparations for war. The *Latines* sent them; and they demanded, as a condition of renewing the alliance between the two nations, that *one of the consuls, and half of the senate, should, for the future, be chosen out of the Latines*. This demand was rejected with indignation, and war was immediately declared. Two armies were raised, which encamped in *Campania*, at the foot of Mount *Vesuvius*, at a small distance from the enemy's camp. The night before the battle, both consuls are said to have dreamed the same dream: *That a man of gigantic stature appeared to them, and told them, that the victory was decreed to that army whose general should devote himself to the Dii Manes*. When it was day, the two consuls communicated this dream to each other. Perhaps they had courage enough to feign an apparition, which must cost one or other of them his life, purely to raise the courage of their soldiers. Hereupon it was agreed, in a council of war, that *Manlius* should command the right wing, and *Decius* the left; and, that he, whose troops should first give way, should devote himself to save his country, and rush into the midst of the enemy's battalions. It was likewise determined, in the same council, that the antient discipline should be strictly observed in the present war, and that no officer or soldier should dare to fight the enemy without express orders, or out of his rank, upon pain of death.

Soon after the proclamation of these orders, young *Manlius*, the consul's son, being sent at the head of a detachment of horse to observe the enemy's motions, met an advanced squadron of the enemy, commanded by one *Geminius Me-*

* Liv. 1, viii, c. 2, 3.

tius, who, knowing the consul's son, challenged him to a single combat. *Manlius*, piqued in point of honour, and *Manlius's* forgetting the late orders of the generals, engaged and killed son en- him. Then, stripping him of his armour, he returned to counters the camp, and going strait to his father's tent accosted him and kills thus: *Father, I have followed your example: I was challenged, a Latin like you, by an insulting enemy; and here lay his spoils at your feet.* champion The consul, at these words, turning his back upon his son, ordered the troops to be immediately assembled, and, in their presence, made him this reply: *Since you, Titus Manlius, have been so rash as to fight the enemy without my orders, you must expiate your crime yourself. You have indeed conquered, and therefore deserve to be rewarded. But your disobedience must be pu- nished with the utmost severity. How could you despise the autho- rity both of a father and a consul? How could you break through that discipline, to the strict observance of which Rome has hitherto owed her preservation? Hard is the necessity you reduce me to when you force me either to forget, that I am a father, or that I am a judge. But neither your grief nor mine shall prevail over the fidelity I owe my country. We shall be a melancholy example to posterity, but a wholesome precedent to the Roman youth. In you I lose a son endeared to me by the tender affection of a father, and by your late victory. But, alas! since I must either establish the consular authority by a rigorous act of justice, or weaken it by your impunity, die as bravely as you have conquered. If you have but one drop of the Manlian blood in your veins, you will not re- fuse to repair the breach you have made in the military discipline by undergoing the punishment due to your offence.* This said, he first crowned his son as victor, and then ordered the lictors to tie him to the stake, and strike off his head. All present were stunned, as if this sentence had been pronounced against but is put themselves. They covered the dead body with the spoils of to death the conquered enemy, and expressed their affliction by the by his fa- most pompous obsequies they could possibly perform in the ther for field. It is scarce to be imagined how tractable this seve- fighting rity of *Manlius* made his army for the future. To it he without owed, in a great measure, the victory he gained a few days orders. after *

The two armies engaged with pretty equal numbers; and, as their manner of fighting was exactly similar, neither had any advantage for some time; but, at length, the left wing of the *Romans* gave way. *Decius* then rememb'reng his agree- *Decius* ment with his colleague, called out to *Valerius*, the *pontifex Mus de- maximus*, to perform on him the ceremony of consecration, votes him that he might devote himself in due form. *Valerius* ordered self. him to quit his military habit, and put on the robe wore in the senate. Then he covered his head with a veil, ordered

* Liv. 1. viii. c. 7. Flor. 1. i. c. 14. Zonar. 1. vi. c. 16.

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him to put forth his hand under his robe to his chin, and standing with both his feet upon his javelin, to repeat after him the following words: *O Janus, Jupiter, Mars, Romulus, Bellona, and ye Lares and Novenfiles! O all ye heroes who dwell in heaven; and all ye gods, who rule over us and our enemies; especially ye gods of hell! I honour you, invoke you, and humbly intreat you, to prosper the arms of the Romans; and to transfer all fear and terror from them to their enemies: and I do, for the safety of the Roman people, and their legions, devote myself, and with myself, the army and auxiliaries of the enemy, to the infernal gods, and the goddess of the earth.* Decius then ordered his lictors to go and acquaint his colleague, that he had devoted himself for the safety of the army. Then, tucking up his robe, and girding it round him, he mounted his horse, and rode full speed into the thickest of the enemy's battalions, where a shower of darts soon ended his days. The death of the consul gave new courage to the Romans. Now, grown furious, they attacked the enemy with irresistible force, and made so terrible a slaughter of them, that scarce a fourth part of their army remained alive. Those who escaped, fled to the Minturnæ, a little above the mouth of the Liris. There they recruited, and afterwards took the road to Capua, determined once more to try their fortune.

The Latines defeated,

are again routed, and submit with the Campanians.

The Latines revolt,

Manlius soon after fell sick; and as a Roman general was wanted in the field to oppose some fresh incursions of the Antiates, he nominated L. Papirius Crassus, then prætor, to the dictatorship. Papirius kept his troops some months in the enemy's country upon free-quarter, and then returned to Rome, to preside at the election of consuls for the next year, when Q. Publius, a plebeian, and Tib. Æmilius, a patrician, were chosen. During their administration, the Latines revolted, and formed two armies. Publius, succeeding in an expedition against one of them, was honoured with a triumph; but Æmilius, who had not been so fortunate, was refused that distinction; which so incensed him, that no tribune of the people ever inveighed more bitterly against the nobility than the patrician-consul did on this occasion. Hereupon the senate, to prevent disturbances, ordered him to name a dictator. Æmilius obeyed: but, in revenge, named his plebeian colleague; who appointed Brutus Scæva, another plebeian, to be his general of horse. The dictator, who was entirely devoted to the people, employed all his power and influence to establish their rights on a solid foundation. This he effected by three laws, which he either made or revived. The first was, That the decrees made by

the

the people, at the request of their tribunes, should bind all the subjects of the republic in general. The second, that the laws which were to be passed by the centuries, should be first approved by the senate, and that the people should put the last hand to them. The third law was, That one of the censors should always be a plebeian*. The senate, to pique *Aemilius*, ordered the next year's consuls, *L. Furius Camillus*, grandson to the great *Camillus*, and *C. Mænius*, a plebeian, to put an end to the war which he had left unfinished; and, that the new consuls might not fail of success, they furnished them plentifully with arms, ammunition, and but are all things necessary. The united forces of the *Latines* were subdued, defeated, and all *Latium* was brought under subjection. The and their consuls returned to *Rome*, and were honoured, not only with fate determin'd a triumph, but also with two equestrian statues erected in the mined. *forum*†.

The next thing to be done was, to determine the fate of the conquered. As some cities had been more criminal than others, it was thought proper to make a distinction in the treatment of them. *Lanuvium*, *Aricia*, *Nomentum*, and *Pendum*, were made *Roman municipia*. Their soldiers had the privilege of being incorporated in the legions, and shared all the advantages of the *Roman* soldiery, being no longer considered in the light of auxiliaries. The *Tusculans* were restored to the enjoyment of their antient privileges. *Vitræ* was razed, and its senate and inhabitants were removed to another city beyond the *Tiber*. The *Antiates* were allowed the freedom of *Roman* citizens. The inhabitants of *Tybur* and *Præneste* were deprived of all their lands; and, lastly, all the *Latines*, without exception, were forbid to assemble their diets; to marry out of their respective tribes, or to have common markets or fairs for trade. As for the cities of *Campania*, their lands were taken from them, and divided among the *Romans*. Thus were the two most powerful provinces of *Italy* subdued by the republic; and the *Latines*, from allies of *Rome*, made her subjects‡.

The next year, *Publius*, though a plebeian, obtained the A plebeian prætorship; the only great dignity which the plebeians had an prætor. not before shared with the nobility. The consuls of the following year led an army against the *Sidicini* and *Ausones*, The *Sidicini* and defeated them. The year after, their metropolis, *Ca-* *cini* and *la*, was taken, and an army marched against the *Sidicini*; *Ausones* but before these last could be subdued, the year of the pre- conquer'd. tent consulship expiring, and the consuls being returned to Year of *Rome* for the election of new ones, a report prevailed, that *Rome* 425. the *Sidicini* had assembled a very formidable army, and were

* Liv. l. viii. c. 12. † Ibid. Eutrop. l. ii. Fast. Capit.

‡ Liv. l. viii. c. 13 Fr. l. i. c. 11.

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joined by the *Samnites*. Upon this, *P. Cornelius Rufinus* was named dictator, and appointed to march against them: but the augurs having found some defect in the circumstances of his nomination, he was obliged to abdicate. The next year the forces were transferred to *L. Papirius Cursor* and *C. Pætius Lilo Visolus*, who completed the reduction of the *Sidicini*. The numbers of *Roman* citizens being greatly increased since the reduction of the *Latines*, two new tribes, the *Mæcian* and *Scaptian*, were added to the former twenty-seven *.

Two new tribes added to the Romans.

Several Roman women agree to poison their husbands,

Whilst *Rome* enjoyed a perfect tranquility after the reduction of the *Latines*, there sprung up within her bosom a new set of monsters. Several women of distinction, some say three hundred and sixty, others an hundred and seventy, for what reason we know not, entered into an agreement to get rid of their husbands by poison; and took the opportunity of an epidemical distemper to put their wicked design in execution. People were surprised to see so many men of note die, nearly at the same time, and all with the same symptoms; little dreaming of a crime so contrary to the manners of the *Romans*, that they even had not any law against it. At length, a female slave, who assisted one of these furies in making her poison, went to *Q. Fabius*, who was at that time *curule ædile*, and, upon a promise of impunity, discovered to him the whole mystery of the iniquity. The *ædile* imparted the secret to the consuls, and the consuls to the senate; by whose orders the slave, attended by proper officers, went to the houses of above twenty *Roman* ladies, who were all found busy in preparing poisons. Among these were two patrician women, who being brought before the assembly of the people, and there examined, maintained, that they had prepared only medicines for the sick, and that there were no poisonous ingredients in them. Upon this, the slave, finding herself suspected of calumny, proposed, that the two ladies should take their own potions. They were ordered so to do. They then desired first to confer with their accomplices; which being granted, they all, by agreement, drank their own poison, and thereby avoided a more cruel death. The republic ascribed this unheard of wickedness to a spirit of madness sent as a punishment by the angry gods; and therefore, to appease their wrath, had recourse to a ceremony formerly practised in times of plagues and general calamities. This was, for a dictator to drive a nail into the wall of the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*. *Cn. Quintilius* was raised to that dignity only to perform this superstitious ceremony; which was no sooner done than he resigned his dignity, and gave way to the consulate of *L. Papirius Crassus* and *L. Plautius Venno* †.

* Liv. l. viii. c. 17.

† Liv. l. viii. c. 18.

The

The *Privernates* revolted in the beginning of this year ; but the new consuls soon reduced them, and took their capital *Privernum*. While the senate was deliberating what punishment the fate of the conquered city should be, one of the captives, whom *Plautus* had brought to the door of the senate-house, in order to intercede the more forcibly for them, being asked by a senator, who was for putting them all to death, what punishment he and his fellow-captives deserved, answered, with great intrepidity, *We deserve the punishment which is due to men who are jealous of their liberty, and think themselves worthy of it.* *Plautius*, perceiving that this answer exasperated some of the senators, endeavoured to prevent the ill effects of it by putting a milder question to the prisoner. *How would you behave, said he, if Rome should pardon you ? Our conduct, replied the generous captive, depends upon yours. If the peace you grant us be an honourable one, you may depend on a constant fidelity on our parts : if the terms of it be hard, or dishonourable, lay no stress on our adherence to you.* Some of the judges construed these words as menaces ; but the wiser part, finding in them a great deal of magnanimity, cried out, that a nation whose only desire was liberty, and whose only fear, clared a that of losing it, was worthy to become *Roman*. Accordingly a decree was passed in favour of the prisoners, and *Privernum* was declared a *municipium**.

A colony, which the *Romans* planted the next year in *The Fregellæ*, a city on the borders of *Samnium*, proved the occasion of that bloody war which broke out soon afterwards between the two nations. In the mean time, the *Palæopolitans*, taking advantage of the new discontent of the *Samnites*, committed hostilities in the *Roman territories*. These people were originally *Eubœans*, who, coming into *Italy*, built *Cupæ*, and thence spreading farther, founded the city of *Naples*, or *Neapolis*, that is, the *New City*, in the neighbourhood of a town they found ready built, and of which they possessed themselves, calling it *Palæopolis*, or the *Old City*. The *Palæopolitans* were the first of all the *Greeks* who ventured to attack the *Romans*. *L. Cornelius Lentulus* and *Q. Publius Philo* were raised to the consulate. The latter marched against the *Palæopolitans*, and, to cut off their communication with *Naples*, from whence they had their supplies, encamped on a narrow tract of ground between those two cities. His colleague, with another army, took his post near *Capua*, to keep the *Campanians* in awe. Here he received undoubted intelligence, that the *Samnites* had solicited the inhabitants of *Privernum*, *Fundi*, and *Formia*, to revolt. Upon this, the senate sent an embassy into *Samnium*, to complain of a conduct so contrary to the faith of treaties ; and even offered to refer their differences to the arbitration of the common

Year of
Rome 431.

* Liv. 1. viii. c. 20, 21.

friends and allies of both nations. The *Samnites* haughtily replied, that they would have no arbitrators but the gods and their arms. *Go, Romans, added they, and tell your consuls, that we wait for them in the plain between Capua and Suessula. Our swords will there determine which of the two nations ought to give law to the rest of Italy.* The ambassadors replied, that their generals would lead them whither they should think fit, and that they should follow them. In the mean while, the time for new elections drawing near, the senate, without recalling the consuls, ordered a dictator to be named, to preside in the *Comitia*. *C. Publilius Livo* and *L. Papirius Mugellanus* were chosen consuls for the ensuing year. These, putting themselves at the head of the army which *Cornelius* had commanded, entered *Samnium*, and being joined by the *Lucanians* and *Apulians*, two nations to which the *Romans* had hitherto been strangers, penetrated farther into the enemy's country, ravaged their lands, and took three of their cities. On the other hand, *Publilius* being continued by the people at the head of the army he had commanded the year before, with the title of proconsul, at length, took *Palæpolis*.

The Lucanians enter into a league with the Samnites.

This conquest stirred up new enemies against the *Romans* in *Great Greece*. The *Tarentines* artfully seduced the *Lucanians*, who had gone over to the *Romans*, into a league with the *Samnites*. In the following consulate of *L. Furius Camillus* and *D. Junius Brutus*, the *Vestini*, a people on the coast of the *Adriatic sea*, took arms against *Rome*, but were defeated by *Brutus*, who seized on the two cities of *Cutina* and *Cingilia*†. *Camillus*, who was to act against the *Samnites*, falling sick, named to the dictatorship *L. Papirius Cursor*, who appointed *Q. Fabius Rullianus* to be his general of the horse. The dictator took the field against the *Samnites*, but being obliged soon after to return to *Rome*, on account of some religious scruples relating to the auspices consulted previous to his departure, he forbade *Fabius*, to whom he left the command of the army, to venture a battle in his absence. But *Fabius*, disdaining to have his hands so tied up, notwithstanding the dictators prohibition, attacked the *Samnites*, and gained a complete victory, having killed above twenty thousand on the spot.

Q. Fabius engages the Samnites, and gains a complete victory.

The dictator, hastening back, tried *Fabius* for this disobedience; and, as he could offer nothing in his defence, *Papirius* ordered the lictors to strip him, and prepare their rods and axes. But while the executioners were tearing off his cloaths, he found means to escape out of their hands, and ran for shelter to a body of veterans. A loud shout was immediately heard from the place whither *Fabius* had fled, which was answered by the whole army. The soldiers, to a man, declared in

* Liv. l. viii. c. 27.

his favour : some threatened the dictator ; others, in a suppliant manner, begged that he would spare the life of *Fabius*, and not condemn all the troops in him. The dictator was inflexible ; the soldiers persisted ; and consequently the sedition increased and grew more furious ; but night coming on put an end to the tumult. *Fabius* escaped to *Rome*, where his father immediately got the senate assembled, in hopes of obtaining a decree in his favour. But *Papirius*, arriving on a sudden, took his place in the senate, and ordered the licitors to seize young *Fabius*. In vain did the senators intercede for the criminal : *Papirius* was inexorable. Hereupon The father, having no other resource, appealed to the people ther of in *comitia*. There had never yet been any instance of an appeal from the sentence of the dictator ; but, nevertheless, *Papirius* did not think fit to disallow the superior authority of the people : so the cause was brought before the *comitia* assembled in the *forum*. The dictator repaired thither with few attendants ; but the *Fabii* were escorted by all the people of distinction in *Rome*. The whole assembly was on the side of the *Fabii* : at least, they pitied them, but could not condemn the severity of *Papirius*. The *Fabii* cited the case of *Minucius* and *L. Furius*, who, though they had fought contrary to the advice of *Cincinnatus* and the great *Camillus*, both dictators, had not been punished with such severity. The dictator, on his side, urged the examples of *Manlius* and *Brutus*, who had sacrificed their own children for the public good. He expatiated on the evil consequences to the republic of admitting appeals from the dictator to the people, especially in cases of disobedience in war, and concluded with asking the tribunes, whether they were willing to answer those consequences with their heads. These words threw both the tribunes and the people into great perplexity. The receiving of appeals from the sentence of the dictator would indeed increase the power of the plebeians ; but they were afraid of the consequences of so dangerous an incroachment on a sovereign authority. Instead, therefore, of taking upon them to judge in the affair, they became intercessors for the criminal, humbly beseeching the dictator to pardon his general of the horse. The *Fabii* themselves fell prostrate at the dictator's feet, and implored his clemency.

To these intercessions the dictator answered thus : *Both military discipline, and the authority of generals, are to be preserved inviolate. The temerity of Fabius exposed both to great dangers ; but he has not been judged innocent ; only pardon is asked for him. This I readily grant, in deference to the Roman people, and to the intercession of their tribunes. They have not pronounced him innocent as judges, but interceded for him as friends. Live then, Quintus Fabius, more fortunate in this unanimous consent of all the orders of the republic to save you, than in the victory you lately gained. Live, Fabius, though you have dared to commit a crime, which your father himself, had he been*

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in my place, would have expiated with your blood. You shall be again received into my favour at your pleasure. But as to the Roman people, to whom you owe your life, you can never express your gratitude to them better, than by punctually and implicitly obeying, whether in peace or in war, your lawful commanders. Go; you are at liberty.

Papirius returned to the army with a new general of the horse, a relation of his own. The Samnites, knowing how much his great severity had indisposed the troops against him, offered him battle. He accepted it. The Romans were posted so advantageously, that it was not possible for them to be intirely defeated. Though they fought but faintly, the number of the slain was much greater on the side of the Samnites, than on that of the Romans. From this day Papirius changed his conduct entirely, with respect to his troops, and made himself as much beloved as they had before disliked, and even hated him. He soon after gave the enemy a total overthrow, laid their country waste, and reduced them to sue for peace, which he granted them, on condition, that they should cloath all his troops, give them a year's pay, and get the treaty confirmed by the senate. On his return to Rome he was decreed a triumph, after which he presided at the election of the new consuls, C. Sulpicius Longus and Q. Aulius Cerertonus, and then resigned his dignity.

Q. Fabius and L. Fulvius Corvus took the field again as soon as Papirius had quitted the dictatorship, and were joined by the Apulians. The consuls of the next year, Q. Fabius, who had been general of the horse to Papirius, and L. Fulvius Corvus, came to a battle with them, and defeated them with great slaughter. Fulvius returned to Rome, but Fabius proceeded to Apulia, where his arms were attended with success. The Samnites sued again for peace, but were refused: upon which they made great preparations for carrying on the war with vigour, and appointed one Pontius, an able and experienced officer, to command their troops. The Romans chose for consuls this year T. Veturius and Sp. Posthumius, who, by a stratagem of the enemy, were led through narrow defiles till they came at last to that fatal spot, since known by the name of the Caudine Forks. This place was surrounded with prodigiously steep hills and rocks, so covered with trees and briars, as to be absolutely insurmountable, and the valley itself was a perfect bog. There was but one way out of it, which was narrow and steep, and the Samnites had stopped it up with huge stones and trees laid across. The consuls gave orders, to clear it; but that was impracticable. They then endeavoured to retreat by the hollow way thro' which they had come; but that too was blocked up with

Defeats
the Sam-
nites.

Year of
Rome 437.

The Ro-
man army
surround-
ed by the
enemy.

huge trees and stones ; and the tops of the eminences were guarded all round by the enemy. In this situation both sides spent the night. The *Sannites*, having the *Roman* army now in their power, deliberated what use they should make of this advantage. A council of war was held, in which it was agreed to send to *Pontius*'s father, *Herennius*, a venerable old man, who, in his younger days, had been at the head of the *Sannite* armies, and was now, on account of his great wisdom, looked upon as the oracle of that nation. A messenger was dispatched to him with a letter, informing him of the situation to which his son had reduced the *Roman* army, and desiring his advice how they should treat them. The wise old man returned this answer : *I advise my son to open a passage for the Romans, and let them return home, without doing them the least harm.* The officers, surprised at this answer, and imagining the messenger had misunderstood *Herennius*, sent again to him, and then the old man returned this answer : *Tell the council, said he, that I would not have them spare the life of one Roman ; let them be all put to the sword, without distinction.* This strange difference between these two answers made the *Sannites* press *Pontius* to desire his father to come himself to the camp, and explain his meaning, which to them seemed quite mysterious. When *Herennius* came he told the council, that *Rome* was a powerful state, from whose friendship they might promise themselves the greatest benefit, and from whose enmity they had reason to fear the greatest misfortunes. *If, said he, we gain her affection by a signal act of generosity, we secure to ourselves an happy and lasting tranquility. On the other hand, if we cut off all the flower of her youth at one blow, we shall be safe, at least for a time. In good policy, there is no medium between these two extremes. Either save the Romans in such a manner as to make them your friends, or destroy them so effectually as to render them less formidable enemies.* Neither of these methods was taken, but a middle one, not so generous as the former, nor quite so rigorous as the latter.

The *Romans*, pressed by hunger, and seeing no prospect of Desperate relief, sent a deputation to the *Sannites*, to desire either a condition peace upon equitable terms, or a battle. *We have no battles of the Roman army to fight,* answered *Pontius* with a haughty air, *the victory is already obtained. Not a man of your legions shall escape, till you have all been disarmed, and passed, one by one, under the yoke. This is a preliminary, which I absolutely insist upon. Beside this, the Romans shall leave Samnium, and withdraw their colonies from all the cities which they have taken from us. Tell your consuls this from me, and if they do not accept the terms proposed, appear no more in my presence.*

Hard and disgraceful as these terms were, the *Romans* were forced to accept them, and to give six hundred *Roman* knights as hostages for the performance of this convention, with this further condition, that the *Sannites* might cut off

their

A GENERAL HISTORY

The Roman army passes under the yoke.

The Capuans relieve them

their heads, if the république did not fulfil the consuls promises. Accordingly, the six hundred knights marched out of the camp, unarmed, and with their under garments only, and were put into the enemy's hands. The two consuls appeared next, and were ordered to pull off their military cloaks, and the ensigns of their dignity. This done, they, the first of any, stripped off their habits, and, half-naked, passed under the yoke. The inferior officers followed, according to their rank, and, at last, the soldiers, one by one. They were then allowed to depart, and might have reached *Capua* the same day, but that, partly out of distrust of the *Capuans*, and partly out of shame to be seen there in so wretched a condition, they threw themselves on the ground at some distance from that city, with a design to pass the night there, without shelter, food, or refreshment. But the *Capuans*, being informed of their misfortunes, immediately sent cloathes, horses, arms, and even lictors and fasces to the consuls, and great plenty of provisions for the whole army ; and when, the next day, they drew near the city, the senate and people went out to meet them with every demonstration of friendship and kindness. But the consuls and their troops, overwhelmed with shame, seemed unaffected with this friendly hospitaliy, keeping their eyes fixed on the ground, and remaining silent. The flower of the *Campanian* nobility accompanied them to the frontiers of their country ; but they still observed the same behaviour, and shewed the same dejection of mind.

The news of the consular army's being surrounded by the enemy having reached *Rome*, levies were raising to go to their assistance : but in the mean time, the senate receiving an account of the shameful peace, a stop was put to all farther preparations. The people, of their own accord, put on the deepest mourning ; the courts of justice were neglected, and the shops were shut up ; and, in short, the city was in as great consternation as the army, which, on its return, stole into the city by night, every one hiding himself in his own house, and even the consuls looking upon themselves as disgraced, and in a manner degraded. They banished themselves from public society, and only performed one function of their office, which was indispensible, that is, they named a dictator to preside in the *comitia* for the election of new consuls ; thinking themselves unworthy to appear at the head of the republic in the *Campus Martius*.

Aemilius Papus
dictator.

Q. Fabius Ambustus was appointed dictator, to preside at the *comitia* for the election of new consuls : but some defect having been found in his nomination, it was set aside, and *Aemilius Papus* was appointed in his stead, who named *Valerius Flaccus* his general of the horse. The election of consuls was still deferred ; the state, for a while, fell into an interregnum ; the whole city put on mourning, and grief was pictured in every face.

The next year, *Papirius Cursor* and *Publius Philo* were Consuls chosen consuls; and the senate being assembled, *Posthumius* elected. generously proposed that he and his colleague might be delivered up to the enemy, in discharge of the *Caudine* treaty which they had made; insisting, that only they two were bound by it, and not the state, which had no share in what they had done. This offer was gratefully accepted; and the two late consuls were accordingly sent back to the *Samnites*, as their prisoners, to be dealt with as they should please: but *Pontius* refused to receive them, and exclaimed greatly against the perfidiousness of the *Romans*, who soon took the field again under the conduct of *Papirius*; overthrew the *Samnites* in several battles; made them all pass under the yoke; recovered their towns, and freed the six hundred hostages they had given as a security for their performance of the *Caudine* convention. The enemy, reduced to great distress, obtained, with difficulty, a two year's truce; during which, increased two new tribes, the *Ufentine* and the *Falerine* were added to a sixth time.

Little more than a year of this truce had elapsed, when the *Samnites*, encouraged by several of their neighbours, appeared again in arms; and at the same time the *Hetrurians* made great preparations for war. To oppose this danger, the *Romans* created dictator *L. Æmilius*, who gained a great victory over the enemy at *Saticula*, a city which he had invested. The next year *Fabius Maximus* was created dictator, who carried on the war with great success against the *Samnites*; took *Saticula*, and extended the *Roman* dominions considerably in those parts. The following year, a conspiracy discovered at *Capua* occasioned the creating of another dictator, *C. Mænius*, who soon suppressed that disturbance. The year after, the *Samnite* war was carried on with great vigor and success by the dictator *C. Petælius*. *Junius Bubulus* was created dictator the next year, and marched against the *Hetrurians*; but as they kept entirely upon the defensive, his exploits were not great. In this year, *Appius Claudius*, being one of the censors, made, at his own expence, says *Livy*, famous causey called the *Via Appia*; an amazing work; and built a noble aqueduct, by which water was brought into the city. The war with the *Hetrurians* lasted near two years, when *Papirius*, who had been created dictator, and had chosen *Bubulus* for his general of the horse, gave them the greatest overthrow they had ever yet received; their loss was so great, that they were never more able to make any considerable opposition to the *Romans*. Four years after, *Cornelius Scipio* was created dictator, to hold the *comitia* for the election of consuls, and *Decius Mus* was his general of the horse. Two years after this, the *Samnites* obtained a peace, which lasted twelve years. At the end of that time, they broke it, were defeated, and forced to renew their antient league with *Rome*.

Year of
Rome 436.

Year of
Rome 441.

Year of
Rome 443.

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Rome. This happened thirty-seven years after their first war with that nation.

Soon after this peace was concluded, the *Romans* turned their arms against the *Aequi*, and chastised them for having assisted the *Sannites*. Other nations, bordering upon them, intimidated by the subjection of their neighbours, submitted of their own accord, and the *Roman* dominions increased daily. Some, however, made such resistance, that it was thought necessary to create a dictator. *Junius Bubulcus*, invested with that high dignity, marched against the enemies of the republic, with *M. Titinius*, his general of the horse, and in eight days returned triumphant over them. In less than a year after, the *Hetrurians*, having joined the *Umbrians*, a people on the north of them, and the *Sabines*, *Valerius Maximus* was created dictator. *Æmilius Paulus* was his general of the horse. This dictator entirely broke the power of the *Hetrurians*, and reduced all their territories to the *Roman* subjection, four hundred and thirty years after the first wars with them. The *Umbrians* were likewise much weakened, and lost a considerable part of their country; the *Romans* still extending their dominions on all sides, and continually increasing their strength.

Rome was no sooner at peace with foreign enemies, but her own subjects began, as usual, to be dissatisfied. The tribunes of the people complained greatly, that all the priests and augurs were chosen from among the patricians; and demanded, that the plebeians might also partake of those offices. The senate, accustomed to yield in matters of greater moment, acquiesced in this. To the four chief priests, and the same number of augurs, antiently instituted to answer to the four tribes in the city, were now added four more of each, and to them five more chosen out of the plebeians. The consul, *Valerius*, likewise preferred this year a law of *appeal*, amended from the old one. This was the third time of confirming this law since the expulsion of the kings, and always at the suit of the same family. *Valerius* attacked the *Aequi*, who were now in open rebellion, and soon forced them to submit. Two new tribes, the *Arienis* and the *Tarentine*, were added the next year to the old ones, so that their number amounted to thirty-three. The city was also much increased; for at the next *lustrum*, five years after, there were cessed 262,322 free citizens.

The tribes increased a seventh time.
Year of Rome 454.

The *Sannites* revolt; but are defeated.

About a year after this, the *Sannites*, who had been quiet six years, broke their league with the *Romans*. Several battles were fought, in which the former were almost always worsted. But the most memorable was that about three years after this last breach, when they got the *Umbrians* and *Gauls*, with some of the *Hetrurians*, to assist them; and received a fatal overthrow by the consuls *Fabius Maximus* and *Decius Mus*. *Decius*, seeing his party retire, and in danger

of being defeated, followed the great example of his father, *Decius* about forty years before, and, solemnly devoting himself to *Mus* the gods, rushed into the midst of the enemy, recovered his voteshim-army, but lost his life. About two years after, *Papirius*, self. son of the former, gained a complete victory over them, took upwards of fifteen thousand prisoners, and several towns, The *Samnites* and was justly rewarded with a splendid triumph. The next year, the *Samnites* ventured another battle, in which they defeated the consul *Fabius Gurus*. The senate was thereupon going to remove him: but his father, *Fabius Maximus*, to prevent that disgrace, begged to be lieutenant to his son. His request was granted, and he procured him a great victory, and the honours of a triumph. The *Samnites* carried on the war two years longer; but with such disadvantage, that, after losing their general, *Pontius*, who was taken and killed, they were obliged to sue for peace, which was granted, and the league was renewed with them a fourth time.

In less than a year after, the *Samnites* revolted again, but were punished with the loss of several battles and more towns. The consul, *Dentatus*, triumphed over them twice in one year. Two years after this, the *triumviri* for capital matters were created, with power to imprison and punish all malefactors; and in the same year 273,000 free citizens were ces'd. Three years after, the people, grievously oppressed by their tyrannical creditors, insisted on being relieved with respect to their debts. Violent disputes arose between them and the patricians, and they withdrew to the hill *Janiculus*. This was the third separation of the plebeians. The senate, to appease this dangerous tumult, created *Q. Hortensius* dictator; who, with much difficulty, persuaded them to return, the people promising them, that their *plebecita* should have the force of laws, and be binding to the whole state. This was called the *lex Hortensa*; though the same had, in fact, been granted twice before. Soon after, a war was carried on with success against the *Lucani*, one of the most remote people of *Italy*, who had molested the *Thurini*, allies of the *Romans*. But the last of the *Italian* nations that made much opposition, were the *Tarentines*, who inhabited a very large and rich city in the south-east part of *Italy*, about two hundred and forty miles from *Rome*. Their having plundered several *Roman* ships, was the occasion of the war. Though they were joined by the *Lucani*, the *Messapii*, the *Brutii*, the *Apulii*, and the *Samnites*, they were not able to resist the power of the *Romans*; but were in a short time so distressed, that they were obliged to call in *Pyrrhus*, king of *Epirus*, to their assistance. Thus began the memorable war of the *Romans* with that great commander; by far the most considerable they had ever been engaged in.

Pyrrhus, who was of a generous but ambitious temper, listened readily to their invitation. He dispatched *Cineas*, a *Thessalian*, an excellent orator and a scholar of *Demosthenes*,

Year of
Rome 472.

Year of
Rome 473.

to

Pyrrhus arrives at Tarentum,

and proposes a mediation which is refused.

The Romans defeated.

Pyrrhus advances,

to *Tarentum*, with three thousand men, and soon after embarked himself with twenty elephants, three thousand horse, twenty thousand foot, two thousand archers, and five hundred slingers: but meeting with a great storm, his ships were dispersed, and some of them lost, so that he arrived at *Tarentum*, *Tarentum* with only a small part of his army. Observing, on his arrival, how much the *Tarentines* were intent upon their pleasures, he shut up their places of public diversion, called them to arms, and enlisted all that were fit for service. In the mean time the rest of his troops arrived, and he received intelligence that the *Roman* consul, *Lævinus*, was upon his march with a numerous army, wasting *Lucania* as he passed. Upon this he drew out his forces: but before the two armies could meet, he sent to *Lævinus*, offering a mediation between the *Romans* and their adversaries. *Lævinus* answered, that he neither valued him as a mediator, nor feared him as an enemy: then ordering his messengers to be led through the camp, he bid them go tell their master what they had seen.

The two armies engaged in the plain between *Pandesia* and *Heraclia*. *Pyrrhus's* horse was killed under him in the midst of the battle; upon which he changed armour with one that was near him, his own being very remarkable for its richness, The person he changed with, being taken for the king, was killed soon after, and stripped; and this armour being carried about by the *Romans* as a token of *Pyrrhus's* death, struck such a terror into his soldiers, that it must have lost him the victory, had he not, with some difficulty, made himself known. Whilst the battle seemed doubtful, the elephants were sent in among the *Romans*, who, surprised at this sight, and their horses being frightened at it, broke their ranks. *Pyrrhus*, taking advantage of this disorder, commanded the *Thessalian* cavalry to charge them, and gave them a total rout, with great slaughter on both sides. The *Romans* lost near fifteen thousand men, and eighteen hundred prisoners, and the other side thirteen thousand. *Pyrrhus* himself was wounded.

Pyrrhus used the *Roman* prisoners with great courtesy, and ordered their dead to be buried. Looking at the bodies of the slain, and observing what noble and stern countenances they had, and that they were all wounded before, he lifted up his eyes, and cried, *How easily might I conquer the world, were I master of such soldiers!* After this battle, *Pyrrhus*, being joined by the auxiliary troops of the *Samnites*, *Lucani*, and *Brutii*, marched towards *Rome*, and advanced as far as *Prænestine*, laying waste all before him. Thinking it more advisable to treat with the *Romans* after this victory, than to stay till they had recruited their forces, which they were doing with all possible expedition; and having also but small hopes

of being able to subdue them, he sent to them *Cineas*, a man and sends of such persuasive eloquence, that *Pyrrhus* himself acknowledged he had stormed more towns by his tongue, than he ever did treat with by his arms. *Cineas* applied himself closely to several of the nobility, with presents, as from his master, for themselves and their ladies: but he found them so steady and unmoved, that not a single person would receive any; and both men and women answered, that if a treaty were publicly concluded, they should then be ready to shew all due respect to so great a man as *Pyrrhus*.

Cineas, finding that these methods would not do, applied openly to the senate assembled; paid them the greatest compliments; and, in his master's name, offered to return, without ransom, all that had been taken in the battle, and assist the Romans to conquer all Italy, if they would only grant *Pyrrhus* and the *Tarentines* their friendship and alliance. These proposals made the senate incline to a treaty, till *Appius Claudius*, now blind and very old, being brought into the senate-house, so warmed the assembly by his speeches, that *Cineas* was dismissed, and bid to tell his master, that the Romans would treat with him about friendship and alliance, whenever he should withdraw his troops from Italy; but that, till then, they were resolved to carry on the war with the utmost vigor, tho' they should meet with ever so many defeats. *Cineas*, at his return, being asked by *Pyrrhus*, What he thought of Rome? answered, That the senate appeared to him like a venerable assembly of so many kings; and that the people were like the hydra, whose numbers increased the more for being defeated; for the consul had already raised twice as great an army, and there were still far greater numbers remaining.

Soon after *Cineas*'s return, the Romans sent to *Pyrrhus*, to treat about ransoming the prisoners, among others, *C. Fabricius*, a person eminent for his great virtues, and remarkable for his professed poverty. *Pyrrhus* received him with extraordinary kindness, and offered him gold, assuring him, that he meant it only as a token of his respect for a person of his excellencies. *Fabricius*, who was not to be wrought upon by any such means, beheld it with the utmost indifference. The next day, *Pyrrhus*, to try him another way, ordered one of his largest elephants, completely armed, to be placed behind the hangings, and, in the midst of their discourse, upon a signal given, the tapestry was drawn aside, and the elephant, raising his trunk over *Fabricius*'s head, made a hideous noise. *Fabricius*, though he had never seen such a creature before, was not at all afraid, but, gently turning about and smiling, said, Neither your gold yesterday, nor your great beast to-day, can make any impression upon me. *Pyrrhus*, amazed at the greatness of his mind, released the prisoners, upon his premise, that if the senate did not agree to a peace, they should return to him; which accordingly they did. *Lævinus*'s colleague, *Coruncanius*, triumphed this year over some

C. Fabricius sent to treat with *Pyrrhus*.

of the *Hetrurians*; and a *lustrum* being performed, the number of free citizens was found to amount to 278,222.

Year of Rome 474. *The Romans engage the Greeks near Asculum.* *Sulpicius Saverris*, and *Decius Mus*, the consuls for the following year, were sent against *Pyrrhus*. The two armies met near the city of *Asculum*, at a place intersected by a rapid current of water, and so covered with woods, that *Pyrrhus's* cavalry was greatly incommoded, and his elephants, for want of sure footing, could not keep up with the infantry. Many were wounded and killed on both sides, when night put an end to the engagement. The next morning, *Pyrrhus*, in order to fight on even ground, and to have the elephants in the thickest of the enemy, caused a detachment to possess themselves of those incommodious grounds, and mixing slingers and archers among the elephants, advanced in a close and well ordered body. The *Romans*, obliged to fight man to man upon plain ground, made a great slaughter among the *Grecian* spear-men; but, after a long and obstinate combat, being overpowered by the prodigious force of the elephants and *Grecian* cavalry, they retreated to their camp with the loss of six thousand men. The enemy lost near four thousand. *Pyrrhus*, being congratulated upon this victory, shrewdly answered, *another such will entirely ruin us*: for by this time he had lost a great part of the troops he had brought with him, and almost all his best commanders.

Pyrrhus's physician offers to poison him, but Fabricius nobly discovers it to Pyrrhus.

The remainder of the year was employed in providing for the next campaign, when *Fabricius* and *Æmilius Papus* were chosen consuls. The two armies were near joining, when *Fabricius* received a letter from the king's first physician, offering to poison *Pyrrhus*, and thereby end the war, provided he might have a reward proportionable to the greatness of the service. *Fabricius*, struck with horror at this villainy, immediately sent notice of it to *Pyrrhus*, adding, that the *Romans abhorred all treacherous practices, it being their custom to conquer an enemy by the power of their own arms, and not by the treason of other's subjects*. *Pyrrhus*, more and more surprised at the greatness and generosity of the *Romans*, cried out, *This is that Fabricius, whom it is harder to turn from the ways of virtue, than to make the sun change its course*. Such was the noble spirit of the *Romans* in those days, when each man preferred the honour of the public to his own private advantage.

Pyrrhus ordered the physician to be executed: and, that he might not be outdone in generosity, he immediately sent to *Rome* all the prisoners, without ransom; and again employed *Cineas* to negotiate a peace with the *Romans*, being now more than ever desirous of their alliance. The *Romans*, on their side, thinking the return of so many prisoners, without ransom, either too great an obligation from an enemy, or too great a reward for barely not doing ill, immediately released as many *Tarentines* and *Samnites*; but would admit of no debate of peace or alliance with *Pyrrhus*, till he should withdraw

draw his forces from *Italy*, and return to *Epirus* in the same ships that brought him. *Pyrrhus* was at a loss what to do. On one hand, he was unwilling to continue this war; and, on the other, more so to quit it dishonourably. A short time relieved him from this perplexity, by an expedition into *Sicily*, whither he was invited by the inhabitants, to expel the *Carthaginians*, and clear that island of tyrants. This was an honourable pretence for drawing off his forces, and leaving *Italy*. He therefore sent *Cineas* before him, and, leaving a garrison in *Tarentum*, embarked for *Sicily*, with an army of thirty thousand foot and five and twenty hundred horse, after he had been in *Italy* two years and four months.

Pyrrhus
with-
draws his
troops and
goes to
Sicily.

Pyrrhus's absence gave the *Romans* time to punish the *Samnites*, *Tarentines*, *Lucani*, and *Brutii*, who, finding themselves unable to resist, strongly solicited that general to return. He, glad of so specious a pretence to leave *Sicily*, where his arms had been successful enough for two years, but where he himself was grown so displeasing to the people, that he could not have staid any longer there without great danger, returned to *Italy*. About the time of his return, so dreadful a plague afflicted *Rome*, that *Cornelius Rufinus*, the last year's consul, was created dictator, for the ceremony of driving a *Year of
Rome 477.*
Plague in
Rome.

hail into the temple of *Jupiter*. This was the third dictator created on that account. The consuls for the following year were *Curius Dentatus* and *Cornelius Lentulus*; the former of which, raising new levies, and being opposed by the people, who refused to enlist, commanded the name of every tribe to be put into a box, and the lot falling upon the *Pollian* tribe, the first that was drawn of that tribe was cited. On his not answering, *Curius* ordered his goods to be sold; and, upon his appealing to the tribunes, he sold the man too, saying, *The commonwealth stood in no need of such a member as refused all obedience*. The tribunes made no opposition: and from this time it became a custom to make a slave of whoever refused to enlist in a just muster, when commanded.

Pyrrhus arrived at *Tarentum* with twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse. After raising new levies there, he marched into *Samnium*, where the *Romans* had a powerful army. *Pyrrhus* divided his forces into two bodies, one of which he sent into *Lucania*, to hinder *Lentulus* from joining his colleague *Curius Dentatus*; whilst he himself, at the head of the other, consisting of his best troops and elephants, marched with all expedition to attack this last, who was advantageously posted near *Beneventum*. He hoped to surprise *Pyrrhus* the *Roman* camp in the night; but in his passage through some woods his lights failed him, and his men lost their way. At break of day, his approach was discovered by the *Romans*, who were at first greatly alarmed; but recovering themselves, *Curius* drew out his troops in haste, attacked *Pyrrhus*'s van-guard, put it to flight, and took some of his elephants.

but meets elephants. This success greatly discouraged the rest of Pyrrhus's troops, and Curius descending into the plain, joined battle with the whole army. In one wing he repulsed the enemy; in the other, by the violence of the elephants, he was forced back to his trenches, where those who guarded them attacking those beasts, so annoyed them with darts and fired pitch and hemp, that they ran back upon their friends, bearing down and breaking all their ranks, so that the victory fell to the Romans, Pyrrhus having lost twenty-three thousand men. His camp, which was also taken, was not only much admired, but proved of very great use to the Romans, by teaching them how to make regular intrenchments, a thing they had never been acquainted with before. To this they owed the origin of that vast skill in encamping, for which they were so justly famous in after times. Curius Dentatus obtained a most splendid triumph for this victory, being graced with four elephants and thirteen hundred prisoners of different nations. A few days after, his colleague triumphed over the Sannites and Lucani. This year was likewise remarkable for the censorship of Fabricius and Aemilius, who removed Rufinus, though he had been twice consul, and once dictator, out of the senate, for having ten pounds of silver plate for the use of his table. By a censu taken this year, there were found to be 271,224 free citizens. Pyrrhus, who bore his defeat with great firmness of mind, receiving letters from Greece and Asia, assembled the Epirots and Tarentines, and told them they would soon receive assistance. This report kept the Romans within their camp, of which taking advantage, he passed, the night following, undisturbed into Epirus, with eight thousand foot and five hundred horse, after leaving a garrison in Tarentum, more to preserve his reputation than for any other use. Thus, in about six years, ended the wars with the famous Pyrrhus, the greatest commander in his time, but who knew better how to conquer than to keep.

He returns into
Epirus.

Year of
Rome 480.

Ptolemy
Philadel-
phus sends
ambas-
adors to
Rome.

The Ta-
rentines
defeated,
and their
city taken

The Roman name, famous before, was now become formidable by the defeat of so great a man as Pyrrhus, which made way for new conquests, and the firm establishment of the Roman empire. In the second year after Pyrrhus's retreat, Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, sent ambassadors to congratulate the Romans on their success, and to enter into an alliance with them. The Romans, in return, sent ambassadors to Egypt, where they were graciously received, and sent home laden with gifts. The following year, the Tarentines, not being able to remove the garrison Pyrrhus had left under Milo, desired aid of the Carthaginians. Their request was granted; but the Romans overthrew both them and their new auxiliaries. Milo, sensible of his inability to resist, by leave from the consul Papirius, departed with his men, and quitted the castle. The Romans, taking it, easily made themselves masters of the city, the walls of which

which they demolished. Peace and liberty were granted to Year of all the citizens; and this year the two consuls triumphed, *Rome 481.* having finished both the *Tarentine* and *Samnite* wars. The last of these had continued, with some intermissions, seventy-one years, and afforded the *Romans* thirty triumphs.

The *Romans*, masters of the greatest part of *Italy*, were, The Cam-
by the late accession of the *Tarentines*, *Samnites*, and *Lucani-panian leg-
ions*, and also by that of the *Hetrurians* not long before, now grown too powerful for any of their neighbours. The *Campanian legion*, who had treacherously seized upon *Rhegium*, and kept it to themselves, were besieged, and, upon surrender, put to death by fifty at a time. Soon after, the inhabitants of *Apollonia* in *Illyricum*, having sent ambassadors to *Rome*, some of the young nobility insulted and beat them; but the *Romans* were so just as to deliver them up to the *Apolloniates*. In the same year the *Picentes* were subdued, and colonies were sent to *Arminium* in the country of the *Piceni*, and to *Beneventum* in that of the *Samnites*.

About this time, the first silver was coined at *Rome*, large quantities of that metal having been found in a castle of the *Samnites*, and the riches of the *Romans* being greatly increased by their conquests. Only brass money had been used before. A year after, the *Sabines*, who had been for some years denizens of *Rome*, received the farther privilege of voting in elections. About four years after this, the quæstors were increased from four to eight; and, in the same year, the reduction of the *Umbri* and *Salentini*, together with that of the city of *Brundusium*, completed the conquest of all ancient *Italy*, a country about five hundred miles long, and one hundred and thirty broad, and which comprehended about one half of what is now called *Italy*. All ancient Italy subjected to the Roman power.

C H A P. IV.

*From the Beginning of the Punic or Carthaginian Wars,
to the Destruction of Carthage, the Capital of Africa.*

Year of
Rome 489.

Begin-
ning of
the first
Punic war.

Fencing
matches
first intro-
duced at
funerals.

AT this time * began the first *Punic* or *Carthaginian* † war. The occasion of it was the *Carthaginians* joining with *Hiero*, king of *Syracuse*, against the *Mamertines*, and laying siege to *Messana* ‡, which obliged that people to send to *Rome* for succour. The *Romans*, who had not forgot the *Carthaginians* assisting the *Tarentines* some time before, were glad of an opportunity to declare war against them. *Appius Claudius*, one of the consuls, was immediately sent over to *Sicily* with an army and a small fleet, and soon raised the siege of *Messana*, after which he defeated both *Hiero* and the *Carthaginians* in two several battles. At his return to *Rome* he was honoured with a triumph, the first that ever was obtained for any foreign action. Notwithstanding the numbers which had perished by continual wars, 292,224 free citizens were census this year, which is also remarkable for *D. Junius Brutus*'s first introducing the custom of having fencing-matches performed by gladiators at funerals; a custom very much in use in after times.

The following year, both the consuls were ordered to *Sicily*, with all their legions. Their arms were attended with such success, that, upon their preparing to invest *Syracuse*, *Hiero* submitted to a peace, and agreed to restore all the *Roman* prisoners without ransom, and to pay an hundred talents of silver. The *Romans* were the more ready to embrace this alliance, because, the *Carthaginians* being masters at sea, they could not supply their armies with provisions and necessaries, so easily as *Hiero* could. *Valerius*, one of this year's consuls, had the surname of *Messala* given him, from *Messana*. He also, after the taking of *Catana*, carried from thence a new sun-dial to *Rome*; *Papirius Cursor* hav-

* In the 489th year of *Rome*, the 3740th of the world, the 4th of the 128th Olympiad; 244 since the beginning of the consular state; 125 since the destruction of the city by the *Gauls*; 65 since the beginning of the *Macedonian* empire by *Alexander the Great*, and 263 before the birth of *Christ*.

† The *Carthaginians*, besides that vast tract of *Africa* which now goes by the general name of *Barbary*, extending about 2000 miles along the sea coast, had, at this time, the islands of *Sardinia* and *Corsica*, and the greater part of *Sicily*, together with some other lesser isles.

‡ Now *Messina*,

ing,

ing, thirty years before, set up the first that ever was in that city. This, though not perfect, was made use of ninety-nine years, till *M. Philippus* the censor, caused a perfect one to be made. About the same time, *Scipio Nasica*, being censor, first made the equal division of the day into hours, by the dropping of water out of one vessel into another. This year, the city being afflicted with a pestilence, *Fulvius Maximus* was created dictator, for the ceremony of driving a nail into the temple of *Jupiter*. This was the fourth dictator created upon the like occasion.

The Romans found themselves so much eased of the burden of the war by this alliance with *Hiero*, that they sent but two legions to Sicily the following year, when they invested *Agrigentum*. *Annibal*, the Carthaginian admiral, who came to relieve it, was defeated on land by the consuls *Posthumius* and *Mamilius*, and *Agrigentum* was taken, after a long siege. The Romans now began to think of nothing less than clearing all Sicily, and making the conquest of that island. By land they were sufficiently prosperous, for the two succeeding consuls carried on the war with great success; but the Carthaginians were absolutely masters of the seas, and by that means made the maritime towns revolt to them, and the coast of Italy was infested with the Carthaginian fleet, whilst *Afric* was unmolested. These considerations made the Romans apply themselves diligently to sea affairs, of which they were then totally ignorant. Having thoroughly observed a Carthaginian ship or two, which had been driven ashore, they set about building an hundred vessels, of five oars on a side, and twenty of three, which they fitted out as well as they could, well knowing that their courage must supply their want of experience.

With this fleet, in the fourth year of this war, the consuls *Cornelius* and *Duilius* boldly ventured abroad, and more boldly still, engaged an enemy who had been for ages in possession of the empire of the sea: *Cornelius*, parting from the rest of his squadron, with seventeen gallies, in order to reduce *Lipara*, fell in with a greater number of the Carthaginians, by whom he was taken, with all his ships. His colleague *Duilius*, more successful, first defeated fifty of the enemy's ships, then falling upon the rest, he gained a complete victory over them, and took fifty; and, pursuing his advantage, raised the siege of *Ægesta*, and took *Marcella* by storm. The senate, who did not expect this success, decreed *Duilius* unusual honours; for besides his obtaining the glory of the first naval triumph, he was ever after attended from supper with music and flambeaux. *Annibal*, on the other side, to secure himself from punishment, sent with all speed to *Carthage*, before the battle was known there, one of his friends, who told the senate, that the Romans were under sail with a great fleet, and that he wanted instructions about engaging them. The senate said, he must fight without delay;

lay ; upon which the messenger replied, *That he had already fought, and was overthrown.* They could not then condemn an action they had just before approved of.

The Romans invade Sardinia and Corsica, 497. This year the *Romans* had but small success by land ; for a breach between the legions and the auxiliaries occasioned a separation, which the *Carthaginian* general, *Amilcar*, took such advantage of, that he cut in pieces four thousand of them. But the *Romans* were so far animated by the advantage and defeat they had gained at sea, that, the next year, they invaded the *Carthaginians* *Hanno*, the *Carthaginian* general there, was slain, and his army cut off by the consul *Cornelius Scipio*. This victory was followed by another over *Annibal*, whom they surprised at sea, newly recruited from *Carthage*. The unfortunate admiral was crucified by those of his soldiers who out-lived this defeat. The next year many towns were lost and won in *Sicily* ; but a noble action of *Calpurnius Flemma*, a tribune of the army, deserves particular mention. *Attilius Collatinus*, the consul, having imprudently brought his army into so desperate a situation, that there was no hope of escaping, extricates *Calpurnius*, with three hundred chosen men, possessed himself of an eminence just by, and, with incredible courage, kept the whole army of the *Carthaginians* at bay, whilst the consuls troops passed with little opposition. *Calpurnius* was the only person that survived of the three hundred, being miserably wounded, and covered with dead bodies. The next year, the consul *Attilius Regulus* subdued the islands of *Lipara* and *Melita**. Certain prodigies in *Rome*, or the belief of them, occasioned the creating of a dictator for the celebration of the *feriae Latinæ*. *Ogulneius Gallus* was the person chosen for this purpose, and the second dictator created upon that account.

Year of Rome 497. The war with the *Carthaginians* had now continued eight years ; when the *Romans*, finding themselves strong by sea as well as by land, resolved to remove the seat of it into *Africa*, and accordingly put to sea with a fleet of three hundred and thirty sail, under the command of the consuls *Regulus* and *Manlius*.

The Romans invade Africa. The *Carthaginians*, being sensible how necessary it was to keep the war at a distance from their own country, opposed them with a fleet of three hundred and fifty sail. Three battles were fought on the same day, in all of which the *Romans* were conquerors. They took from the enemy fifty-four ships, with all their men, and sunk thirty, losing themselves but twenty-four, without their men.

Defeat the Carthaginian fleet three times in one day. In consequence of this victory, they made a descent upon *Africa*, the nearest part of which is two hundred miles from *Sicily*. *Clupea*, a city on the promontory *Hermæa*, was soon surrendered to them. After this, they

* Now *Malta*.

marched up into the country, laying waste all before them, which they did without opposition. Soon after, they received orders from the senate, that *Regulus* should remain in *Africa* in quality of pro-consul, with forty ships, fifteen thousand foot, and five hundred horse, and that *Manlius* should return to *Rome* with the remaining forces.

The *Carthaginians* opposed *Regulus* with a considerable *Regulus* army; but they were soon defeated, and *Tunetum*, (now defeated *Tunis*) was forced to surrender. They then had recourse to and taken the *Lacedæmonians*, from whom they procured *Xantippus*, an prisoner. excellent officer, for their general. *Xantippus* defeated *Regulus*, took him prisoner, and cut off most of his army: the rest escaped to *Clupea*. *Xantippus* met with still worse usage than *Regulus*; for the treacherous *Carthaginians*, under pre-Treache-tence of conducting him home with honour, ordered their ry of the seamen to throw him and his companions over-board, to *Carthagi-* rob the *Lacedæmonians* of the glory of the victory. The *nians*. *Romans* were besieged in *Clupea*, till their enemies perceiving the small probability of reducing them, broke up the siege, and prepared to oppose the succours sent under *Æmilius Paulus* and *Fabius Nobilior*, the two consuls for the following *The Car-* year. These consuls, with three hundred and fifty ships, *thaginian* met the *Carthaginians* near their own coast, and intirely de-fleet de-feated them, taking thirty ships, and sinking one hundred feated by and four, with the loss of only nine of their own. After the *Ro-*this, the consuls took in the garrison from *Clupea*, and sailed *mans*. again for *Sicily*, expecting that several towns there would surrenderto them upon the news of this victory; but before *The Ro-* they could make the shore, a violent storm arose, which de-mans destroyed most of their ships. Both the consuls perished. wrecked. The few that escaped were kindly received by *Hiero*, who on the furnished them with cloaths and other necessaries, and con-coast of *Sicily*.

Karthalo, the *Carthaginian* commander, taking advantage of this misfortune, immediately laid siege to *Agrigentum*, took it, and demolished its fortifications. The *Romans* set about building other ships, and prosecuted that work with such extraordinary diligence, that, we are told, two hundred and twenty new ones were built and launched in three months. On the other hand, *Azdrubal* the *Carthaginian* arrived at *Sicily* with a fleet of two hundred sail, and a powerful army. The consuls *Attilius* and *Cornelius* being ordered to *Sicily* this year, took several towns; after which they returned. Their successors, *Servilius* and *Sempronius*, in the following spring, passed over to *Sicily* with the whole fleet, and from thence to *Africa*, where they landed in many places, but did nothing remarkable. Being unacquainted with that coast, they fell upon certain quicksands near the *Lesser Syrtis*, but got off without much damage, and returned to *Panormus* in *Sicily*. Sailing from thence for *Rome*, through the straits, they were taken in a storm, and lost one hundred

13 hundred and fifty of their ships. This same year the censors struck thirteen members off the list of the senators, for misconduct; they had been guilty of; and a *lustrum* being performed, the number of free citizens amounted to 297,797.

The great losses which the *Romans* had suffered at sea, obliged them, this year, to place all their hopes in their land forces. *Cæcilius* and *Metellus* were sent into *Sicily* with the legions and sixty ships, only for necessaries. They not only yielded the dominion of the sea to the *Carthaginians*, but likewise feared them by land, on account of their great preparations, and especially for their elephants, by which they had been sorely annoyed. *Afdrubal*, the *Carthaginian* general, knowing their fears, and also that one of the consuls was now returned to *Italy* with half the army, ravaged all the country about *Panormus*. The consul *Metellus*, who had hitherto kept within that city, watched his opportunity so well, that, sallying out upon the *Carthaginians*, he gave them a total overthrow, killing twenty thousand of their men, and taking twenty-six elephants; for which he was rewarded with a noble triumph. The *Carthaginians* immediately lost all *Sicily*, except *Lilybæum* and *Drepanum*, to the former of which places *Afdrubal* escaped; but being condemned at *Carthage*, he was taken, and put to death as soon as he returned.

The Carthaginians, weary of a war which had now lasted fourteen years, and by which they had been great losers, began to wish for peace, and accordingly sent to *Rome* to treat about it. *Regulus*, who had been their prisoner five years, was sent with the ambassadors, after binding him with an oath to return to *Carthage*, in case no peace or exchange of prisoners was made. Preferring the public welfare to his own safety, he informed the senate of the weakness of the *Carthaginians*, and advised the *Romans* not to make peace. The senate approved of the advice, but pitied and admired the adviser, whose ruin they knew depended upon his return. They therefore desired him to stay; but he, with an undaunted resolution told them, That though he knew, that death and the greatest tortures were preparing for him at *Carthage*, he could not comply with their request, which he should have looked upon as a command, had he been still his country's servant, as he was Afric's slave, and upon that account not capable of living as became a citizen of *Rome*; but that he yet had so much of the true spirit of a Roman, as to be incapable of doing a base or dishonourable thing; and that he feared the tortures of the most cruel rack, much less than the shame of an infamous action; the former touching only the body, but the latter piercing the mind. He returned to *Carthage*, where, we are told, the

Noble behaviour of Regulus. His cruel *Carthaginians* first cut off his eye-lids, keeping him for a death. while in a dark dungeon; then they brought him out in the middle of the day, with his face turned full against the sun, and at last put him into a barrel stuck with nails, with the

the points inwards, where he died in the greatest misery. The senate, upon hearing of this barbarous treatment of *Regulus*, is said to have delivered up some of the most distinguished of the *Carthaginian* prisoners to his widow *Marcia*, who shut them up in a small closet stuck round with iron spikes, designing to torment them in the same manner that her husband had been, and kept them five days without food, in which time *Bostrar* the *Carthaginian* died of pain and hunger: but *Hamilcar*, being a stronger man, was kept in, with the dead body of *Bostrar*, five days longer, having only just so much sustenance allowed him as might serve to prolong his life in misery. At last, the magistrates being informed of this, began to relent, and strictly forbidding any more such usage, ordered *Bostrar's* ashes to be sent home, and the rest of the prisoners to be treated with humanity, to shew the enemy, that the *Romans* were too generous to insult over the miseries of unhappy men, or to countenance any cruelty, though they had received the highest provocations, and were urged by all the sentiments of a most just retaliation.

The next year the *Romans* fitted out another fleet, and The *Romans* besieged *Lilybæum** by sea and land. They were very unsuccessful in this expedition, losing most of their ships in a short time, partly by the mismanagement of the consul *Cladius Pulcher*, and partly by other misfortunes. *Lilybæum* but lose was still closely invested by land, when the small successes of the present consuls, and the several losses the republic had sustained, occasioned the creating of a dictator to command the forces in *Sicily*. *Attilius Calatinus*, who was promoted to that dignity, was the first dictator that ever led an army out of *Italy*, and he did nothing remarkable in *Sicily*. The *Romans* now began to feel the weight and charge of the war; for the city was drained of money, and at the next *lustrum*, there were but 251,222 free citizens.

The *Romans* made no more maritime preparations for seven years; but about the end of that time, *Amilcar*, the *Carthaginian* admiral, infesting the coasts of *Italy* excessively, made them resolve once more to try their fortune at sea. Accordingly they fitted out a considerable fleet at the private expence of the citizens, the treasury being quite exhausted, and with it gave the *Carthaginians* a great overthrow, near the *Aegatian* isles, taking and sinking at least one hundred and twenty of their ships. This defeat brought the enemy to a peace, which was concluded after only two conferences upon these conditions: 1st, That the *Carthaginians* should pay down one thousand talents of silver, and two thousand two hundred more within ten years. 2dly, That they should quit *Sicily*, and all the isles thereabouts. 3dly, That they should never

* *Lilybæum* stands upon the southern promontory of *Sicily*, over against *Africa*.

End of
the first
Punic war.

Year of
Rome 513.
Eighth
and last
increase
of tribes.

make war upon the Syracusans, or their allies, nor come with any ships of war within the Roman dominions. And 4thly, That they should deliver up all their prisoners without ransom, and also the deserters. Thus ended the first Punic or Carthaginian † war, after it had lasted twenty-four years. The Romans are said to have lost in it seven hundred ships, and the Carthaginians only five hundred. In the same year that this long war was ended, two new tribes, the *Veline* and the *Quirine*, were added to the rest, and made up the number thirty-five, which never was exceeded.

The Romans now began to grow more polite, and to apply themselves a little to study and learning, particularly poetry. The year after this war, the first tragedies and comedies that had been seen in *Italy*, were written by *Livius Andronicus*, a Grecian by birth, one year before the poet *Ennius* was born, about one hundred and sixty years after the death of *Sophocles* and *Euripides*, and sixty-two after that of *Alexander*. *Andronicus* drew the minds of the people from that kind of satyr which had immediately succeeded the old stage-plays, or *ludi Fescennini*. The satyr here meant was a sort of dramatic poem, full of jests and raillery, quite different from the later satyrs of *Lucilius* and *Horace*. *Nævius* was the first poet that followed *Andronicus*'s example, five years after; the year before which were celebrated, for the third time, the great *secular games*, likewise called *ludi magni*, and *ludi Tarentini**, and were of two sorts; the greater, celebrated every one hundred and twenty years, and first instituted in the two hundred and ninety-eighth year of the city; and the *lesser*, celebrated every hundredth year, and first instituted about the three hundred and fifth year of the city, after the abolition of the *decemviri*.

War be-
tween the
Carthagi-
nians and
their mer-
cenaries.

The *Carthaginians*, soon after the conclusion of the peace with the *Romans*, were forced to enter into a bloody war with the mercenary troops in their service, who, partly for want of pay, and partly for want of employment, took up arms against their masters. This war lasted upwards of three years, and was ended at last by *Amilcar*, not without much difficulty and loss. During this time, several *Romans* who traded in *Africa* were secured by the *Carthaginians*, lest they should furnish their enemies with provisions. But when ambassadors were sent to *Carthage* to complain of this usage, they immediately released all that were in custody; which so affected the *Romans*, that they generously sent them all their prisoners without ransom; and, for a short space, there seemed to be an extraordinary friendship between the two nations. Just after this, the *Sardinians* having invited the

† The Greek writers call it the Sicilian war.

* There were also other games, called *Ludi Tarentini*, which were very different from the *Ludi Sacrares*.

Romans over to their island, they went thither. The *Carthaginians* were offended at this step, and prepared to send forces to *Sardinia*. The *Romans* thereupon declared war against them, complaining, that these preparations were designed more against them than the *Sardinians*. This so terrified the *Carthaginians*, who were not in a condition to begin a new war, that they were forced to yield to necessity, and not only to quit all *Sardinia*, but also to pay the *Romans* one thousand two hundred talents. This, though submitted to at present, proved afterwards the occasion of a more bloody and dangerous war than the former.

In the sixth year after the *Carthaginian* war, the *Romans* The tem-
being in perfect peace with all their neighbours, the temple of *Ja-*
of Janus was shut the second time, after having been open *nus* shut
four hundred and thirty-seven years. In the following year, the second
was the first divorce that was ever known in *Rome*: and two time.
years after, *C. Duilius* was created dictator for holding the Year of
Rome 522. *comitia.*

The temple of *Janus* continued shut five years; but it First war
was opened in the sixth by a war with the *Illyrians*, a people with the
bordering upon *Greece*, who inhabited the country now *Illyrians*,
called *Dalmatia*. *Teuta*, queen of that nation, gave her
subjects commission to rob all they met with at sea. Some
of the sufferers happened to be merchants of *Italy*, who,
besides being plundered, were used with great barbarity.
Upon intelligence of this, the *Romans* sent two ambassadors,
Caius and *Lucius Coruncanus*, to *Illyricum*, to demand satisfac-
tion. *Teuta* told them, That she would take care that no public
injury should be offered to the *Romans*; but that she thought it
never was the custom of princes to hinder their subjects from mak-
ing what private advantage they could from the sea. *Caius* replied,
That the *Romans* had learned a better custom; which was, to
punish private injuries with public revenge; and to relieve the
distressed: and that they, by the help of the gods, would take care
to reform her princely customs. The queen was so nettled at
this answer, that, contrary to the law of nations, she sent
after the ambassadors and slew *Lucius*. The *Romans* imme-
diately proclaimed war against her, and the two consuls sent
to *Illyricum* *Fluvius* with a fleet, and *Posthumius* with a land
army. Most of the *Illyrian* towns surrendered upon their
first appearance; and the queen, with a few followers, re-
tired to *Rhizon*, a strong place, from whence she sent to *Rome*
the next spring to beg peace; which was granted upon these
terms: 1, To pay a yearly tribute: 2, To quit all *Illyricum*, ex-
cept a very few places: and, 3, Not to sail beyond the river *Lis-
sus* with more than two barks, and those unarmed. Thus was
the first *Illyrian* war ended in less than two years time.

These wars in *Illyricum* still enlarged the dominions of the
Romans, and their generous behaviour gained them as much
love, as their valour did reputation in those parts; particu-
larly among the *Athenians* and *Corinthians*; which last decreed
them

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them the freedom of the *Isthmian* games, one of the four solemn exercises of *Greece*. This same year the prætors were increased to four; one being sent to the province of *Sicily*, and another to that of *Sardinia*. In the mean time, domestic disturbances about the division of lands taken from the *Gauls*, awakened that nation, who, concluding that the *Romans* fought more out of covetousness than glory, began the war, which the *Latin* historians call *Bellum Gallicum Cisalpinum*. These fierce people invited from beyond the *Alps* other *Gauls*, called *Gessatae*, dwelling near the river *Rhone*; who come over with a prodigious force, and joining the rest made an irruption into *Hetruria*, with an army of fifty thousand foot and twenty thousand horse. The *Romans*, on their side, made the greatest preparations that had ever been known, all *Italy* being up in arms, to the number of seven or eight hundred thousand men, which were placed in different parts, to be in readiness upon all occasions. The consuls themselves led a particular army of fifty thousand eight hundred foot and four thousand two hundred horse.

The *Gauls* laid waste all before them, till they came to *Clusium*, about three days journey from *Rome*, where they were blocked up by the *Romans*, the prætor on their back, and the consuls before, possessing all the passes; so that they were obliged to form two fronts, and to fight very disadvantageously, both by reason of their nakedness and the unfitness of their arms. But the vanity of the *Gessatae* proved the most injurious to them; for they, throwing off all their cloaths, would fight quite naked, and began the first charge; and these being easily broken, so disengaged the rest, that all but are defeated and fled. Upwards of forty thousand *Gauls* were killed, and ten thousand taken prisoners. The consuls obtained a most splendid triumph for this great victory. The next year the for peace. *Romans* attacked the *Gauls* in their own territories, and defeated them several times. Thus harrassed and weakened

they sent ambassadors to *Rome* to beg peace on any terms: but their request was refused. Upon this they resolved to make their last effort, and procured 30,000 auxiliaries from the *Gessatae*. The consuls marched into the country of the *Insubres*, and laid siege to *Acerrae*; whilst the *Gauls* invested

Clastidium, a town in alliance with the *Romans*. *Marcellus*, with only two thirds of his cavalry, and a small detachment of light-armed infantry, marched night and day till he came up with the enemy, whom, notwithstanding the great inequality of numbers, and the extraordinary fatigue of his troops, he engaged, and totally defeated. *Marcellus*, with his own hands, killed *Virdomarus*, king of the *Gessatae*; and

dedicated the third *spolia opima*, or royal spoils, to *Jupiter Fe-
lia opima retrius*. A magnificent triumph was decreed him for this victory. Those that escaped fled to *Mediolanum*, now *Milan*, the chief city of the *Insubrian Gauls*; which being shortly after taken, the *Gallic war*, which had now lasted six years,

was

Year of
Rome 532. They are
defeated again.
Third *spo-
lia opima*.

was ended, to the considerable enlargement of the *Roman* dominions, colonies being planted soon after at *Cremona* and *Placentia*.

About this time, a multitude of *Libertini*, or freed slaves, who lived dispersed among the tribes, occasioned great disturbances in the city; which made the censors, at the next *lustrum*, confine all such to four tribes; the *Esquilina*, the *Palatina*, the *Suburra*, and the *Collina*. At this *lustrum* 270,213 free citizens were censured. *C. Flamininus*, one of the censors for this year, built a *circus*, and paved the highway as far as *Arminium*, being one hundred and thirty miles. Both these great works were afterwards called by his name. Within a year after, the *Illyrians* revolted, but were reduced, though with some difficulty. But the greatest concern the *Romans* had now, was the successful progress of the *Carthaginians* in *Spain*, where, besides their having gained a great part of that country, they had taken *Saguntum*, a town in alliance with *Rome*, and that after they had been desired to desist. The *Romans* thereupon sent ambassadors to *Carthage*, to require their general *Hannibal* to be delivered up; and if that was not granted, to declare war. The ambassadors found the *Carthaginians* little inclined to give any satisfaction; upon which the eldest of them, holding out the skirt of his robe, said to the senate, *Here we bring you peace or war; The se-
chuse which you please.* The chief of the other answered, *cond Pu-
Deliver which you will.* The *Roman* replying *War*, the other *nic* war. accepted it: and thus began the second *Punic* or *Carthaginian* Year of war, thirty-three years after the end of the first.

Rome 536.

The *Carthaginians* committed the care of this war to *Han-
ibal*, a man of wonderful abilities, conduct, and valour, of a hardy, laborious, and indefatigable body, as well as of a fierce, enterprising, and undaunted mind; and, above all, a mortal enemy to the *Romans*. Leaving *Hanno* with a sufficient force to guard his conquests in *Spain*, he crossed the *Py-
renæan* mountains into *Gaul*, with an army of fifty thousand foot and nine thousand horse. He then passed the *Rhone*, and, in ten days after, arrived at the foot of the *Alps*, over which he resolved to pass into *Italy*, notwithstanding the fears of his men, his ignorance of the ways, the labour of the march, and all the numerous perils that attended so vast an enterprize, especially in the midst of winter, as it then was. His aversion to the *Romans* made him think nothing either dangerous or difficult, where there was a prospect of humbling them. After nine days march through untrodden paths, amidst dreadful precipices, deep snow, and intense cold, he at last gained the top of these vast mountains, where he haltered two days to refresh his troops. From thence he descended into the plains, having been fifteen days in passing the *Alps*; and it being now the fifth month after his setting out from *New Carthage*, a city built by *Asdrubal* in *Spain*. At his arrival in the country of the *Insubres*, he found his army reduced

*Hannibal
passes the
Alps.*

reduced to about eighteen thousand foot and six thousand horse ; the rest having perished in crossing the *Alps**.

and de-
feats the
Romans at
Ticinum.

The Ro-
mans
again de-
feated.

Year of
Rome 537.
Hannibal
marches
into He-
truria.

The consul *Scipio* hastened to meet him before his men were well refreshed. Both armies met at *Ticinum*, now *Pavia*; in which battle *Scipio*, being wounded, was saved by the valour of his young son, afterwards called *Africanus*; but in a few hours was defeated, cheifly by means of the *Numidian* cavalry, who fell unexpectedly upon his rear. Soon after this defeat, the other consul, *Sempronius*, joined *Scipio* at the river *Tribia*; and, having been successful in some skirmishes, resolved to give the enemy battle before too many of the *Gauls* had joined him, though *Scipio*, who was laid up with his wounds, was much against it. This was what *Hannibal* wanted. Upon the approach of the two armies, he hid a thousand of his best horse in ambuscade, and sent another party to brave the *Romans* before they could provide themselves with provisions, or guard against the extremity of the weather; so that engaging with cold and hunger, passing the river up to the arm-pits, and being unexpectedly charged both in front and rear, they were immediately defeated. Twenty-six thousand of the *Romans* were either slain, taken, or drowned in the river, and ten thousand escaped to *Placentia*. The slaughter was great on the side of the *Carthaginians*, who likewise lost many of their men, and almost all their beasts and elephants, by the excessive inclemency of the weather.

C. Flaminus, who was more an orator than a soldier; and *Servilius Geminus*, were consuls for the next year; when *Hannibal*, having now sufficiently recruited his army in the country of the *Gauls*, resolved to remove the seat of the war into *Hetruria*. After some consultation about the way thither, he fixed upon that of the fens, as short and unexpected to the enemy, though far more difficult to pass. His men were sorely distressed in this march, being forced to wade through water three or four days and nights, without any sleep or rest. Many of the beasts were left dead in the mud, and the hoofs came off the horse's feet. *Hannibal*, who rode upon an elephant, the only one he had left alive, lost one of his eyes by the excessive wet and cold. Being at last arrived upon dry ground, and knowing *Flaminus*'s fiery temper, the better to entrap him, he passed by his camp, and marched farther into the country, wasting it with fire and sword. This enraged *Flaminus*, who, thinking himself despised by the enemy, immediately resolved to give them battle, in spite of all that could be said to dissuade him from it, or to prevail on him to stay till his colleague had joined him.

Hannibal was now at a lake called *Thrasymene*, between which and a chain of mountains bordering upon it, was a

* Polyb.

narrow

narrow passage which led to a valley encompassed with a ridge of hills. *Hannibal* took possession of those hills, and disposed his men so that when *Flaminius* followed him into the valley, he was immediately hemmed in, attacked on all sides, killed, and his whole army destroyed. About fifteen thousand of the *Romans* fell in the valley, and *Hannibal* took defeated near the same number of prisoners, out of which he released the *Latines* without ransom, but kept the *Romans*. *Servilius*, the other consul, had detached four thousand men, under the command of *Centinius*, with orders to join *Flaminius*, if possible, before the battle. *Hannibal* being informed of it, immediately after the victory sent away *Maherbal* with a much stronger force, who cut off one half of the *Romans*, and made the rest prisoners.

The *Romans* now seeing the necessity of having a general with absolute authority, created dictator *Fabius Maximus*, a person of extraordinary wisdom and experience, and endowed with a happy mixture of caution and boldness. *Fabius* chose dictator for his general of the horse *Minutius Rufus*, whose temper was more hot and violent. Having made what preparations he was able, he set forward to meet *Hannibal*, less with a design to fight him than to watch his motions, straiten his quarters, and cut off his provisions, which he knew would be the most effectual way to ruin him, in a country so far distant from his own. He always encamped on the highest grounds, free from the insults of the enemy's cavalry, but still keeping pace with them: when they marched, he followed them; when they encamped, he did the same, but at such a distance as not to be forced to engage; by which means he gave them no rest, but kept them in a continual alarm. This cautious way of proceeding, which got him the name of *Cunctator*, made most men suspect his courage; but *Hannibal* judged otherwise. This last, intending to go to *Casnum*, was by mistake conducted to *Caslinum* near *Campania*, where entering a valley environed with mountains, *Fabius* detached four thousand chosen men who possessed themselves of the entrance, and with another party cut off eight hundred of the enemy's rear and put their whole army into some disorder. *Hannibal*, finding himself blocked up, and in a dangerous situation, one night ordered small faggots and lighted torches extricates to be tied to the horns of two thousand oxen, which, by himself their tossing their horns and scattering the fire, so frightened the guard that they quitted their posts, and gave *Hannibal* an opportunity to draw off his army.

This action, though excellently well managed by *Fabius*, caused many complaints against him, which *Hannibal* secretly improved as much as he could; and, to give them the greater appearance of being well founded, he ravaged the country all around him, but artfully spared *Fabius*'s lands, to render him suspected of a secret correspondence with him. These suspicions, and *Fabius*'s want of courage, as his men believed,

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lieved, proved so prejudicial to him, that, in his absence soon after, *Minutius*, his general of the horse, having skirmished with some success, became such a favourite with the multitude, that his power was made equal with that of the dictator; a thing without example. *Minutius* was so exalted with his late successes and this new honour, that he resolved, contrary to all the persuasions of *Fabius*, to engage *Hannibal* with his part of the army. The *Carthaginian* cunningly drew him into a disadvantageous place, where he was in great danger of being defeated, when *Fabius*, who had observed the action from an eminence in his camp, falling upon the enemy, forced them to retreat and saved *Minutius*. *Hannibal*, after this battle, told his friends, that he thought the cloud which had so long hovered upon the mountains would some time break upon them with a storm. *Minutius*, convinced of his error, renounced his new power, and freely subjected his office to the dictatorship.

Fabius saves Minutius.

Year of Rome 538. *Fabius's* power expired, and *Æmilius Paulus* and *Terentius Varro* were chosen consuls. The former was prudent and experienced; the latter, hot, rash, and inconsiderate. They

Battle of Cannæ.

got together an army of eighty thousand foot and six thousand horse, which gave great hopes to the people, but raised as great fears in some of the wiser sort, especially *Fabius*, who strongly cautioned *Æmilius* to beware of the policy of *Hannibal*, and the rashness of *Varro*. Both armies met at a village in *Apulia*, called *Cannæ*, where *Varro* resolved to engage, contrary to *Æmilius's* advice, the enemy being about forty thousand foot and twenty thousand horse. This battle was fought with prodigious fury on both sides; and *Hannibal* had placed his men with such art, that the *Romans* were not only forced to fight with wind, dust, and sun, but, on their pressing forward, they were in a little time almost surrounded. The abilities of the *Punic* general never appeared so much as on this occasion. His skill much more than over-matched the superior number of the *Romans*, of whom a most dreadful slaughter was made, till *Hannibal*, quite weary of it, commanded his soldiers to give over. The consul *Æmilius* was killed, and with him fifty thousand men. *Polybius* says seventy thousand, two quæstors, twenty-one tribunes, eighty of the senatorial order, and so many knights, that it is said three bushels of their rings were sent to *Carthage*. The enemy lost but 5700 men.

The consternation of *Rome* upon the news of this dreadful disaster, is easier to be imagined than described. It was such, that it was thought necessary to create a dictator to preserve order in the city, and to set strict guards at the gates to keep the people from abandoning it. *Varro* arrived soon after with the shattered remains of his army; and, though he had been the principal cause of this defeat, yet the *Romans*, out of an extraordinary greatness of mind, went out to meet him in multitudes, and the senate returned him thanks, for that he had

had not despaired of the commonwealth. Notwithstanding this prodigious loss, and the revolt of a great part of Italy immediately after it, the Romans would never so much as mention peace.

If Hannibal, after this victory, had marched directly to Rome, he might, in all probability, have put an end both to the war and the Roman state: but, as Maherbal, captain of his horse, told him, *he knew perfectly how to gain a victory, but not how to use and improve it.* His negligence that summer gave the Romans an opportunity of recovering themselves, when they were almost reduced to a despairing condition. But what proved most fatal to him, was, his wintering in Capua, a wealthy and most luxurious city, which, among many others, had surrendered to him since his last victory. Here he utterly spoiled an excellent and hardened army. His men, before insured to toil and labour, were now so enervated by their immoderate use of the pleasures and effeminacies of that place, that they could not bear fatigue, or the strictness of the antient military discipline. Capua proved as fatal to Hannibal's soldiers, as Cannæ had been to the Romans. From this time his fortune began to change; for, in the next campaign, A change against which the Romans had made all possible preparations, in the foreseen arming several thousands of slaves, he was worsted by tune of the prætor Marcellus in a sally out of Nola; and repulsed at Hannibal. Casilinum, after he had brought the place to great extremities; and, not long after, Marcellus gained a considerable advantage over him near Nola. These successes made the Romans hope for greater.

In Spain, the Scipios managed the war successfully, defeating both Hanno and Asdrubal; which last had just received orders from Carthage to join Hannibal in Italy. In Sicily and Sardinia, though several attempts were made by the Carthaginians, and some revolts happened, yet affairs succeeded prosperously, especially in Sardinia, where a battle was fought in which twelve thousand Carthaginians were killed, and a great many taken prisoners, among whom were some of great distinction.

Rome had now the misfortune of having enemies on all sides of her, and in all parts of her dominions; so that the vigour and diligence of her inhabitants in sending recruits and supplies into Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia, was really admirable. But a still greater instance of the Roman courage and magnanimity, was their proclaiming war against Philip, king of Macedon, not long after their defeat at Cannæ, for his making a league with Hannibal; and their invading his dominions, which they did with good success.

The affairs of Sicily were soon altered by the death of Hiero The King of Syracuse, and the murder of his grandson Hieronymus mans not long after, which occasioned great factions in that city. The prevailing party being against the Romans, Marcellus took Syracuse, was sent thither. He besieged Syracuse by sea and land, but could

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could not storm it with all his power, his efforts of every kind being always baffled by the skill of that great mathematician *Archimedes*, who contrived such engines as demolished all the batteries and some of the ships of the *Romans*. *Syracuse* held out three years, and was at last taken by surprize, whilst all its inhabitants were busied with a festival. *Marcellus* could not help shedding tears at the destruction of so glorious and magnificent a city, which he endeavoured to save, but could not: but what grieved him most of all was, the death of *Archimedes*, whom he had given strict orders to his men not to hurt. *Archimedes* was just then so intent upon his studies, that he did not observe the noise and uproar in the city; and a common soldier, not knowing him, entered his house and killed him. His body was honourably interred by *Marcellus's* order. *Syracuse* was twenty-two miles in compass, and the plunder of it immense.

Archimedes killed.

Year of Rome 542. The wars in *Italy*, during this time were attended with various success. *Tarentum* was betrayed to *Hannibal*, but the castle still held out; and the *Romans* invested *Capua*, and straightened it so that the inhabitants were forced to send to *Hannibal* for relief. He made no great haste to relieve them, wanting to take the castle of *Tarentum* first; but considering afterwards how great a disgrace the loss of such a place as *Capua* would be, he broke up the siege of *Tarentum*, and directed his march thither. He attacked the *Romans* in their trenches, but was repulsed with considerable loss. Finding that attempt too hazardous, he resolved to fall upon *Rome* itself, and accordingly marched that way, expecting that the very name of such an enterprize would oblige them to raise the siege. In that, however, he was disappointed: the pro-consul, *Fulvius*, only was sent for from the siege, with fifteen thousand foot and ten thousand horse, for the defence of *Rome*.

Capua surrenders to the Romans. *Hannibal* was then encamped about eight miles from the city, but he soon after advanced to the river *Arno*, within three miles of *Rome*; from whence he went to take a view of the city with a party of two thousand horse. *Flaccus* soon forced him to retreat. Soon after he decamped, and marched to the river *Turia*, and from thence to the lake of *Feronia*, where he plundered a temple of that goddess, and afterwards traversed the countries of the *Lucani* and *Brutii* in the same outrageous manner. *Capua* surrendered soon after. The heads of the revolt were put to death, and the common people sold. This city, on account of the richness of the soil round about it, was reserved for the use of all sorts of husbandmen, labourers, and artificers, without any shew of government of its own, as it formerly had.

The Romans masters of Sicily. *Valerius Lævinus*, one of the consuls for the next year, being sent into *Sicily*, reduced that whole island to the Roman obedience. This was the first time that the *Romans* had been masters of all *Sicily*. *Fabius Maximus* was chosen consul

ful the following year, in which *Tarentum* was betrayed into his hands. The number of free citizens this year was but one hundred and thirty-seven thousand, one hundred and eight; which shews what prodigious losses the *Romans* had sustained by the late wars. *Marcellus's* success against *Hannibal* this year, was unequal. The year after he was made consul a fifth time, when, going against *Hannibal*, he was slain in an ambuscade. *Marcellus* was called the *sword*, and *Fabius* the *buckler*, of *Rome*. His colleague, *Crispus*, also received a wound, which proved mortal.

The following year, *Asdrubal* was ordered to leave *Spain*, and go to the assistance of his brother *Hannibal* in *Italy*; whereupon the consul, *Livius*, was sent to meet and oppose him, whilst his colleague, *Nero*, observed *Hannibal's* motions. *Nero*, having had some success against *Hannibal*, with great secrecy and expedition joined his colleague with a detachment of six thousand foot and one thousand horse; and they two surrounded *Asdrubal*, and cut his whole army in pieces. *Nero Asdrubal* returned immediately to his camp, and, before *Hannibal* defeated knew of his departure, cast his brother's head into his camp, and killed. which was the first information he had of his defeat. The Year of year after this, *Scipio* reduced all *Spain* to the obedience of *Rome* 547. *Rome*, and drove the *Carthaginians* entirely out of it. But All *Spain* *Hannibal* still continued to harrafs *Italy*. reduced.

Scipio, on his return from *Spain*, when he was but twenty-nine years old, was made consul and governor of *Sicily*, with leave to pass over into *Africa*. He did so, after staying a year Year of in *Sicily* to provide for his expedition; and upon his arrival Rome 549: in *Africa*, he was joined by *Masanissa*, king of *Numidia*, who *Scipio* goes had before assisted him in *Spain*. *Hanno*, who opposed him, into *Afri-* was defeated and slain, together with three thousand of the *ca,* *Carthaginians*: and *Scipio*, encouraged by this success, invested *Utica*, but afterwards raised the siege on the approach of a numerous army of the enemy joined by *Syphax*, who had dis- posessed *Masanissa* of his kingdom of *Numidia*. He invested *Utica* again in the winter; and learning that the enemy were encamped not far off, he sent some of his men, disguised like slaves, to view their camp, which, the tents being covered with mats, reeds, dry boughs, and the like, he suddenly set fire to, and, in the midst of the hurry and confu- sion occasioned thereby, he fell upon them, killed forty and de- thousand, and took six thousand prisoners. Not long after, feasts the he gave them another great overthrow, which so terrified the *Carthagi-* *Carthaginians*, that they recalled *Hannibal* from *Italy*, where *nians*. he himself had been in a declining condition for a considera- ble time, and where he had now spent fifteen years.

Syphax made a last effort to defend his usurpation. Having collected a great number of raw undisciplined strangers, he ventured to give *Scipio* battle, but was defeated and taken *Masanissa* prisoner. *Masanissa* marched with all speed to *Cirta*, the ca- regains pital of *Numidia*, which, being informed of *Syphax's* fate, *Numidia* opened

opened its gates to him. Among others who were in the city, was queen *Sophonisba*, *Syphax's* wife, a woman of incomparable beauty, who earnestly besought him that she might not be delivered up to the Romans. *Masaniſſa* granted her request, and, to confirm his promise, married her himself that day. *Scipio*, who arrived soon after, greatly disapproved of this action, and told him, *That the Romans had a title to her, as being their captive, one of their greatest enemies, and the principal cause of all Syphax's treachery.* Upon this, *Masaniſſa*, in a violent passion, sent her a bowl of poison; at receiving which she only said, *That if her husband had no better token to send to his new wife, she must accept of that;* adding, *That her death would have been more honourable, if her marriage had been farther from it;* and then drank it off.

Hannibal arrived at *Leptis*, after a passage of a few days, and from thence marched to *Adrumetum*, and next to *Zama*, five days journey from *Carthage*. *Scipio* was encamped not far from him. The *Carthaginians* made some overtures of peace; but they not being agreed to, the decision of the quarrel was referred to the sword.

Never was a more memorable battle fought, whether we consider the generals, the armies, the two states that contended, or the importance of the victory, on which depended, whether *Rome* or *Carthage* should give law to the world. Both generals shewed the utmost skill and courage; but the genius of *Scipio* prevailing, *Hannibal* was overcome, with the loss of twenty thousand slain, and as many taken prisoners. The *Carthaginians*, humbled by this blow, sent ambassadors to *Rome* to beg peace, which was granted; and, the power of concluding it being referred to *Scipio* and two others, was at last agreed to upon the following

Year of Rome 552. Peace concluded with Carthage. terms: 1. *That the Carthaginians should enjoy all their territories in Africa; but that the Romans should hold Spain, with all the islands in the Mediterranean:* 2. *That all rebels and deserters should be delivered up to the Romans:* 3. *That the Carthaginians should deliver up all their beaked ships, except ten triremes, with all their tamed elephants, and should tame no more:* 4. *That they should not make war in Africa, or elsewhere, without leave from Rome:* 5. *That they should restore to *Masaniſſa* all that belonged to him, and enter into alliance with him:* 6. *That they should supply the Roman troops with money and corn, till the return of the ambassadors:* and, 7. *That they should pay ten thousand talents of silver in fifty years time, and give an hundred hostages for the performance of this treaty.*

Thus ended the second Punic or *Carthaginian* war, to the great satisfaction of *Rome*, and the great renown of *Scipio*, who, besides a most splendid triumph, obtained the surname of *Africanus*. It was seven years shorter, but far more bloody and dangerous, than the first *Punic* war.

The *Romans* had now gained a considerable addition of dominion, riches, and honour, as well as of experience and knowledge in war. Their intercourse with the *Greeks* likewise

wife gave them a greater relish than ever they had before for learning and the liberal arts. *Ennius*, *Licinius Tegula*, and *Cæcilius*, three dramatic poets who flourished about this time, afforded them much delight. One foreign war, however, yet remained to be carried on: namely, that against *Philip of Macedon*; the occasion of which, already mentioned, being now aggravated by his breach of faith with the *Ætolians* and other *Roman* allies in those parts, by the complaints of *Attalus* king of *Pergamus*, and those of the *Rhodians*, and also by the earnest request of the *Athenians*, war was declared a-new against him.

This *Philip*, king of *Macedon*, was the tenth of the successors of *Alexander the Great*, and a powerful prince in *cedenian Greece*. The consul, *Sulpicius Galba*, worsted him several times, and was very near taking him prisoner. With the assistance of *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, *Sulpicius* raised the siege of *Athens*; upon which the *Ætolians* and the *Athenians* invaded *Philip's dominions*. The prætor, *Furius*, obtained a great victory this year over the *Gauls*, who had revolted and invested *Cremona*, killing thirty thousand men, and with them *Amilcar*, a *Carthaginian* commander. For this action, after much dispute in the senate, he triumphed, though against the custom, and without precedents; for none ever yet obtained this honour for a victory gained with another's army, as he had this with the troops of the consul *Aurelius Cotta*, who therefore very justly resented this affair. Little was done in *Macedonia* the year following: but the prætor, *Bebius*, entering unadvisedly into the territories of the *Insubrian Gauls*, was surrounded, and lost above six thousand six hundred of his men.

In the third year of the *Macedonian war*, the consul, *Quintus Flaminius*, beat *Philip* out of the *Streights*, where he was advantageously posted; and his brother *Lucius*, assisted by *Attalus*, attacked him by sea, and regained several confederate towns. The prætors in *Rome* were increased this year from four to six, by reason of the great busines of the common- Year of *Rome 556*. wealth: and the time being come for the election of consuls, the tribunes rightly observed, that the custom of making the new consuls supersede the old ones, greatly hindered the progress of the wars; whereupon *Quintus* was continued in his command. He was then upon the point of taking the castle of *Opus*, and *Philip* desired to treat with him; but they came to no agreement. Soon after, *Philip* delivered up *Argos* into the hands of *Nabis*, tyrant of *Lacedemon*, who used the inhabitants with great cruelty and oppression. *Quintus* at last followed *Philip* into *Thessaly*, and defeated him entirely at *Cynocephalæ*, killing eight thousand, and taking five thousand prisoners; so that he was forced to beg peace, which was granted. About the same time, two great victories were gained over the *Gauls*; and the slaves in *Hetruria*, who

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had revolted, were quelled and chastised by the prætor *Attilius*.

The Romans generously restore liberty to Greece.

The Romans, from a principle of generosity, resolved to restore liberty to the cities of *Greece* which they had taken in this war; and, to that end, they sent thither ten of their greatest patricians, with *Flaminus* at their head. These commissioners went to the *Isthmian* games, where all the chief men of the *Greeks* were then assembled; and there, in the name of the senate and people of *Rome*, they publicly proclaimed liberty to all the cities and people of *Greece*, to the great and unexpected joy of all that heard it. Thus ended the first *Macedonian* war, five years after it was last proclaimed, and twenty after it first began.

Year of Rome 559.

The year following, some disturbances were raised in the city concerning the *Oppian* law; a law preferred by *Oppius*, tribune of the people, soon after the defeat at *Cannæ*, forbidding women to wear gold or purple, and some other ornaments. The present tribunes endeavouring to abrogate this law, the occasion of it being now removed, were violently opposed by the consul *Portius Cato*: but they, and the importunities of the women at last prevailed, and the law was annulled. *Cato* then went to *Spain*, which was his province, where, by his severity to himself as well as his soldiers, he restored the *Roman* discipline, and reduced many of the *Spanish* nations which had lately revolted. The Romans were still at war with the *Gauls*, who had been joined by their neighbours the *Ligurians*; but this war was not very burthensome to the state, nor such as hindered the progress of learning in the city; for about this time *Plautus* had many plays acted at *Rome*, and it was he who first brought comedy to its perfection there, having a great genius for that kind of composition, and being a complete master of the *Latin* tongue, which, though not arrived to its utmost purity, had even then a masculine strength and energy.

The Romans were also not without some wars in *Greece*; for *Nabis* still opposed them, but was soon forced to submit: and about this time, *Antiochus*, king of *Syria*, urged, partly by his own ambition and his hatred to *Rome*, and partly by the persuasions of *Hannibal*, who had lately been forced thither by the ingratitude of his own countrymen, made incroachments upon the *Roman* allies, which the Romans could not help resenting. Negotiations were set on foot to accommodate matters, but to no great effect; and at last *Antiochus*, whom the *Aetolians* had treacherously joined, proceeded so far into *Greece* itself, that the Romans proclaimed war against him.

The Romans declare war against

This *Antiochus*, who was one of *Alexander's* successors, was surnamed the *Great*, on account of his power and the extensiveness of his dominions. The greater preparations were therefore made against him, and the consul *Acilius* was sent

sent into *Greece* to manage the war. *Acilius* easily recovered *Antiochus*, all the places which *Antiochus* had taken in *Theffaly*, and, king of following him to the straits of *Thermopylæ*, gave him such *Syria*. an overthrow, that he immediately quitted *Greece*, and left Year of the *Aetolians* to the mercy of the conquerors. At the same *Rome* 536. time, his colleague *Nasica* obtained a great victory over the *Boian Gauls* in *Italy*, which intirely broke all their power. *Lucius Scipio* and *Lælius Nepos* were consuls for the next year, when the department of *Greece* was given to *Scipio*, with power to pass into *Asia*, if he thought proper. *Scipio Africanus* was his lieutenant.

Antiochus was now at *Ephesus*, where he thought himself secure from the *Romans*; but *Hannibal*, who had advised him to invade *Italy*, told him, he rather wondered they were not already arrived, than doubted of their coming, and persuaded him to send for his troops from the distant provinces, and to get ready all his ships, to guard the passage of the *Hellepont*, where the consul most probably would pass. *Pergamus*, the chief city of *Eumenes*, a friend to the *Romans*, was likewise invested; but the siege was soon raised, and *Antiochus* sent to the *Roman* admiral *Æmilius*, then on those coasts, to treat about a peace; but *Æmilius* answered, that he had no power of concluding it without the consul. Soon after, the *Rhodians* defeated their admiral at sea, which was *Hannibal*, who was there out of his element, and who soon after lost that command, being again defeated by *Æmilius*, *Eumenes*, and the *Rhodians*. *Antiochus*, affrighted at this ill fortune, imprudently abandoned *Lysimachia*, which might have kept the consul in action a year longer; and, by another indiscretion, suffered the *Scipios* to pass the *Hellepont* without opposition. This was the first time that the *Romans* got footing in *Asia*, which so alarmed *Antiochus*, that he offered to quit all places in *Europe*, and such in *Asia* as were friends to the *Romans*, to pay half the charges of this war, and even to give up part of his own kingdom, if that was insisted on. But these proposals, though backed with the offer of releasing without ransom the son of *Africanus*, who had been taken prisoner, were rejected. Upon which, *Antiochus* prepared for a battle. *Africanus* fell sick just at this time; but his brother, who gained by this expedition the surname of *Asiaticus*, engaged *Antiochus*, whose forces amounted to seventy thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse, and totally defeated him. He was now desirous to make peace with the *Romans* on any terms, and accordingly sent ambassadors to *Africanus*, who told them, that the *Romans* were never wont to insult over their conquered enemies, and therefore nothing should be required of him more than formerly. The terms were, to pay fifteen thousand talents of *Eubœa* for the expence of the war; to quit all their possessions in *Europe*, and likewise all *Asia* on this side of *Mount Taurus*;

Antiochus
totally
defeated.

Taurus; to deliver up *Hannibal* and other incendiaries, and to give twenty hostages for securing the peace.

Year of Rome 565. *Manlius*, one of the consuls for the next year, chastised the *Aetolians* for their late behaviour in *Greece*, and, soon after, undertook an expedition against the *Gallo-Gracians*, or *Gallatians*, in *Asia*, in which he was successful. The return of his army first brought into *Rome* the luxury and idleness of the *Asiatics*. The number of free citizens cessed this year was 258,328.

Scipio Africanus. In the third year after the ending of the war with *Antiochus*, *Scipio Africanus* was maliciously accused of defrauding the treasury of the booty taken in the war, and of too closely accused a correspondence with *Antiochus*, together with some other matters of the like nature. A day was fixed for him to answer this charge before the people. The time appointed being come, and the tribunes having taken their places in the *rostra*, *Scipio* entered the assembly, with a mighty train of friends and clients, all the people having their eyes fixed upon him with admiration. Silence being made, he, with an undaunted bravery, put on his triumphal crown, and, with the voice of a conqueror, cried, *This very day, O Romans, I overcame the fierce Hannibal, and vanquished the powerful Carthaginians. Let us therefore lay aside private contests, and go to the capitol, to thank the gods for giving me the power of doing my country so great a service.* At these words he walked on to the capitol; the whole assembly followed him, and left the tribunes alone, who from accusers were now become admirers.

Shortly after, the senate accused him in the senate-house, and desired he might be brought to his answer. *Scipio*, boldly rising up, produced his books and accounts, and tore them in pieces before them all, disdaining to give an account for so small a matter, in comparison of the vast sums he had brought into the treasury. Another day was appointed for his trial, when his brother appearing, declared that he was indisposed, and could not attend. A third day was thereupon fixed, before which time he withdrew to *Linternum*, a sea town of *Campania*, and there lived a private life. In his absence the tribunes were very violent against him; but through the interposition of *Gracchus*, who was one of them, he was not condemned. His brother *Asiaticus* was shortly after called to an account about matters of the same nature, and likewise escaped public punishment by *Gracchus's* means. *Scipio Africanus* died about three years after, and, in the same year, died also *Hannibal*,

Scipio Asiaticus likewise accused. **Year of Rome 571.** who, after wandering from place to place, to avoid falling into the hands of the *Romans*, at last fled to *Prusias*, king of *Bithynia*, who, out of fear, was about delivering him up, when *Hannibal* took poison, which, it is said, he carried *Hannibal* about him in his ring, first invoking the gods of hospitality,

as witnesses of the violated faith of king *Prusias*, and upbraiding the present *Romans* with degenerating from their ancestors, who had honourably prevented the murther of their mortal enemy *Pyrrhus*; whereas these had basely sent to *Prusias* to murder his guest and friend.

For about twelve years after this, the *Romans* were chiefly employed in wars with their neighbours, the *Ligurians* and *Italians*, and likewise with the *Sardinians* and *Corsicans*, and the *Celtiberians* in *Spain*, all which they reduced to subjection. About this time were found the works of *Numa Pompilius*, the second king of *Rome*, after they had been buried in a stone chest 535 years. They were burnt by order of the senate. The number of free citizens of *Rome* amounted now to 293,244.

Year of
Rome 583.

Works of
Numa
Pompilius
found.

Second
Macedoni-
an war.

About two years after this, *Perseus*, king of *Macedon*, the son of *Philip*, emboldened by the great preparations his father had made before his death, renounced the league made with the *Romans*, and began the second *Macedonian war*, twenty-five years after the finishing of the first, and eighteen years after that with *Antiochus*. *Quintus Marcius* and others were thereupon sent into *Greece*, to secure the confederates in their fidelity. *Perseus* then repenting what he had done, applied to *Marcius* about a treaty for peace, relying upon the ancient friendship between their two families. The ambassadors, to divert him from action, politickly granted him a truce till they could send to *Rome*; for had he begun the war just then, he would have taken the *Romans* at a great disadvantage, they having neither army nor commander yet arrived in *Greece*.

The senate denied him peace, and the consul *Attilius* was sent to seize upon *Barissa*, the chief city of *Thessaly*. *Perseus* thereupon assembled a more numerous army than any of his predecessors had had since *Alexander the Great*. The consul *Licinius* led such raw undisciplined troops into *Macedonia*, and through such difficult and almost impassable places, that had *Perseus* made his advantage of this opportunity, he might easily have destroyed them. Instead of this, he sent to *Licinius*, offering to submit on the same terms as his father *Philip* had done: but this proposal was also rejected. Soon after the prætor *Lucretius* took *Thebes* and *Aeartus*, and the consul possessed himself of some towns, and then went into winter quarters; whilst *Appius Claudius* lost many men in *Illyricum*. The next year, the consul *Hosilius*, who succeeded to this command, did little more than bring his men to that ancient discipline which his predecessor had too much neglected. *Perseus* might have taken great advantage of the inexperience of the next commander, *Marcius Philippus*, but, struck with a groundless pannic, he retreated to *Pydna*, and left all the passes open to him. *Aemilius Paulus*, who had been consul seventeen years before, succeeded *Marcius*, and came to a battle with the *Macedonians*,

in

Perseus in which *Perseus* lost the day, and with it his kingdom. totally de- He fled to the isle of *Crete*, where, being abandoned by all, feated, he surrendered himself into the hands of *Cn. Octavius*. *Aemilius* and driven severely chastised the *Epirots*, who had joined with *Per-* from his *seus*, plundering and demolishing about seventy of their kingdom. towns. This booty was so great, that the share of each foot soldier amounted to upwards of seven pounds sterl^{ing}, and that of the horse to twice as much. The troops got little or no plunder in *Macedonia*, nor any of the king's treasure, for which reason they denied their general a triumph, which he, however obtained, and that a more splendid one than *Rome* had scarce ever seen before. *Perseus* and his two sons End of the being led before his triumphal chariot. *Cn. Octavius*, who the second commanded the *Roman* fleet, triumphed also this year; as *Macedoni-* did likewise *L. Anicius*, before whose chariot was led *Gentius*, king of the *Illyrians*, who had been a confederate with and of the *Perseus*. Thus ended the second *Macedonian* war in three years time, and with it the kingdom of *Macedon*, one hundred and fifty-six years after the death of *Alexander the Great*. This conquest brought* two hundred millions of festerces into the treasury.

Year of Rome 586. The *Romans* had now attained such a height of grandeur, that many kings and potentates became voluntary suppliants to the senate, and begged their friendship and protection. Learning too flourished among them more than ever, being greatly promoted by their intercourse with the *Greeks*, whom they had lately conquered, and much encouraged by *Scipio* and *Lælius*, two noble patrons of eloquence, poetry, and the arts. In this time flourished the famous comedian *Terence*, whose writings helped greatly to perfect the *Roman* tongue. His first play was acted about a year after the conquest of *Macedonia*. With the learning, riches, and dominions of *Rome*, were likewise increased the number of its inhabitants, which now amounted to 312,081 free citizens. For seventeen or eighteen years after this, the *Romans* were employed in quelling revolts and insurrections among the *Ligurians*, *Corsicans*, *Dalmatians*, *Spaniards*, and *Macedonians*; but none of these wars were of sufficient consequence to merit a particular detail.

Year of Rome 604. Soon after they were over, the *Romans* began the third Punic war, under pretence of the *Carthaginians* being in arms against *Massanissa*, a *Roman* ally, though they had sufficient justice on their side. The *Roman* ambassadors who *Punicwar.* were sent to *Carthage*, finding that city very rich and flourishing, (the effect of fifty years peace) at their return, insisted much on the danger which threatened *Rome* from that state. *Cato*, in particular, on whatever business he spoke in the senate, always ended his speech with saying, *Delenda*

* Vell. Patrc.

left *Carthago*; *Carthage must be destroyed*. In this he was often opposed by *Scipio Nasica*, who justly foretold, that upon the removal of so powerful a rival, security would cause the ruin and dissolution of the *Roman* commonwealth. *Cato's* reasons, however, prevailed, and both the consuls were sent with orders to destroy *Carthage*. The *Carthaginians*, affrighted at the preparations of the *Romans*, immediately condemned those who had broken the league, and humbly offered any reasonable satisfaction. Answer was returned, that they should enjoy all as formerly, provided they sent three hundred hostages of the chief of the city within thirty days to *Sicily*, and did what the consuls should farther command them. The hostages were sent within the limited time; and on the arrival of the consuls at *Utica*, the *Carthaginians* sent deputies to wait upon them, and know their pleasure. The consul *Censorinus* demanded all their arms, which were delivered up, without any fraud. They then, with tears and all possible submission, begged for mercy, and desired to know their last doom. The consuls told them, that they were commanded to leave their city, which they had orders to level with the ground; and that they might build another any where else in their own territories, but not within less than ten miles of the sea. This severe command was received with all the concern and rage of a despairing people; and the *Carthaginians* resolved to suffer the greatest extremities, rather than abandon their ancient habitation.

The consuls were in no hurry to begin the war, not doubting but they should easily become masters of the city, defenceless as it now was. But they found it otherwise; for the inhabitants, both men and women, worked night and day to make arms; and where iron and brass were wanting, they made use of gold and silver; and the women cut off the hair of their heads, to supply the place of tow or flax. *Afdrubal*, who had lately been condemned, was now made their general and governor of the city, where he had already a good army. The consuls were repulsed several times with loss, which would probably have been much greater, had not *Scipio Aemilius* found means to gain over *Pharneas*, who commanded the *Carthaginian* horse. *Massanissa* died this year, at the age of ninety, leaving his kingdom and a young son to *Scipio's* care; and the same year *Cato* died at *Rome* in the eighty-fifth year of his age.

The consuls did but little the following year, for they only invested *Clupea* and *Hippo*, without taking either of them. But at *Rome* the eyes of all were fixed upon *Scipio*, who was looked upon as destined to end the war; and whereas he sought only for the ædileship, the people gave him the consulship, dispensing with his age and other usual qualifications. *Scipio* soon let them know that their honours were not ill bestowed; for having restored discipline, which had

been

been too much neglected by the late consuls, he soon took that part of *Carthage* called *Megara*, and drove the inhabitants into the citadel, or *Byrsa*. Then securing the isthmus which led to the city, he cut off all supplies of provisions from the country, and blocked up the haven. But the besieged, with incredible industry, cut out a new passage into the sea, by which they could, at certain times, receive necessaries from the army without. *Scipio* therefore, in the beginning of the winter, attacked that army, of which he killed seventy thousand, and took ten thousand prisoners. The besieged, now deprived of all assistance from abroad, were by this means reduced to the utmost distress. In the beginning of the next spring, he took, with prodigious slaughter of the besieged, all the city, except the citadel, which still held out some time longer, but at last surrendered, on condition that the lives of all should be spared, the authors of the revolt excepted. Upwards of fifty thousand laid down their arms, and were saved. *Asdrubal*, soon after, did the same, for which he was much reviled by the revolters, who, finding their condition desperate, set fire to the temple, and burnt themselves with it. *Asdrubal's* wife too, in her rage, threw herself and two children into the midst of the flames.

Carthage taken and destroyed. This magnificent city, which was twenty-four miles in compass, continued burning seventeen days, at the end of which it was totally reduced to ashes. The *Roman*

Year of Rome 608. senate received this news with extraordinary joy, and sent some of their own order to assist *Scipio* in disposing of the country. Heavy curses were denounced against whoever should attempt to rebuild *Carthage*. All the cities which had assisted in this war were ordered to be demolished, and the lands given to the friends of the *Roman* people; and the rest of the towns were to be tributaries, and governed yearly by a *prætor*, appointed for that purpose. All the captives were sold, except some of the principal. Such was the fatal end of one of the most renowned cities in the world, seven hundred and eight years after it was first built, and upwards of one hundred years after it had been the rival of *Rome*; and thus also ended the third and last *Carthaginian* war, in the fourth year after it began, to the great increase of the dominions, power, and riches of the *Roman* state. This *Scipio*, like the former, was honoured with the surname of *Africanus*.

C H A P. V.

From the Destruction of Carthage to the Battle of Actium, when the Roman Republic was changed into a Monarchy.

THE year in which *Carthage* was destroyed, proved equally fatal to *Corinth*, one of the noblest cities in Greece. The *Achaians* had not only affronted the *Roman* ambassadors that were sent to dissolve the confederacy of the states of *Greece*, and leave the cities of that country to the government of their own peculiar laws, but likewise joined with others in a war against the *Lacedæmonians*, who were allies of *Rome*. For these reasons the senate decreed war against them, and *Metellus*, then in *Macedonia*, was ordered to manage it. Accordingly, he drew down his army thro' *Thessaly* into *Bœotia*, overthrew *Critolaus*, and took *Thebes* and *Megara*. For these exploits he was surnamed *Macedonicus*. The consul *Mummius*, who succeeded him in his command, defeated the *Achaian* general *Dieus*, and took *Corinth*, which he levelled with the ground, because that was the place where the ambassadors had been affronted. Pursuing his advantage, he reduced all *Greece* and *Epirus* into the form of a province, afterwards called by the general name of *Achaia*; and by his success he obtained the surname of *Achaicus*.

Corinth demolished.

It was now seventy-four years since the *Romans* first invaded *Spain*, where many struggles had been made, especially since the departure of the elder *Scipio Africanus*. *Viriatus*, who from a shepherd became a robber, and from a robber a general of a numerous party of men like himself, the *Romans* now gave them full employment. *Fabius*, the brother of *Scipio* the younger, was reduced to such extremities, that he was forced to accept of peace on equal terms, which *Cæpio*, one of the consuls for the following year, refused to stand to, having received new orders from the senate to prosecute the war. *Cæpio* attempted to destroy *Viriatus* by surprise; but he escaped, and soon after sent ambassadors to treat of a peace. *Cæpio* so wrought upon the ambassadors, that, to their shame, and his great dishonour, they murdered *Viriatus* in his bed at their return. But the most difficult part of this war was at *Numantia*, a town of *Gallæcia*, of no great bigness, but inhabited by people of extraordinary valour. Before *Viriatus*'s death, they had foiled *Pompeius* the consul several times, and likewise his successor *Marcianus*. Both of these had been obliged to make dishonourable treaties with them; but pretences were afterwards found to break them,

them, and *Marcianus* was delivered up to the enemy. After this, *Brutus* defeated many thousands of the *Lusitanians*, and overthrew the *Gallæcians*: but the proconsul *Lepidus*, attacking the *Væcesi*, a harmless and quiet people of the highest *Spain*, was entirely defeated by them.

Scipio lays
siege to
Numantia
the inhab-
bitants of
which
burn their
city and
them-
selves.

The *Romans*, disheartened by these misfortunes, chose *Scipio Africanus* consul a second time, looking upon him as the chief hope and bulwark of their country. His first care was to restore discipline, to the want of which the late bad success of the *Romans* had been owing: but when he came to engage, he found the courage of the enemy so extraordinary, that he resolved to avoid fighting, and to lay close siege to *Numantia*. The besieged were at last so straitened, that they offered to yield upon reasonable terms, or to fight, if they might have battle given them, notwithstanding the great inequality of their numbers. But neither of these being allowed them, they sallied out upon the besiegers with such desperate fury, that the *Romans* must have been defeated, had any other general but *Scipio* commanded them. The *Numantians*, finding it impossible to resist any longer, rather than be taken prisoners, burnt their city and themselves, so that scarce a man remained to grace the victor's triumph. This city, with only four thousand men, had, for fourteen years together, withstood the efforts of forty thousand *Romans*, and often put them to great loss and shame. It held out fifteen months against *Scipio*.

The *Romans* now began daily to degenerate from their ancient modesty, plainness, and severity of life; addicting themselves more and more to pleasure and luxury; for the *Asiatic* expeditions and triumphs having brought in excess and riot, and the ruin of *Carthage* taken away all fear; idleness and security, as well as avarice and ambition, by degrees stole in upon them, and almost a general corruption began to mix with the state. For though after this time many a powerful people were subdued, arts and learning daily increased and flourished, and great glory was obtained abroad; yet it was often stained and sullied with inglorious factions, seditious jealousies, and contentions at home, sometimes to the shedding of one another's blood, of which that of *Tiberius Gracchus* was the first remarkable instance.

T. Grac-
chus en-
deavours
to make
himself
popular.

This person, who was the elder *Africanus*'s grandson, and of a stirring and active spirit, had a share in *Mancinus*'s dishonourable treaty in *Spain*, for which being reflected on by the senate, who, not without injustice, had broke it, and being therefore both ashamed and affrighted, he endeavoured to make himself popular, by restraining the unjust oppressions of the nobility, which were now far more notorious than formerly. To this end, procuring himself to be elected tribune, he preferred a law, forbidding any man to possess above five hundred acres of the public lands, and ordering the overplus to be divided among the poor. For it was customary

customary for the *Romans* to divide those lands which were taken from their enemies among their own citizens, if arable; if not, the censors farmed them out to the other inhabitants of *Italy*, or to the common sort of *Romans*, upon condition, that if they plowed them, they should pay the tenth part of the corn, and the fifth of other fruits; but if they did not plow them, they paid a certain rent. But corruptions daily increasing in the state, the poor husbandmen were, by degrees, thrust out of their possessions by the rich, who, by purchasing and other methods, got all those lands into their own hands; so that the public was defrauded of its revenues, and the poor of their livelihood.

Gracchus insisted strongly on the immediate reformation of these infamous abuses, and to that end procured the *Licinius*-*triumvian* law to be enforced by an additional clause, purporting, that one half should be given to the children, and the rest divided among such poor as had nothing. And lest any examine should go about to enlarge their portions by purchase, a yearly triumvirate was appointed to judge what lands were public, and what private. These matters, though at first carried on with sufficient moderation, greatly disgusted the nobility and richer sort, who, by virtue of this law, were to part with much of their estates; and for that reason they frequently insinuated to the people, *That Gracchus had introduced this law with a design only to disturb the government, and to put all things into confusion.* But *Gracchus*, who had great abilities and eloquence, easily wiped off these aspersions, and wrought the people into a rage against the nobles. *Oetavius*, one of his colleagues, opposed his proceeding with much heat and violence; but *Gracchus* managed him so, that he forced him to quit his office, and then put in his place *Mummius*, one of his own faction. This action of his, being without all precedent, much alienated the minds of many of the multitude; and even his own party thought he used too great a freedom with the sacred office of the tribuneship. *Gracchus* perceiving this, first made a very plausible defence; and then, the more to ingratiate himself with the people, offered to prefer a law for distributing the money which *Attalus*, king of *Pergamus*, had lately left, together with his kingdom, to the people of *Rome*. This caused greater disturbances among the senate and nobility than before, and all things were carried on with more violent feuds than ever; so that *Gracchus's* death began to be thought the surest means to quiet all disturbances.

The senate met to consider what was best to be done; and all were of opinion, that *Mutius Scævola*, the consul, should defend the commonwealth by arms: but he refused to do any thing by force. Whereupon *Scipio Nasica*, *Gracchus's* kinsman, cried out in a great passion, "Since the consul regards not the safety of the commonwealth, let every man that will defend the dignity and authority of the laws, follow me! Upon

A GENERAL HISTORY

on this, he went directly up to the capitol, being accompanied by most of the senate, many knights, and some plebeians, armed with clubs, staves, and such like weapons, with which, after opening the way to *Gracchus*, who was then haranguing the people, and endeavouring to be chosen tribune for the following year, they killed him and three hundred of his hearers. This was the first insurrection among the Romans that ended with effusion of blood, since the abolition of the kingly government.

The elder *Gracchus* killed. All former seditions, tho' many of them were very great and lasting, were constantly ended by one of the parties yielding to the other, and submitting all to the good of the public; for then riches and private interest were unknown to the Romans. About four years after the death of *Gracchus*, three hundred and thirty thousand, eight hundred and twenty-three free citizens were censed.

Year of Rome 625. The civil dissensions occasioned by *Gracchus* did not die

with him; his law for the division of the lands being still in force, and the people extremely fond of it. He had a younger brother, called *Caius*, who, with *Flaccus* and *Papirius*, composed the triumvirate for dividing the grounds; in which they proceeded with great vigour, but met with insurmountable difficulties. *Caius* afterwards obtained the tribuneship, which gave him a fair opportunity to shew his enmity to the senate. He preferred several laws; among the rest, one for distributing the public corn to every man monthly. Then procuring his office to be continued to him another year, he began to inspect strictly into the late corruptions of the senate; such as their taking bribes, selling of offices, and such like unjust proceedings; by which he found means to transfer the power of judging corrupt officers, from

Knights made judges of corrupt officers. the senators to the knights; which gave the latter an extraordinary authority, and made a great alteration in the whole government, by the addition of this new order, which, though instituted by *Romulus*, and originally a part of the commonwealth, had no particular authority before, but had always been included among the plebeians, being distinguished only by their way of service. By this law of *Gracchus*, it was enacted, that the judging of corrupt officers should be peculiar to them. The power of these knights became extremely burthensome to the state, till, by degrees, their authority was diminished. The knights alone were wont to farm the public revenues and customs from the censors,

Publicans. and from thence they were called *Publicans*. These were the principal of the equestrian order, the ornaments of the city, and the strength of the state, who made up so many companies as there were provinces subject to the payment of toll, tribute, custom, or impost.

Caius, having been twice tribune, stood for it a third time, and had many votes: but his colleagues, offend at his violent carriage at this time, procured *Minutius Rufus* to be chosen

chosen into his place ; who began to abrogate many of his laws ; wherein he was seconded by the consul *Opimus*, who was a professed enemy to *Caius*, and endeavoured to find some plausible pretence to put him to death. Upon this, *Caius*, at the instigation of his friends, especially *Fulvius*, resolved to raise forces, and at an assembly in the capitol, he and his friends went thither privately armed. One *Antilius*, a serjeant, coming down from the capitol, cried out to *Fulvius* and his friends, *Ye factious citizens, make way for honest men!* whereupon they immediately slew him. This murderer caused a great disturbance in the assembly. *Caius* was very angry with those of his party for giving his enemies so much advantage against him, and endeavoured to excuse himself, but could not be heard by reason of the tumult. He therefore retired home with his friends and confederates. The consul kept strict watch all night in the city, and the next day *Antilius*'s corpse was exposed to open view just before the senate-house, in order to stir up the people to revenge. The senate invested *Opimus* with an extraordinary power, and all the knights were ordered to be in arms. *Caius* and his friends then betook themselves to Mount *Aventine*, offering liberty to all slaves that should join them. The consul, on the other hand, proclaimed, that whoever should bring the head either of *Caius* or *Fulvius*, should receive its weight in gold for a reward. *Caius*, finding that it would be impossible for him to make any long defence, fled to a grove beyond the *Tiber*, where he made his servant kill him. The Death of servant immediately after killed himself, and fell down dead theyoung- upon his master. One *Septimuleius* carried his head to *Opi- er Grac- mius*; and, it is said, that, to make it weigh the heavier, he *chus*. Year took out the brains and filled the skull with lead. *Fulvius* of *Rome* flying to a friend's house, was betrayed and slain. 631.

The *Gracchi* had so far changed the constitution of the commonwealth, and the public peace was now so far broken, particularly by the disunion of patriots and clients, that the Roman state became very unsettled, and more than ever liable to any new revolution ; and, though reformation might be their design, yet it might well be feared that ruin would be the consequence of such disturbances in a state now so corrupted by the greatness of its power and riches.

Soon after the death of *Caius Gracchus*, a law was made, permitting the selling of land, which the elder *Gracchus* had forbidden. By this means, the poor, partly by purchase, and partly by constraint, were again dispossessed. After this, the law for the division of lands was intirely repealed by *Borcius*, and the grounds left to their antient owners, charged with the payment of a certain sum to the people. But not long after, that payment was likewise set aside, so that the poor had nothing left.

During these domestic troubles, the Romans were engaged in a war with the *Allobrogi*, a people inhabiting about the *Rome* 634. countries

A GENERAL HISTORY

The war with the *Allobrogi*. countries now called *Dauphiny* and *Savoy*, who had invaded the *Hedui*, allies of *Rome*, and had drawn the *Averni* into their confederacy. The *Allobrogi* were first overthrown by

Domitius Aenobarbus; and after him, *Fabius Maximus*, grandson to *Paulus Aemilius*, and adopted into the *Fabian* family, defeated them, together with the *Averni* and *Ruteni*, and took one of their kings prisoner; for which he obtained the surname of *Allobrogicus*. About this time, *Gallia Narbonensis* was reduced into a *Roman* province. Not long after, the *Scordici*, a people inhabiting *Thrace*, defeated the *Roman* army under the consul *Cato*; but were afterwards driven back to their own country by the *praetor Didius* and the consul *Drusus*: and after this they afforded a glorious triumph to *Minutius* and *Metellus*. The number of free citizens at the end of this war amounted to 394,336.

Year of Rome 536. The great war in *Numidia*, called the *Jugurthine* war, began soon after. *Jugurtha*, grandson to *Massanissa*, murdered his cousin *Hiemsal* to get his kingdom; and attempted to do the same to his brother *Adherbal*: but this last made his escape, and fled to *Rome* for succour. *Jugurtha*, being sensible how much avarice and injustice had crept into *Rome*, sent ambassadors with large presents; which had such an effect upon the senate, that they decreed him half the kingdom, and sent ten commissioners to divide it between him and *Adherbal*. The commissioners thinking they might lawfully imitate their masters in the senate, were also bribed to give the richest and most populous part to *Jugurtha*: but he, not yet satisfied, fell suddenly upon *Adherbal*, and getting him into his hands murdered him. For this, war was declared against *Jugurtha*, and committed to the management of the consul *Calpurnius Bestia*, who invaded *Numidia*, and took some towns: but the golden weapons of *Jugurtha* stopped his career; and a treaty of peace was soon set on foot. *Scarus*, who accompanied the consul as his friend and counsellor, was likewise guilty of the same crime. Upon this, the people sent the *praetor Caius Longinus* to *Jugurtha*, to persuade him to come to *Rome* upon the public faith of the state; in hopes of discovering, by that means, those who had been guilty of taking bribes.

Jugurtha was easily persuaded to make trial of the clemency of *Rome*, and to throw himself upon the mercy of the people. Accordingly he came to *Rome*, in a habit of deep mourning: but the moment he appeared in the assembly, the tribune, *Bebius*, who had also been bribed to defer the business and delude the people, bad him hold his peace. At the same time, one *Massina*, a cousin of *Jugurtha's*, who had formerly fled from *Africa* to *Rome*, was persuaded, by the consul *Albinus*, to beg the kingdom of *Numidia* of the senate: but *Jugurtha* having intelligence of the design, procured him to be assassinated, and conveyed the murderer away to *Numidia*. *Jugurtha* was thereupon ordered to depart. When

he

he was out of the city, he lifted up his hands and cried, *O Rome, that wouldst thyself be sold, were there but a chapman for thee!* so extremely were the inhabitants degenerated. *Albinus* followed him with an army, which, after staying with it some time, he left with his brother *Aulus*, who, by virtue of some compact, withdrew from *Suthul*, where the chief treasure of the kingdom lay, when he was just upon the point of investing it. The centurions likewise were so corrupted, that, when *Albinus* returned, *Jugurtha* was suffered to break into the camp, from whence he beat out the army, and, either by force, or by former agreement, brought *Albinus* to submit upon most dishonourable terms.

The consul *Metellus*, who found affairs in this wretched condition, and the whole army almost ruined for want of discipline, brought his soldiers into such order, that, in two years he overthrew *Jugurtha* several times, and forced him to submit and beg for peace. But he soon broke it, and hostilities were again renewed. *Metellus*'s lieutenant at this time was *C. Marius*, a man of frugality, policy, courage, and experience in war; a contemner of pleasure, but very ambitious of honour; which made him extremely desirous to obtain the consulship. To this end, he privately blamed *Metellus* to the people of *Utica*, saying, *That he could take Jugurtha prisoner in a few days with half the army.* Complaints were hereupon sent to *Rome* against *Metellus*; and *Caius*, getting leave to go thither, obtained the consulship and the management of the war, of which he soon shewed himself very capable, by taking, in a short time, *Capsa*, a very rich and strong city; and after that another, called *Mulucha*; by which *Jugurtha* was so reduced, that he was forced to have recourse to his father-in-law *Bocchus*, king of *Mauritania*, who joined him with his numerous cavalry. *Marius* had invested *Cirta* when *Bocchus* approached with, it is said, sixty thousand horse. A *Marius* battle ensued, in which, after three days obstinate fight, the defeats two kings were entirely defeated. Another battle, in the *Numi-* which *Marius* is said to have killed ninety thousand of the *dians* and enemy, made *Bocchus* begin to repent of his enterprize. He *Maurita-* sent to *Rome* to enter into a league; but all he could obtain *nians*, was pardon for his crime. Not long after, *Marius* surprised *Jugurtha* in an ambuscade, took him prisoner, and delivered and takes him up to his *quaestor*, *Sylla*, who had brought him a rein- *Jugurtha*forcement from *Italy*; and who learned under him that skill prisoner. in war which he afterwards employed against him. *Jugurtha*, and his two sons, were led in triumph by *Marius*; soon after which he was put to death by order of the senate.

While this war was carrying on in *Africa*, the *Cimbri*, a War with vagabond people of *Cimbrica Chersonesus*, now called *Denmark*, the *Cim-* joining with the *Teutones*, a nation of *Germany*, made dread- *br.* ful irruptions into several parts of the *Roman* dominions;

particularly *Gaul* and *Spain*; where they overthrew several consuls, and in the last battle killed eighty thousand Romans; after which they resolved to pass the *Alps* into *Italy*. Rome began now to be in great consternation; and *Marius*, who had just vanquished *Jugurtha*, was made consul a second time, as the only man thought able to manage so perilous a war, and to preserve the state. While they continued in *Spain*, *Marius* marched against their friends, the *Tolosons*, in *Gaul*; where his lieutenant, *Sylla*, took their king, *Copilus*, prisoner. Being made consul again the following year, he declined fighting till the enemy's force was weakened by delays. The next year, in his fourth consulship, just as the *Teutones* and *Ambrones* were preparing to pass the *Alps*, he fell upon, and entirely destroyed them, taking their king, *Theutobocchus*, prisoner. The *Cimbri* escaped him, and fled over the *Alps*, though it was winter and they were covered with snow; and, notwithstanding they were opposed by *Catulus*, both at the *Alps*, and at the river *Athesis*, near *Verona*. The year following, *Marius*, being again consul, joining with *Catulus*, gave them a most dreadful overthrow. Their wives, while the battle lasted, made a wonderful resistance from the chariots; but when they saw it lost, their fury was such that they killed, first, all their children, and then themselves. This battle, in which one hundred and forty thousand were slain, and sixty thousand taken prisoners, ended this war, after it had lasted twelve years. About this time flourished the famous *Lucretius*, who, as a poet, is thought not at all inferior to *Virgil*.

Some years passed without any great action abroad, or open sedition at home; though there was great dissatisfaction among those of the senatorial order, on account of the power of judicature given to the knights by *C. Gracchus*'s law. The commonwealth too was bought and sold; the publicans, who farmed the public revenues, being knights; and therefore both judges and parties. The tribune, *Drusus*, a sensible well-meaning man, endeavoured to restore the senators to their antient privileges and authority, and at the same time not to offend the knights. He proposed, *That the senate, which was now reduced to a small number, should be filled up out of the knights; and, that the power of judicature should be committed equally to all that should be then of that body.* This gave offence to both parties; and *Cæpio*, one of *Drusus*'s colleagues, opposed him; and coming into the senate, there accused some of the highest rank of illegal endeavours to gain offices. *Drusus*, seeing his design, again proposed the *Agrarian* law; and, that the allies and confederates of *Italy* might not take it amiss, he gave them hopes of the freedom of the city. A great concourse of strangers were assembled; one of whom struck the consul, *Philippus*, for opposing the law for dividing the lands; and violent disputes ensued. *Drusus*,

sus, disappointed in this particular, still endeavoured to perform his promise to the *Italians*; but going home, accompanied by a great multitude of people, he was stabbed in the court of his own house, and dropped down, having only time to say, *That the commonwealth could never find a person more true to her interest than he.*

These troubles did not end with *Drusus*'s death; for soon after a very dangerous war broke out on this account with *Rome* 663, most of the *Italians*; (namely, the *Lucanians*, *Apulians*, *Mari*, The *S. Peligni*, and many others; especially those old enemies of *Rome* the *Sannites*;) called the *Social*, or *Italian*, war. These people, thinking themselves extremely ill used in being denied the freedom of the city, to which their services of every kind entitled them, which had been partly promised them in the time of the *Gracchi*, and in endeavouring to obtain which *Drusus* had lost his life, entered into a close confederacy, and privately sent messages and hostages to each other. These transactions being discovered, and the city of *Aſculum*, in particular, being detected in sending an hostage to another city, the proconsul *Servilius* went to *Aſculum*, to reprimand the inhabitants of that place: but they, instead of hearing him, killed him and all the *Romans* that were there. Their design being now discovered, they broke out into an open rebellion. The war was committed to both the consuls, together with *Marius* and *Sylla*, and several others who had proconsular authority; and the forces on each side amounted to about an hundred thousand fighting men. This war was very dangerous and destructive: the consul *Rutilius* soon lost his life in it; and the *Romans* met with such opposition, that they were forced to enlist many who had been slaves. The bodies of the consul, and several other persons of note, being carried into the city, so discouraged the people, that the senate made a decree, *That, from thence forward the bodies of the slain should be buried where they died*. a prudent regulation, which the enemy also followed. By *Rutilius*'s death, the command of the army fell to *Marius* and *Cæpion*; and this last being killed soon after, *Marius* remained sole commander in chief.

The following year, *Pompeius Strabo*, father to *Pompey* the Great, and *Porcius Cato*, were made consuls; and the senate gave the freedom of the city to such as had not revolted; which fixed such as were still wavering, and abated the courage of those who had already revolted. They were not, however chosen into any of the thirty-five tribes, but were placed by themselves, behind all; so that in voting they could not hinder the rest, which afterwards caused some disturbance.

The consul *Cato* did good service this campaign; which swelled him with such an opinion of himself, that he boasted himself equal to *Marius*; for which the son of this last killed him in the midst of a battle against the *Marci*. His colleague

Pompey defeated the *Marsi*, the *Picentes*, and the *Afculani*; and took *Afculum*; the chief officers and principal men of which city he caused first to be scourged and then beheaded. *Sylla* likewise performed many great actions, defeating the *Sannites* and storming two of their camps: which success so elevated him, that he immediately stood for the consulship, and obtained it. He had also the honour of finishing this dangerous war, near three years after it began: a war so destructive, that it consumed above three hundred thousand of the youth of *Italy**. The conquered *Italians* had the unexpected freedom of the city given them; and all things were happily quieted.

Year of Rome 666. But peace and quiet was too great a happiness for *Rome* at this time; for the *Social* war was scarce ended when two others broke out; one the cause of the other. The first was with *Mithridates*, king of *Pontus*; a prince famous for his knowledge, mighty in power and riches, and ambitious beyond all bounds. He had gained the enmity of the *Romans*, by several actions; particularly by making *Tigranes*, king of *Armenia*, declare against the *Roman* state; and by over-running his neighbours, the *Bithynians*, *Phrygians*, *Mysians*, *Lycians*, *Pamphilians*, and other allies of *Rome*; and, which was still more provoking, having taken *Q. Oppius* and *Aquilius*, he killed this last by pouring melted gold down his throat, continually upbraiding the *Romans* with avarice and corruption. Upon these accounts, the *Romans* proclaimed war against him; and *Sylla*, and *Pompeius Rufus*, being consuls, it fell to the share of the former to undertake it. But *Sylla* having not quite finished the *Social* war, *Marius*, excited by the desire either of profit or of honour, persuaded *Sulpicius*, tribune of the people, to prefer a law for transferring the management of this war from *Sylla* to him. He made what parties he could, and drew the people of *Italy* to his side, by promising them equal privileges with those of the thirty-five tribes. Matters were carried on with great violence; and *Pompey's* son, who was likewise son-in-law to *Sylla*, was killed in these disturbances.

Civil war between Marius and Sylla. *Sylla*, hearing this, hastened to the city, after securing his army, which promised to stand by him at all events. His colleague *Pompey* joined with him; and, though *Marius* and the tribune *Sulpicius* made all possible opposition, they entered the city, and *Marius* and his party were forced to fly. This was the beginning of the other war, which was the first civil war of any note among the *Romans*. *Sylla* did no injury to the citizens in general, but reversed all that *Sulpicius* had done; regulated the senate, and procured *Marius*, *Sulpicius*, and ten other leading men, to be declared enemies to their

* Paterc.

country,

country, with leave to any one to kill them, and set their goods up to public sale. After this, *Sylla* proceeded on his expedition against *Mithridates*, who had subdued great part of Greece. *Sulpicius* was soon taken and put to death; but *Marius* hid himself in the fens of *Minturnum*, where a *Gaul* that was sent to kill him was so awed by his majestic air, that he could not perform his order. *Marius* escaped from thence to *Africa*, where he was joined by *Cythegus* and others, who had fled into *Numidia*, to invade their own country. To secure *Italy*, *Pompeius Rufus*, the consul, was appointed to command the army of *Pompeius Strabo*, who had done great services in the *Social war*; and was so beloved by his troops, that, rather than lose their old commander, they killed the new consul. Thus were the *Romans* involved in dangers and disturbances on all sides.

Cornelius Cinna and *C. Octavius* were consuls for the following year. *Cinna*, corrupted, as some think, immediately declared for the new citizens, and recalled *Marius*, with the rest of the exiles. But his colleague *Octavius* opposed these measures so strongly, that *Cinna* was driven from the city, and *Merula* put in his place, *Cinna*, in this fugitive condition, went about to the people of *Italy*, from whom he obtained great sums of money, by feeding them with fresh hopes of their enjoying equal privileges with the *Romans*; and pretending, that all his sufferings were for their sakes. *Marius* came over to him shortly after, and they togeteer raised a considerable army; with part of which *Cinna* marched directly to *Rome*, and set down before it; while *Marius*, with the rest, attacked *Ostia*, and took it. Soon after, *Cinna* broke up the siege of *Rome*, and invested *Ari-* Cinna and
Marius
lay siege
to Rome. *minum*, which he stormed. *Marius*, after the taking of *Ostia*, advanced with his whole army to the hill *Janiculum*, joining to *Rome*; which put the inhabitants into a great consternation, especially when he was joined by *Cinna*. *Sylla* being at too great a distance to be recalled, the consuls sent to *Metellus*, who was then at the head of an army in *Samnium*: but he, differing from them about some conditions, shortly after joined *Marius*; and the city was so near being betrayed to them by *Appius Claudius*, a tribune of the army, who was intrusted with the command of the *Janiculum*, that both *Marius* and *Cinna* broke into it: but they were repulsed by *Octavius* and *Pompeius Strabo*.

Marius, after this, took several towns about *Rome*; and *Cinna*, by promises of liberty, drew great numbers of slaves out of the city. The senate thereupon sent deputies to *Cinna* and *Marius*, desiring them to come into the city peaceably, and spare their own countrymen. *Cinna* refused to admit of any address made to him as a private man; so that they were forced to treat with him as consul: and when they desired him to swear that he would not shed any blood, he absolutely refused to take such an oath; but promised

Banish-
ment of
Marius
repealed.

mised, that he would not knowingly and willingly be the cause of any man's death. *Marius* stood by him, and said nothing; but his looks spoke sufficiently his bloody resolution. However, the better to dissemble his rage, he at last broke silence, and told the deputies, that he was then in exile, and banished his country by course of law; that if his presence was necessary, they must repeal the former act of his banishment by a new decree; that he might be received as a religious observer of the laws, and might enter the city free from fear or oppression. Accordingly, the laws for banishing *Marius* and his associates were repealed.

Upon their entrance into the city, a furious slaughter began. The consul *Oetavius*, though he had the oath of *Cinna* and *Marius*, was killed, and his head set upon the *rostra*, together with several others, and particularly that of *M. Antonius*, who was so great an orator, that his eloquence alone defended him a considerable time against the fury of the soldiers. A dreadful massacre reigned throughout all *Rome*, and neither age nor dignity was spared. All *Sylla*'s friends were slaughtered without mercy, his house demolished, his goods set to sale, and he himself declared an enemy to *Rome*. *Merula* and *Catullus* killed themselves. *Cinna* and *Marius*, now satiated with blood, made themselves consuls for the following year; but *Marius* died about a month after, in the seventieth year of his age, and within less than two years after the breaking out of the civil war. He held the consulship seven times, which no one had ever done before.

Cinna and
Marius
proscribe
Sylla.

Death of
Marius.

Sylla's ex-
ploits a-
gainst Mi-
thridates,

with
whom he
concludes
a peace.

During these unhappy troubles at home, *Sylla* performed many noble exploits against *Mithridates*, who, not long before his arrival, had, in one day, commanded eighty thousand, some say an hundred and fifty thousand, *Romans* and *Italians* in *Aisa* to be murdered in cold blood. *Syila* first overthrew his general *Archeaus* near *Athens*, so effectually, that out of one hundred and twenty thousand men, scarce ten thousand were left. He afterwards gave him another great defeat, recovered *Greece*, *Macedonia*, *Ionia*, *Aisa*, and other countries, which *Mithridates* had possessed himself of, and likewise took his fleet from him. *Mithridates* then proposed a treaty, which *Sylla* was not averse to, being in want of money, and very desirous to return to *Italy*, to revenge himself of those who had declared him an enemy to *Rome*. The principal articles of the peace were, That *Mithridates* shoul pay the charges of the war, and that for the future he should be content with his father's kingdom. This was ratified by the senate within less than three years after the beginning of the war. *Sylla* fined *Aisa* severely for its revolt, and after settling things in the best manner he could, he returned to *Italy*. He took *Athens* in his way, from whence he carried the famous library of *Apellicon* the *Teian*, in which were most of the books of *Aristotle* and *Theophrastus*.

Soon

Soon after, he wrote to the senate at *Rome*, recounting his great services to the state, and how ungratefully he had been used by *Marius's* party ; and telling them plainly, that he was coming to revenge both himself and the public by punishing the authors of those injuries ; but that he would spare the rest, whether they were old or new citizens.

The senate, dreading his return, as well knowing that it would be fatal to many, and even to some who had unwillingly joined with *Marius*, sent to treat with him, offering all their endeavours for his satisfaction, if he would quickly make known his demand : and that there might be the less blood shed, they ordered *Cinna* to discontinue his levies. But he, foreseeing that nothing but arms could support him, returned a plausible answer, and proceeded to raise soldiers ; hoping to make himself and his colleague *Carbo* consuls for the following year, without returning to *Rome*. He sent over part of his troops into *Dalmatia*, there to meet *Sylla* ; but those behind were driven back to *Italy* by a storm, and afterwards absolutely refused to fight against their own countrymen ; and the rest, who had not yet put to sea, refused to embark. *Cinna* was going to speak to them, when one of his officers, who made way before him, struck a soldier : the soldier returned the blow ; and being seized for so doing, a tumult arose, in which *Cinna* himself was killed. *Carbo* continued sole consul the Year of *Rome* 670. remaining part of the year.

Sylla, being informed of *Cinna*'s death, and the disturbances of the commonwealth, crossed the sea with sixteen hundred ships, and sixty thousand men, and landed at *Brundusium*, where he was joined by *Metellus Pius*, who had retired from *Rome* for fear of *Marius* and *Cinna*, and likewise by *Pompey*, afterwards surnamed *the Great*, who from this time became *Sylla*'s great favourite. *Cethegus* too, who had joined with *Cinna*, now begged pardon, and was received into favour. *Norbanus* and *Scipio*, the present consuls, together with *Carbo*, prepared for resistance. *Norbanus* was defeated at *Canusium*, from whence he fled to *Capua* ; and his colleague *Scipio*, shortly after, by the treachery of his army, fell with his son into the hands of *Sylla*, who generously dismissed them both. *Sylla* then sent to *Norbanus* to treat of peace, but received no answer.

Italy now began to feel all the miseries of a civil war ; *Melan-*
Sylla making great devastations on one side, and *Carbo* on the choly si-
other. This last getting into *Rome*, procured *Metellus* and tuation of
the rest who joined with *Sylla*, to be declared enemies to that coun-
the state. The whole country was ransacked to raise forces, try.
and in this manner the rest of the summer was spent, in
which the capitol was burnt down, by what means was ne- The capi-
ver known. The following year, *Carbo* a third time, and tol burnt,
young *Marius*, son of the former, were made consuls. *Car-*
bo's lieutenant *Carinus* was defeated by *Metellus*, and *Marius*
by

by Sylla. Marius was driven into *Præneste*, where, being closely besieged, and almost despairing of relief, he in a great rage wrote to Brutus, then prætor at *Rome*, to use some pretence to assemble the senate, and then to kill the chief of those who were his enemies. This order was executed with great cruelty; so that whatever side conquered, *Rome* was the sufferer. Metellus overthrew Carbo once more, and Pompey defeated Marcius, another of that party; whilst Sylla marched directly to *Rome*, and entered it with ease, most of the opposite faction being fled into the country.

Sylla enters Rome. He becomes master of all Italy.

The inhabitants of *Rome* were extremely terrified at Sylla's entrance; but he only put the goods of those that fled to sale, bidding the people not be dejected, for that he was obliged to act as he did. Then leaving a sufficient garrison in the city, he marched to *Clusium*, where he and his officers defeated Carbo's troops several times. This last, being now upon the defensive, sent eight legions to *Præneste*, to relieve his colleague Marius; but they were met by Pompey, who killed many of them, and dispersed the rest. Soon after, Carbo, being joined by Norbanus, engaged with Metellus, and had ten thousand of his men slain, and six thousand surrendered: upon which, great numbers went over to Sylla's party, which presently became masters of all *Gaul* on that side the *Alps*. Norbanus went to *Rhodes*, where, fearing to be delivered up, he killed himself, and Carbo fled to *Africa*, tho' he had thirty thousand men at *Clusium*, besides other forces, all which were soon after broken and dispersed by Pompey. Carinus and Marcius, with other commanders, by the assistance of the *Samnites*, endeavoured to force the trenches at *Præneste*, and relieve Marius; but finding that impracticable, they advanced to *Rome*, where meeting with Sylla, a most bloody battle was fought at the very gates of the city, in which many thousands were killed on both sides. But Sylla at last gained the victory, and Carinus and Marcius were taken, and their heads sent to *Præneste*, which thereupon surrendered to Lucullus. Marius killed himself, and his head was sent to *Rome*, and set up in the *forum*. All his faction in *Præneste*, with the natives and *Samnites*, were put to death without mercy. Norba was taken a little after, and all its inhabitants destroyed themselves, after setting fire to the town.

Sylla, being now master of all *Italy*, sent Pompey into *Africa* against Carbo, with a charge to pass from thence into *Sicily* against others of that party. Pompey soon drove Carbo into *Sicily*, and from thence into *Corcyra*, where he took him, and ordered his head to be cut off, and sent to Sylla.

His excessive cruelty. *Rome* now felt severely the dreadful effects of civil contests: for Sylla, calling the people together, told them, that he would put them into a better condition, if they were obedient to his commands: but that as for his enemies, he was

was resolved to prosecute them with all sorts of miseries and calamities, which in fact he did most cruelly, sparing neither age nor sex, but allowing his soldiers to kill all they met, till *Furfidius* stopped his rage a little by telling him that he ought to leave some for *Sylla* to reign over. He then published tables of *proscription* for particular persons, the first ever known in *Rome*, wherein where proscribed eighty senators and sixteen hundred knights, to which he afterwards added more, promising great rewards to the discoverers, and threatening death to the concealers of them. Of these outlawed persons, some were murdered in their houses, others in the streets, and others at his feet, begging their lives ; and those that fled, their effects were seized on. *Marius*, brother to *Sylla*'s great enemy, had first his eyes pulled out, and then his hands and legs cut off at several times, that he might die with the greater torment. *C. Julius Cæsar*, a young man of wonderfully promising abilities, who had married *Cinna*'s daughter, very hardly escaped the common misery of these times. *Sylla* would often prophetically say of him, *That in Cæsar were many Marius's*.

Rome was not the only sufferer in these dreadful calamities ; for this proscription was carried throughout all the cities of *Italy*, where the merciless effusion of blood was such, that neither the temples of the gods, nor all the sanctuaries could afford protection to any man.

Both the consuls being now destroyed, *Sylla* withdrew himself from the city, and ordered the senate to appoint an *inter-rex*, which they most willingly did, naming *Valerius Flaccus*. *Sylla* wrote to him to ask the people, that, as affairs were yet much unsettled, a dictator might be created ; and that, not for any limited time, but till all public grievances should be redressed. At the same time he took care to mention himself, as the most proper person. The people were constrained to yield to whatever he pleased, all power being then in his hands. Accordingly, this supreme office, which had been intermittent for one hundred and twenty years, was conferred on him, without any limitation of time.

The government of *Rome* was now, in fact, changed to a Year of monarchy, *Sylla*'s power being unlimited as to time ; and *Rome* 672. though, to keep up a shew of a commonwealth, he permitted consuls to be made, yet he plainly reigned alone, having twenty-four lictors, with their fasces and axes, and a great guard constantly to attend his person, like the kings in former times, and repealing old laws, and enacting new, at his pleasure. He regulated the consulship, ordering that none should be capable of it, without first passing through other offices. He removed that plague to the senate, the tribuneship, by making those who bore it incapable of any other trust. He added three hundred of the knights to the senate, and likewise ten thousand of the slaves of the proscribed

A GENERAL HISTORY

Second
war with
Mithrida-
tes.

Sylla re-
figns the
dictator-
ship.

Death of
Sylla.

His body
was the
first that
was burnt
in *Rome.*

War in
Spain a-
gainst *Q.*
Sertorius.

scribed to the people, making them free, and calling them *Cornelii*, after his own name ; and he assigned great quantities of land to twenty-three legions, the better to secure and bind them to his interest. This was the first year of *Sylla's* reign, in which the war broke out again with *Mithridates*, about three years after the first, occasioned by *Murena*, whom *Sylla* had left behind him in *A sia*, who, ambitious of a triumph, sought an opportunity to make a breach with *Mithridates*, contrary to the senate's designs. But instead of gaining a triumph, *Mithridates* defeated him, and soon after obtained a peace. This second war with that prince lasted about two years.

Sylla made consuls again in the second year of his dictatorship, but joined himself with *Cæcilius Metellus*, a custom which the emperors afterwards imitated. The year after, when the people designed him consul again, he declined it, and chose two others ; and then, to the great surprize and wonder of all men, he laid down his dictatorship ; and, what was more astonishing, though he had done so many cruel and wicked deeds, he, like a man perfectly just and innocent, freely offered to give an account of all his actions. Yet we find none accused him but one young man, whose scurrilous language to him made him say, That such coarse usage would for the future keep any man from laying down an office of such supreme dignity ; a thing which *Julius Cæsar* seemed afterwards to have remembered, *Sylla* retired soon after into the country, to *Puteoli*, where he died in a short time of the lousy disease. Such was the end of *Cornelius Sylla*, whose very death was troublesome to his country, the two consuls and their factions falling out about his funeral. *Catullus* prevailing against his colleague *Lepidus*, his body was carried through the city in great state, and was the first in *Rome* that was burnt, to prevent its being treated like *Marius's*, whose bones *Sylla* himself had ordered to be dug up, and thrown away.

A dangerous and difficult war was still depending in *Spain* against *Q. Sertorius*, an excellent commander of *Cinna's* faction, who had driven all *Sylla's* party out of *Spain*, and had chosen three hundred of his friends, whom he called a senate, in opposition to that of *Rome*. *Sertorius* having joined with the *Celtiberians*, had before been successful against *Metellus* ; and now, being considerably reinforced by *Perpenna*, he designed no less than the invasion of *Italy*. The senate sent against him *Pompey*, who, for his great exploits in *Africa* and *Sicily*, had already triumphed, though scarce twenty-six years of age, and neither consul nor prætor. *Pompey*, in imitation of *Hannibal*, passed the *Alps*, though a contrary way, but with no success against *Sertorius*, either then or in the next spring ; and though *Perpenna* and *Herculeus* were several times worsted by *Metellus*, yet *Sertorius*, by his policy, reduced *Pompey* to such extremities, that he was

was obliged to send to *Rome* for supplies, even with which he did nothing of consequence this year.

The following year, *Pompey* and *Metellus*, being much strengthened, made incursions into several parts, and with more success than formerly ; yet no considerable battle was fought. And indeed there needed none, *Sertorius* dwindling away insensibly, by disobliging his chief soldiers in preferring the *Celtiberians* for his guard ; but more especially by his degenerating into a lazy and debauched, as well as cruel temper, putting many to death with little reason or justice. *Perpenna*, fearing it might fall to his lot to be destroyed among the rest, resolved to prevent it, and to that end, inviting him to a feast, he first made him and his companions *Sertorins* very drunk, and then murdered him. *Perpenna*, with much murdered difficulty, obtained his command ; but, not long after, was by *Pompey* defeated and taken prisoner, to whom he offered *penna*, who to disclose in private some matters of the highest consequence, is defeated if he would spare his life : but *Pompey* wisely ordered him to be executed immediately, and all his papers to be burnt, to death lest his accusations should bring the state into farther trou- by *Pompey*. bles. Thus ended all the civil wars, fifteen years after they first began, and nine years after they had ended in *Italy*, in End of the the consulship of *Terentius Varro* and *Caius Varus*, the for- civil wars. mer of whom was one of the most learned men that ever Year of *Rome* produced. Learning was now, in many respects, at *Rome* 680. the highest pitch in the state.

The year before the end of these domestic broils, a third war broke out with *Mithridates*, who had now joined with *Mit- Tigranes*, king of *Armenia*, and raised an army of one hun- *thridates*. dred and forty thousand foot, and sixteen thousand horse, with which he soon made himself master of all *Bithynia*, which *Nicomedes*, the late king of that country, had given by his will to the *Romans*. *Licinius Lucullus*, and *Aurelius Cotta* being consuls, the former was sent against *Mithridates*, whom he found before *Cyzicus*, a city of *Propontis*. *Lucullus* placed his men with so much skill, that he besieged the besieger, and reduced *Mithridates* to such extremities, that, through famine, he was forced first to send away his cavalry and sick men into *Bithynia*, of which fifteen thousand were intercepted, and then to retire himself with the rest that could escape the great slaughter which the *Romans* made in the flight. During this time, *Eumachus*, one of *Mithridates*'s commanders, made inroads into *Phrygia*, subdued *Pisidia* and *Isauria*, and endeavoured to do the like to *Cilicia*, till he was repulsed by *Deiotarus*, one of the governors of *Galatia*. *Lucullus* was successful, not only by land, but also at sea, where he gained many victories, took several of *Mithridates*'s commanders, and pursued him himself so close, that he was glad to get away in a pirate's vessel, which, after many difficulties, at length landed him in his own kingdom, whither

Lucullus

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Lucullus followed him, and in his way took all *Bithynia* and *Paphlagonia*.

The next year, *Mithridates*, with the assistance of *Tigranes* and others, got together forty thousand foot and four thousand horse, with which he once or twice gained some advantage over the *Romans*. But *Lucullus* found means to cut off most of his cavalry, which with the loss of a battle soon after, so terrified him, that he fled into *Armenia* to *Tigranes*, who entertained him like a king, but refused to admit him to his presence. All *Pontus*, except a few places, submitted to *Lucullus* in a short time; and *Machares*, king of *Bosphorus*, sent him a crown of gold, by which he purchased the title of his friend and ally. This was the fourth year of *Lucullus's* expedition.

War in Italy with Spartacus the gladiator. In this year also was finished the war in *Italy* against *Spartacus* the gladiator, who, beginning with seventy-four of his companions, and afterwards increasing his number till they amounted to about seventy thousand men, all vagabonds and pretenders to liberty, commenced a dangerous war in *Italy*, in which he overthrew several of the *Roman* commanders, and two of their consuls. But he and his followers were at last conquered and dispersed by *Licinius Crassus*, then proconsul in *Apulia*, who thereby put an end to this war, in the third year after it began. *Rome* now reckoned four hundred and fifty thousand free citizens, the city still increasing in bulk and people, and the inhabitants in learning and politeness, as well as corruption and factions.

Year of Rome 684. *Lucullus* followed *Mithridates* into *Armenia*, and sent to *Tigranes*, king of that country, to demand him. *Tigranes* was a very powerful monarch, having lately conquered several nations and kings, which made him so intolerably proud, that when he rode abroad, he would have four of his subdued kings run by his side, like lacqueys; and when he sat on his throne, to stand before him with folded hands, in token of subjection. He refused to deliver up *Mithridates*, and likewise to acknowledge *Lucullus* as a general, because he had not given him the title of *king of kings*. Upon this, *Lucullus* suddenly passed the river *Euphrates* with two legions, and about three thousand horse, to the great surprize of *Tigranes*, who first hanged the messenger of the news as a disturber of the peace, and soon after sent *Mithrobarzanes* with two thousand horse to incommodate his passage, leaving *Mancæus* to cover the city *Tigranocerta*, which he had lately built, whilst he himself set about raising forces. While he was drawing together an army of two hundred and fifty thousand foot and fifty thousand horse, *Mithrobarzanes* was repulsed, and *Mancæus* driven from the cover of the city, which was immediately invested. *Mithridates* advised *Tigranes* not to hazard all in a battle, but rather to try to starve the *Romans*. But *Tigranes* rejected this counsel, and contemning the smallness

smallness of their number said, *That if they were all ambassa-* Where he
dors, they were a great many; but if soldiers, very few; think- defeats
ing to over-run them with great ease. But *Lucullus* posting *Tigranes,*
himself upon a hill, sent his cavalry to provoke and draw king of
out the enemy, and then driving their beasts of burden in that coun-
among them, so broke their ranks, that their horse and foot try, and
*mingling together, great confusion ensued, and a dreadful takes *Ti-**
slaughter, which lasted all the day. *Tigranocerta* surrendered *granocerta*
immediately after.

Tigranes raised another great army, and committed the conduct of it to *Mithridates*. They both endeavoured to hem in *Lucullus*, but were prevented by his great vigilance; and both sides continued with little action, till want of provisions forced them to remove, *Tigranes* farther up into his kingdom, and *Mithridates* into his, with *Lucullus* not far behind him. *Fabius*, whom *Lucullus* had left in *Pontus*, was defeated by *Mithridates*, as was also, soon after, *Tria-* *Mithrida-*
rius, who lost seven thousand of his men. *Mithridates* then ^{tes recon-} marched into the *Lesser Armenia*, whither *Lucullus* would ^{vers most} have followed him, and probably have put an end to the ^{of his} war, but that he was superseded in his command by *Acilius* ^{kingdom.} *Glabrio*, one of the consuls for this year, through whose indolence and inactivity, *Mithridates* recovered almost all his kingdom, and over-ran *Cappadocia*. This happened in the seventh year after *Lucullus* had undertaken the war.

About this time, *Pompey*, who began to come into great esteem among the *Romans*, had a new opportunity of shewing his military skill, in a war against a number of pirates, who, after having been encouraged and employed by *Mithridates*, were increased exceedingly, and had made *Cilicia* charged their chief place of rendezvous, from whence they infested the neighbouring seas, and ravaged whole provinces on the land. They were grown so powerful, that they had defeated several *Roman* prætors; and so audacious, that they landed even in *Italy*, and carried off several women of quality, and numbers of troops with their ensigns. The *Romans* were excessively provoked by these insults; and the tribune *Gabinius* preferred a law, that an admiral should be created, with full power against the pirates for three years, and with great forces and many lieutenants. The senate, though somewhat jealous of *Pompey's* power, for he was promoted to this command, gave him leave to chuse fifteen lieutenants out of their body, to arm two hundred ships, and to raise what men he could. But the people granted him five hundred ships, one hundred and twenty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, fix thousand *Attic talents*, and the power of appointing twenty-five vice-gerents out of the senate, and two quæstors; so difficult did it seem to destroy such numerous fleets as the pirates had, in a sea that had so many places of retreat and refuge. With these forces *Pompey*, in forty days, cleared all the seas about *Africa*, *Sardinia*, *Corfua*,

*Is made
admiral of
the Ro-
mans.*

And clears
all the seas

He is
made
comman-
der in
chief of
all the
Roman
forces.

Year of
Rome 688.

Corsica, and *Sicily*; and most of the pirates that escaped, flock'd, as usual, to *Cilicia*, where he followed them with sixty galleys, and made them submit to his mercy. In forty days more, he reduced that province to the *Roman* obedience. Above twenty thousand of these pirates yet remained, when, being unwilling to kill them, and not thinking it safe to let them return to their old habitations, he removed to places farther distant from the sea, where he gave them lands and houses. Thus, after taking near four hundred ships, and one hundred and twenty forts, and killing ten thousand men, he finished this war in three or four months, using the conquered with more clemency than *Q. Metellus* did those which he subdued in *Crete*, for which he obtained a triumph, and the surname of *Creticus*.

This expedition, which added much to *Pompey's* reputation, was scarce at an end, when the tribune *Manlius* preferred a law, That all the armies which the *Romans* had in any place, together with the government of all *Asia*, and the management of the war against *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*, should be committed to him alone. This he did to curry favour with so great a man as *Pompey*, whom he had displeased not long before, by a law of his, which gave freed slaves equal privileges with their masters who freed them. The nobility were extremely dissatisfied at this new law; not only for the manifest injury done to *Lucullus* and *Glabrio*, by removing them from their places, but also out of a high jealousy of *Pompey's* growing greatness, as being in a manner absolute monarch of the *Roman* empire, by having these provinces added to his former, with the same power of peace and war; and, which was more than all the rest, a jurisdiction over all armies whatsoever: things which had never before been conferred upon any one single person. But the commons were very hot for this law, being much incited thereto by that great orator *Cicero*, then *prætor*, who, in a public assembly, made a noble oration in praise of *Pompey*, shewing, not only how very convenient it was for the good of the commonwealth to have a general with so large a power; but likewise, how absolutely necessary it was to chuse him above all other men in the world, as being incomparably eminent for those four great qualifications requisite in a soldier, courage, conduct, authority, and success, which had all been abundantly apparent in the numerous and wonderful exploits he had already performed. This speech had such an effect, that when the law came to the scrutiny, it passed with little opposition; and *C. Julius Cæsar*, lately *quæstor*, is said likewise to have favoured it, chiefly with design that the people might afterwards be the more inclined to grant him the like extraordinary power.

Pompey, having prepared all things necessary for his expedition, sent to *Mithridates*, offering him reasonable terms, which the other refused, in expectation of being assisted by *Phraates*, king of *Parthia*; but hearing that a league was made

made between him and the *Romans*, he shortly after sent to desire a peace. *Pompey* commanded him to lay down his *Pompey* arms, and deliver up all deserters ; which occasioned so violent a mutiny in *Mithridates's* army, that, to pacify his soldiers, he was forced to swear, he would never be reconciled *Mithridates* to the *Romans*. *Pompey*, marching into *Galatia*, met *Lucullus* there ; and a violent contest arose between them. The latter affirmed the war to be already finished, and that the commissioners from *Rome* were to decide it : and when *Pompey* would not hearken to this, he upbraided him with an unjust ambition ; *Pompey* retorting the charge of immoderate desire of gain upon *Lucullus*. *Lucullus* still gave out commands in his own name ; but *Pompey*, by his edict, forbade them, and at last drew away the greatest part of his army. *Lucullus*, at his return, was received with great honour by the senate, and carried with him, among his great booty, many valuable books, with which he furnished a public library. He greatly advanced the luxury of the *Romans*, with respect to buildings, furniture of houses, and sumptuous entertainments, and was the first that brought the cherry-tree out of *Pontus* into *Italy*.

Mithridates had now assembled a very considerable army ; and *Pompey* finding how he had wasted all the country to hinder the subsistence of his troops, marched into the *Lesser Armenia*, subject to *Mithridates*, who, fearing he might become master of that country, followed him thither. Here *Mithridates* was in hopes of starving him ; but, to his great surprize, he found himself on a sudden surrounded by *Pompey*, with an intrenchment of above eighteen miles in circuit. Upon this, and likewise hearing that *Marcius* had joined *Pompey*, he betook himself to flight, after killing all such as were sick and useless about him. But *Pompey* pursued him so close, that before he could pass the river *Euphrates* he forced him to an engagement in the night. The moon being very low, and on the backs of the *Romans*, so lengthened their shadows, that the enemies thinking them nearer than they *were*, and really were, shot most of their arrows without doing execution. *Mithridates* lost many thousands of his men ; but he to fly, himself broke through, with eight hundred horse, of which only three hundred staid with him. Wandering sorrowfully through the woods, with this poor remnant of his former forces, he accidentally met with some mercenaries, and about three thousand foot, by whose assistance he was conveyed into a castle, where he had laid up much treasure. From thence he sent to *Tigranes*, who now refused to receive him, alledging that his son had rebelled against him upon his account. He then fled to *Colchis*, which he had formerly conquered, and *Pompey* followed him, thinking he would not stir from thence ; but he immediately passed into *Scythia*, where, partly by force, and partly by persuasion, he obliged the princes of that country to espouse his cause, bestowing

First to
Colchis,
and then
to *Scythia*.

his daughters in marriage upon some of them, and still forming vast designs, even of passing through *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, *Pannonia*, and so over the *Alps* into *Italy* itself.

Pompey marches against Tigranes,

Pompey soon left *Colchis*, and getting clear of the ambuscades of the *Albanians* and *Iberians*, directed his march to *Armenia*, against *Tigranes*, who now resolved not to fight, by reason of the rebellion of his three sons whom he had by *Mithridates*'s daughter, two of which he had executed, and the third, after an overthrow, had fled to *Pompey*. *Tigranes*'s ambassadors coming to desire a peace, this son prevailed so far that they could not be heard. Shortly after, *Pompey* invested the city of *Artaxata*, which *Tigranes* immediately surrendered, and came himself into *Pompey*'s camp, making him mediator between him and his son, who would not so much as rise up to his father, or shew him the least respect. *Pompey*, on the contrary, received him with extraordinary civility, and allowed him the greatest part of his former dominions, and his son the rest; but he took away all his conquests, and fined him six thousand talents of silver for the expence of the war. *Tigranes*, in consequence of this treaty, gave up, among other conquered territories, all *Syria* and *Phœnecia*, and *Euphrates* to the sea: but his son was still very refractory, refusing obedience and threatening the death of his father; for which he was shut up in prison by *Pompey*, and afterwards put to death. *Tigranes*, being now reconciled to the *Romans*, paid more than his fine, voluntarily making presents to every officer and soldier; for which he was esteemed a friend and ally of the *Romans*. *Pompey* restored *Cappadocia* to *Ariobarzanes*, giving him also *Gordiæna* and *Sophæna*, with *Cabala*, a city of *Cilicia*, and other places: after which, with some opposition, he forced the *Albanians* and *Iberians* to beg peace.

Year of Rome 689. Pompey marches against the Medes and Syrians.

Antiochus submits.

All these successes not yet satisfying *Pompey*, he passed Mount *Taurus*, and marched against *Darius*, king of the *Medes*, and *Antiochus*, king of *Syria*, who had molested the *Roman* allies, or assisted their enemies. *Phraates*, king of *Parthia*, who had been called into *Gordiæna* by *Tigranes*'s son, terrified at the great exploits of the *Roman* commander, sent to beg peace of him; which he did not grant, but ordered *Afranius* into *Gordiæna*, to drive out *Phraates*'s forces, and restore that country to *Tigranes*. *Phraates* thereupon invaded *Armenia*, and *Tigranes* sent to *Pompey* for succour, who, being unwilling to commence war with the *Parthians* without positive orders from *Rome*, sent three commissioners to make an accommodation. *Antiochus*, to whom *Lucullus* had granted *Syria*, first thought of siding with *Phraates*; but, upon mature deliberation, resolved to yield himself to *Pompey*'s generosity. But this last, having now possessed himself of all his country without resistance, refused to grant him what he expected, and what he knew he was unable to keep from the incursions of the *Jews* and *Arabians* on both sides

of him : and the better to excuse himself, he told him, *That since the Romans had been at such expence and pains to conquer Tigranes, it would be unreasonable that the reward should fall to another.* He therefore only gave him that part of *Syria* called *Comagena*, and shortly after reduced all the rest of that country into a *Roman* province.

In the mean time *Mithridates* sent to *Pompey* to desire *Mithridatic* peace ; but being ordered to come to him, he refused it, and *dates* proceeded in his preparations for war. Though many of *sires* peace his places soon revolted from him, and several of his friends, but is re-with one of his sons, were put to death upon that account, fused. he still designed to pass into *Europe*, in order to join with the *Gauls* and invade *Italy* : but the unwillingness of his soldiers to undertake this expedition, and the rebellious designs of his son *Pharnaces*, caused the revolt of his army and his ruin, his son being shortly after saluted king. *Mithridates*, who was now confined, sent to his son for leave to depart, but that was denied him. He then went into the apartment where his wives, daughters, and concubines were, gave all of them poison ; and, fearing to be delivered up to the *Romans*, took some himself : but having much used his body to antidotes, particularly to that sort which still goes by his name, the poison would not operate ; whereupon he stabbed himself ; but that not dispatching him so soon as he wished, he made one *Bitæus*, a *Gaul*, kill him. Thus fell *Mithridates* ; a man who sometimes in fortune, and at all times in courage, was of the highest rank ; in direction, a skilful commander ; in execution, a great soldier ; and in hatred to the *Romans*, a second *Hannibal* : and thus ended the *Mithridatic* war, twenty-five years after it first began, and eleven since it last broke out ; a war which, in the beginning, was dangerous to the *Roman* state, as creating other mischiefs ; but, in the end, proved very glorious and advantageous to it, by the addition not only of all *Mithridates's* dominions, but likewise of many other rich countries in *Asia*. His death.

When *Pompey* received the news of *Mithridates's* death, he was near *Jericho*, marching towards *Jerusalem* against *Aristobulus*, king of *Judea*, who had deposed his elder brother *Hyrcanus*, and usurped his kingdom. *Hyrcanus* complained of this to *Pompey* at *Damascus*, and *Aristobulus* came likewise thither to vindicate himself. *Pompey* treated them both very civilly, and told them, that he would go into their country and settle matters between them, after he had dispatched some other necessary affairs. Accordingly, having settled the affairs of *Syria*, and reduced *Pontus* into a *Roman* province, he returned to *Judea*, greatly incensed against *Aristobulus*, whom he ordered to appear before him, and to deliver up all his fortified places. *Aristobulus* did so, with great regret, and then withdrew himself to *Jerusalem*, to

A GENERAL HISTORY

Pompey prepare for a war. *Pompey*, suspecting his designs, marched dethrones after him. He entered the city without opposition; but *Aristobulus*'s soldiers fortified the temple, and held it out against *Pompey*: upon which *Aristobulus* was taken into custody. *stores Hyrcanus*. The temple being very strong by its situation, made a vigorous defence, but was taken after three months siege, and twelve thousand of the Jews cut in pieces; the priests not omitting to offer sacrifices all that time. *Pompey* entered the *Holy of Holies* with many of his followers, and looked at those things which it was not lawful for any but the priests to behold: but he shewed so much veneration for the place, that he forbore touching any thing that was there. *He takes the temple of Jerusalem,* He restored *Hyrcanus* to his priesthood and government, but with a command not to wear a diadem; and took *Aristobulus* with him, making all *Judea* tributary to *Rome*. This happened in the third year of his expedition, and sixty-one years before the birth of *Christ*.

Catiline's conspiracy. While *Pompey* was thus successful abroad, *Rome* was very near being ruined by one of the most dangerous conspiracies that had ever been known in the city. It was begun and carried on by *Sergius Catiline*, a patrician by descent, but of a very profligate life; a person daring in his attempts, crafty in his designs, greedy of other mens properties, and prodigal of his own; one, who had been accused of debauching a vestal, and suspected of murdering his son for the love of another woman. This person, having contracted vast debts by the dissoluteness of his life, grew desperate, and sought for nothing but power and authority, and, if it were possible, the sovereignty over all: but his designs being suspected, he twice received a repulse in standing for the consulship. This last time it was carried from him by *Cicero*, whom he scurrilously abused as an upstart and foreigner, as being but of the equestrian order, and born in *Apulia*; and offered to kill him in the *comitia*. The missing of his design drove him into the utmost rage and fury, and brought him into that plot in which he had formerly been engaged with *Piso*, for the destruction of his country. *Aurelius Cotta* and *Manlius Torquatus*, who had also missed the consulship for want of bribing high enough, joined with him, and again plotted the ruin of the consuls and senate, the burning of the city, and destruction of the state; as did likewise *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, and many other persons of debauched and infamous lives. *Cethegus* and *Lentulus* were both *prætors*; and the latter, who had formerly been *consul*, was moved to this design by a vain confidence in the *Sybilline oracle*, which he said portended, that the sovereign power should be in the hands of the *Cornelii*; namely, *Sylla*, *Cinna*, and himself.

This conspiracy was carried on with the greatest secrecy, and the number of the conspirators increased daily. Among them were several women, who, by prostituting themselves, had

had been maintained after a prodigious rate; but decay of beauty limiting their gains, their luxury, which continued the same as before, run them greatly in debt. This horrid defeated design was discovered by the means of *Q. Curius*, one of the plotters, a degraded senator, who told it to *Fulvia*, a gilance of courtesan of his acquaintance, and she disclosed it to *Cicero*, *Cicero*. who was now consul. *Cicero*, by examining of these two, found out the whole matter, how often and where they met, and what their designs were; and particularly, that his own destruction was to be brought about by *Vasgunteius*, a senator, and *Cornelius*, a knight, under pretence of a friendly visit. Upon this, he immediately set guards in several parts of the city, and assembled the senate in the temple of *Concord*, to consult what was best to be done. *Catiline* attended, but none of the senators would sit near him. *Cicero*, incensed at his boldness, stood up, and, after making a severe speech against him, openly manifesting all his crimes, which were both numerous and notorious, he commanded him to leave the city. *Catiline* then rose up, well prepared with artifice and dissimulation, and, with a dejected look and suppliant tone, besought the fathers not over-rashly to credit vain reports concerning him; nor to believe that a person of his rank, whose own, and whose ancestors services had been so remarkably beneficial, stood in need of a ruined commonwealth. He concluded with many scurrilous reflections upon *Cicero*, which not being hearkened to, he left the house in a great rage, menacing ruin and destruction to all his enemies. He departed from *Rome* that same night, with three hundred armed men, and lictors with fasces and axes before him, like a magistrate; and retired into *Hetruria*, gathering by the way what soldiers he could, with a design to return to the city, which he had directed *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* to lay in ashes at an appointed time. Endeavours had also been used to prevail on the ambassadors of the *Allobroges* then at *Rome* to stir up the *Gauls* against the commonwealth: but they declaring it to *Fabius Sanga*, their patron, and *Cicero* being informed of it, that design was prevented.

The day after *Catiline's* departure, *Cicero* summoned the people, and made a second oration to them, wherein he congratulated the commonwealth on its being freed from so infamous a person. The senate decreed *Catiline* an enemy to the state, and likewise *Manlius*, who had joined him in *Hetruria*. *Lentulus* also, who had tampered with the ambassadors, was deprived of his office of prætor. *Cicero*, shortly after, summoned the people again, and made another speech to them, in which he reported the particulars of the discovery, with the arraignment and conviction of many of the conspirators. *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, *Statilius*, *Cassius*, and several others, being now secured, *Cicero* convened the senate, and proposed to the fathers to consider what was to be done with the prisoners. While the senate was sitting, the slaves

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and dependents of *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* had gathered together a great number of artificers and rabble, and endeavoured to break into the prætor's house, and rescue the prisoners. Upon notice of this, *Cicero* left the senate-house, and, after appointing a watch and sufficient guards, returned, to take the opinions of the senators.

Warm debates arose on this occasion. Many were for putting them to death: but *Julius Cæsar*, seconding those who were against that motion, urged the *Porcian law*, which punished capital offenders only with exile; adding, *That though their crimes were undoubtedly such as no tortures could equal, yet an innovation, even in the punishment of the worst of men, might be a dangerous precedent.* To this *Porcius Cato* replied, with some warmth, *That he had never pardoned in himself the least corruption of his own thoughts, and therefore could not easily forgive the misdemeanours of a turbulent passion and ambition in others.* *That, among the antient Romans, Manlius Torquatus had caused his own son to be put to death, only for fighting the enemy contrary to command: and if, said he, that valiant youth was so severely chastised for his over-hasty courage, shall the present generation hesitate what to decree against the most bloody of parricides, and the greatest monsters of mankind?*

Cicero then stood up, and made his fourth speech upon this occasion; in which, with an artful sort of mildness and ambiguity, he inclined to *Cato's* side; telling the senate, *That his earnestness did not proceed from any malice or anger, but from a singular tenderness and compassion.* *That they ought to consider, that it was not T. Gracchus, who required a second tribuneship; nor C. Gracchus, who claimed the public lands; nor yet Saturnius, who slew Memmius, that was to be punished; but incendiaries of the city, murderers of the people, and assistants of Catiline himself: and, likewise, that this mischief was already diffused over all Italy, and beyond the Alps, and therefore impossible to be crushed by forbearance and delays.* *Cicero's* speech induced the senate to put them all to death, which the consul saw executed before the assembly broke up. But *Cæsar's* mildness and peculiar management in this affair, made several suspect that he himself had some hand in the conspiracy. *Catiline* was shortly after overtaken by *C. Antonius*, *Cicero's* colleague, near the *Alps*, as he was passing into *Gaul* to complete his levies, and, after an obstinate fight, defeated and killed. Thus was this most dangerous conspiracy quashed, chiefly by the vigilance and diligence of *Cicero*. Public thanks were given him for his great care and pains, and, at the instance of *Cato*, he was honoured with the glorious appellation of *Father of his country*; a title which no one had ever enjoyed before, and which the people proclaimed with loud acclamations, saying, *That though they were indebted to several commanders of that age, for riches, spoil, and power; yet it was to Cicero alone that they owed the safety and security of all these blessings.*

who receives the
public
thanks of
his coun-
try.

Tho'

Though *Rome* was in a much more quiet posture after Year of these disturbances were over, yet neither *Catiline's* defeat *Rome* 692. nor death could settle the city in a firm and lasting peace, but still she lay exposed to the sinister designs which some ambitious senators were always forming against her liberty : nor could their inclinations of that kind meet with greater temptations, since the gaining of this only city must carry with it so great a part of the world. And now it was that *Cæsar* began to make a greater appearance in the state than ever, being this year made a *prætor*. He had before gone *Cæsar* through the two offices of *quaestor* and *ædile*; in the latter of made which, by his magnificence in his shews and buildings, he *prætor*, had acquitted himself with much reputation, having also the advantage of being descended from one of the most illustrious families in *Rome*. He afterwards stood for the high-priest- *high-hood*, and, by his great liberality, carried it from two of the priest, most powerful men in *Rome*, and his seniors ; and scarce any man in the city was more remarkable, either for the freeness of his presents, or the largeness of his bribes. He was now also arrived at a very high degree of learning, as well as an admirable skill in eloquence, having already disputed the prize with the most famous orators. In short, few things seemed beyond the reach of his great genius. Little was performed by him during the time of his *prætorship*, besides composing some disturbances occasioned by one *Clodius*, a young man of a noble family, but of a scandalous life, who, being in love with *Cæsar's* wife, *Pompeia*, had, in a woman's habit, entered his house in the time of a particular festival, when only women were permitted to be present. *Clodius* brought himself into much trouble for prophaning those sacred institutions, and *Cæsar* put away his wife privately upon this account, saying, when he was asked his reason for so doing, *That he did not believe her guilty; but that Cæsar's wife ought to preserve herself from the suspicion as well as the guilt of the crime.*

The violent heats and factions which now rent the state upon every occasion, shewed that it was now ready for a change, and liable to become a prey to men of the greatest power and ambition. *Cæsar*, who saw this, thought of nothing so much as the greatness of *Pompey*, and of surpassing, or at least equalling, him in the glory of his exploits. To this end, after the expiration of his *prætorship*, he procured the government of *Spain*: but having contracted great debts and go- by his manner of living, and being retarded in his journey thither by the persecution of his creditors, he was forced to *Spain*. apply to *Crassus*, a man of vast riches, great wit and eloquence, and no contemptible valour; who being wrought upon by the importunities of his wife *Tertulla*, who loved *Cæsar* as much as *Clodius* did *Pompeia*, became security for eight hundred and thirty talents. It was in this government that *Cæsar*, viewing the statue of *Alexander* at *Gades*, wept

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wept to think that he had done nothing great and memorable at an age when that prince had conquered the world. Animated with this reflection, he pierced farther into the country than the *Romans* had ever done before, subdued several nations till then untouched, and amassed so vast a treasure to himself, in the name of the commonwealth, as enabled him afterwards to imitate that *Alexander* whom he so much admired.

Pompey returns to Rome,

and has a splendid triumph.

Shortly after *Cæsar's* departure from *Spain*, *Pompey* returned to *Rome*, covered with glory for his mighty exploits. Upon his arrival in *Italy*, he had sent back his troops, to prevent all suspicions from his appearing at the head of an army. A triumph was granted him with general applause, and with so much the more splendor and magnificence, as this was for the conquest of another third part of the world, after he had already received the same honour for the two other parts. It lasted two days; and even that time was scarce sufficient. In this superb procession were exposed the names of fifteen conquered kingdoms, eight hundred cities taken, twenty-nine repeopled, and one thousand castles subdued. Among the prisoners led in triumph, appeared the son of *Tigranes*, king of *Armenia*, with his wife and daughter; as also *Zosima*, the wife of *Tigranes* himself, and *Aristobulus*, king of *Judea*; the sister of *Mithridates*, with her five sons, and some ladies of *Scythia*. To these were joined the hostages of the *Albanians* and *Iberians*, with those of the king of *Commagena*, and a vast number of trophies answering to each particular battle wherein he was conqueror. The gold, silver, and jewels, that made up part of this public pomp, amounted to the value of twenty thousand talents; or, three millions, seven hundred, and forty thousand pounds of our money. He made it appear, by an account fairly stated, that he had improved the whole revenue of the commonwealth twelve thousand talents, being one third part, by this expedition; besides the large sums he had distributed among his men, of which the meanest soldier's share was near forty pounds.

Cato and Lucullus

Amidst all these honours, *Pompey* was much feared and hated by many, as appeared by the great opposition he met with shortly after, on his demanding a confirmation of all that he had done in *Asia*, and certain lands for the reward of his troops. His credit had indeed influenced the election of both the consuls, *Metellius Creticus* and *Africanus*; but he soon found himself mistaken in that choice: for *Africanus*, minding nothing but pleasure, never acquired much authority in the senate; and *Metellus* cancelled all former obligations on account of *Pompey's* putting away his wife *Mutia*, who was *Metellus's* sister, upon suspicion of her being too intimate with *Cæsar*. *Cato* too set all his power against the interests of *Pompey*, and *Lucullus* did the same, desiring

siring, and obtaining of the senate, that those decrees which oppose Pompey had formerly repealed might be in force ; and, that him. those made with respect to the conquered countries might be annulled ; and, at the same time, he stopped his intended law for rewarding his soldiers. Upon this, Pompey applied to the tribunes, (whose office he and Cæsar had restored after Sylla had suppressed it) ; one of which, by name *Flavius*, proposed the law for the reward of the soldiers. The consul *Metellus* opposed it very sharply, till the contest arising even to blows and bloodshed, the tribune sent *Metellus* to prison ; and when the whole senate offered to make themselves prisoners with him, *Flavius* placed his tribunal at the prison door, and forbade them entrance : upon which the fathers caused the wall to be immediately broken down in another place ; and the constancy of the senate began to shake the resolution of the people, always apt to judge of things by their outward appearance. This Pompey quickly perceived, and desired the tribunes to accommodate the matter, pretending a commission from *Metellus* for so doing. He now, too late, repented his inconsiderate leaving his army, and exposing himself to the hatred of his enemies.

At the same time Cæsar returned from *Spain*, the election Cæsar re-
of new consuls being at hand. He had been fully informed turns from
of all these disturbances, and of the reasons of Pompey's *Spain*,
dissatisfaction ; and now resolved, either to improve his own
authority with the senate, or find a good opportunity of quitting
their interest. His services in *Spain* had well deserved a
triumph, which he accordingly asked of the senate, declaring
his design of standing for the consulship. Now both these
steps were inconsistent at the same time ; for the law forbade
entrance into the city to any one who desired a triumph ;
and required, that whosoever sued for the consulship, should
do it in person. Cæsar wrote to the senate, desiring that
these formalities might be dispensed with ; but *Cato* stood up
for a strict observance of the laws ; and his opinion pre-
vailed : upon which Cæsar declined his triumph ; pursued declines a
the consulship with great eagerness ; and, well knowing the triumph,
great importance of Pompey's credit, and his quarrel with the and stands
senate, he thought this a fit conjuncture to engage himself in for the
his interests. Pompey was no less pleased to gain a man of his consulship
extraordinary merit, especially when Cæsar promised him to
confirm all his acts, if he could procure him to be elected :
wherupon a close agreement was made between them. After
this, Cæsar made it his business to bring his friend *Crassus* into
the league, in which he easily succeeded, and a former breach
between him and Pompey was made up. These three made a
firm combination, or conspiracy, that nothing should be done
in the commonwealth against any of their interests or appro-
bation, which they most solemnly confirmed with mutual
oaths and promises. This was the first great triumvirate,
which proved the overthrow of the consular and popular
state ;

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state; being a confederacy of three of the greatest men in *Rome*, either for valour, authority, or riches. *Pompey* was then about forty-seven years of age, and *Cæsar* forty.

Year of Rome 694. Thus *Rome*, after she had flourished many years in wonderful grandeur, lost her liberty, occasioned wholly by the numerous abuses, and notorious corruptions in her government and inhabitants, which shortly after plunged her into greater miseries than ever she had felt before. This fatal union happened four hundred and forty-nine years after the beginning of the consular state, and in the six hundred and ninety-fourth year of the city: at which time the *Roman* dominions contained all *Italy*; all *Cisalpine Gaul*, and part of the other; all *Spain* and *Africa*; all *Greece* and *Illyricum*; all the kingdoms in *Asia Minor*, with *Armenia*, *Mesopotamia*, *Media*, *Syria*, and *Judea*; besides many islands.

Flourishing as *Rome* now was, with respect to the extent and fruitfulness of its dominions, the power of its arms, the fame and valour of its commanders, the greatness of its revenues, the compass and magnificence of its city, and the numbers and riches, as well as learning and politeness of its inhabitants; it still wanted considerably of that grandeur abroad, and much more of that quiet and serenity at home, which it afterwards enjoyed in the reign of *Augustus*. For now, especially since the joining of three such potent men as *Cæsar*, *Pompey*, and *Crassus*, the state was full of factions and divisions, briberies and corruptions, feuds and jealousies, which made many justly fear the approaching downfall of their antient rights and liberties.

The first triumvirate.

Cæsar elected consul,

Year of Rome 695. The courts the favour of the people, proposes a distribution of lands;

The first effect of this triumvirate was the promoting of *Cæsar* to the consulship, *Pompey* and *Crassus* employing all their interest therein. He had two competitors, *Lucerius* and *Bibulus*. The former, covetous though rich, was taken off by large promises, and bribed to procure what votes he could for *Cæsar*; but the latter, supported in his election by the efforts and voluntary contributions of the senators, who were resolved to have him for one of the consuls, was elected with *Cæsar*. Even *Cato*, rigid as he was, thought that the law which forbade all manner of bribery on these occasions, ought, in such a case, to be dispensed with, when the interest of his country so much required it.

Cæsar, after confirming all *Pompey*'s acts, according to agreement, from that time applied himself wholly to gain the favour of the people; and, the better to effect it, he preferred a law for dividing certain lands in *Campania* among such of the poor citizens as had three children, or more. This proposal was highly pleasing to the commons, and *Cæsar* had taken the most proper methods to make it pass; for the law was drawn up in terms so very just and reasonable, that no man could find fault with it. He declared to the senators, that he would do nothing without their authority, nor propose any of his friends for commissioners, or

any

any man who might be liable to suspicion ; but that they should all be persons of known reputation and abilities. This plausible and cautious way of proceeding, left scarce any room for contradiction : but still the senate, to hinder the law, and yet not seem to oppose it, adjourned the affair Which from day to day ; till, at last, *Cato* declared plainly, that the senate such changes in the state were not to be permitted ; and all oppose. the senators joined him. Upon this, *Cæsar* had immediate recourse to the people, complaining of the injustice and stubbornness of the senate, and publicly asking *Pompey* and *Crassus* their opinions of this law. They both approved of it ; and *Pompey* farther declared, that if such as opposed it should come with their swords in their hands, he would meet their swords, and bring a buckler with him besides : whereupon a day was fixed for the publication of this law.

The time appointed being come, the people assembled in But the great numbers, and, in spite of all opposition, drove away law is *Cato* and *Bibulus* with stones and clubs ; broke the consul's paffed. axes ; paffed the law ; and infisted, that all the senators should swear to the observation of it. *Cato*, *Metellus*, and *Favonius*, were the only persons who resisted ; but they too, after much opposition, took the oath to save their fines and lives ; for *Cæsar* had caused the people to make it capital for any one to refuse. From this time *Cæsar* made little use of the senate ; and his colleague, *Bibulus*, never dared to appear in public during the remainder of the year. Somebody upon this occasion, to deride both *Bibulus* and the senate for their inactivity, at the head of those acts where the names of the consuls used to be inscribed, instead of *Cæsar* and *Bibulus*, wrote *Caius Cæsar* and *Julius Cæsar*, to shew that *Cæsar* governed alone.

Cæsar, thus freed from his colleague, turned his attention *Cæsar* towards the knights, who courted him, in order to obtain gains the an abatement of the rent at which they farmed the public affection revenues. The senate refused to remit any thing ; but *Cæsar* of the prevailed on the people to abate one third. By this, and other knights. ways of pleasing the lower orders of the state, he obtained the province of *Gaul* for five years, with four legions ; a thing he much desired, as a means of performing great exploits. The rest of the year he spent in endeavouring to establish his interest for the time to come ; and knowing of what consequence *Pompey* was, to bind him the more strongly, he gave him in marriage his daughter *Julia*, a very virtuous and beautiful lady. He likewise took care, that the next year's consuls should be his friends *Gabinius* and *Piso*, to the latter of which he had lately given his daughter *Calpurnia* ; and he procured the tribuneship for *Clodius*, notwithstanding his former affront, because he knew him to be an enemy to *Cicero*, whose oration against *Cæsar*, in pleading for *C. Antonius*, had gained him the hatred of the triumvirate:

Secures
his future
interest in
Rome,

and sets
out for
Gaul.

*Cicero's
disgrace.*

triumvirate. Having thus settled affairs, and finished his consulship, he departed for *Gaul* with some precipitation, being threatened to be called to an account for his conduct in his consulship ; and though some of the tribunes prevented his public censure, they could not save his *quaestor* from condemnation.

Pompey and *Crassus* were not idle in *Cæsar's* absence. The former had filled the city with soldiers, and both the consuls being of their party, the authority of the senate was greatly weakened. *Clodius*, so ambitious of the tribuneship, that he had got himself adopted by a plebeian to qualify him for that post, was the most active of all. *Cicero* immediately saw that his ruin was intended. His chief hope was in *Pompey*, who had always been his friend : but *Pompey* had now sacrificed every thing to the interests of the triumvirate, and had lately been extremely offended with *Cicero* for some ill-timed jokes. However, he assured him of his protection. *Cæsar* had offered to make him his lieutenant in his *Gallic* expedition, which he had a great mind to accept of ; but *Pompey* advised him not to leave *Rome*, and *Clodius* artfully deluded him with false hopes of reconciliation, in order to make him stay, that he might be borne down before he was aware of his danger. In short, every thing seemed to conspire against him ; and that piercing judgment and quick apprehension, which he used so much to value himself upon, quite forsook him now.

Clodius, by his distributions of corn among the poor, grew daily more and more in favour with the people, and procured a law to be passed, by which fire and water were interdicted to whosoever had put to death any *Roman* citizen unheard. *Cicero*, who, with every one else, plainly saw that this was aimed at him, losing all his former constancy, went up and down the city, soliciting his cause, in mourning robes, a long beard, and dishevelled hair, attended by twenty thousand knights, supplicating in his behalf, besides many young noblemen, his pupils in the study of eloquence, among whom were the sons of *Crassus*. The senators were going to order a general mourning upon this occasion ; but the consuls stopped that debate, and *Clodius* summoned them all to appear before the people, where *Gabinius* immediately condemned what *Cicero* had done in the affair of *Catiline's* conspiracy. *Cicero's* last retreat was *Pompey*, who was indeed able enough to have saved him, but who, far from being disposed to do him any service, when *Cicero* waited on him with a petition, slipped out at a back door, to avoid seeing him. He now found himself reduced to the hard necessity, either of submitting to his fate, or taking up arms for his defence, which last he might probably have done with some success ; but not being able to bear the thought of shedding the blood of his countrymen, by the advice of *Cato* and the rest of his friends, he resolved to retire,

tire, and accordingly left *Rome* in the night, and went to *Sicily*. After his retreat, *Clodius* caused him to be banished, He is banished by the votes of the people, four hundred miles from *Italy*, destroyed his possessions in the country, set his goods to sale, and pulled down his house, in the place of which he built a temple to Liberty. *Cato* was sent away soon after, by *Clodius's* means, under pretence of doing him honour, to *Ptolomy* king of *Cyprus*. *Lucullus* had retired from the city, and *Craffus* minded nothing but his own affairs ; so that the chief part of the government of the city lay between *Pompey* and *Clodius*.

While these things were doing at *Rome*, *Cæsar* was very busy in his expedition, by which he proposed vast advantages to himself, having not only *Cisalpine Gaul* allotted him, but also the other, which comprehended all that is now called *Cæsar's France*, together with a great part of the low countries, and some of *Germany*. His first enterprize was against the *Helvetii*, who had totally abandoned their country, burnt down their towns and houses, destroyed their provisions, and were marching into *Gaul*, through his province, to the number of upwards of three hundred thousand. Upon intelligence of this, *Cæsar* hastened to *Geneva*, and broke down the bridge there ; upon which they sent to him, desiring leave to pass. He delayed answering them till he could collect all his troops, and, in the mean time, threw up a large intrenchment, from the lake of *Geneva* to Mount *Jura*, being twelve miles, which forced them to turn aside, and enter *Gaul* by the way of *Sequania*. *Cæsar* followed them with great diligence, and defeated a considerable party of them ; upon which they sent a second time to desire a treaty. Nothing was concluded, and shortly after, four thousand of *Cæsar's* cavalry met with a repulse, for which the enemy feasts the soon paid dear in a general battle, to which he artfully drew them, wherein they lost near two hundred thousand men, and their wives and children were cut to pieces, desperately fighting among the carriages. *Cæsar* crowned his victory with a glorious action, by collecting all who had escaped, and sending them in safety to their own countries.

Resolving to improve his time while the season permitted, he immediately turned his arms against *Ariovistus*, king of the *Germans*, who had seized the best part of *Sequania*, and used the inhabitants with intolerable severities and oppressions. The *Sequanians*, being allies of *Rome*, implored the assistance of *Cæsar*, who thereupon sent to *Ariovistus* without success, and afterwards came to a personal interview with him, in which *Ariovistus's* haughty language, and the treachery of some of his troops, brought both armies to a battle shortly after. *Cæsar* gained the day, killed eighty thousand of the enemies, and pursued them to the very borders of the *Germanians*, over which *Ariovistus* crossed in a little boat with, And *Ariovistus*, king of *Germanians*. a small

a small retinue ; two of his wives, and as many of his daughters being taken prisoners.

The Bel-
gæ de-
feated.

In the beginning of the next spring, a great confederacy was formed against the *Romans* by the *Belgæ*, who possessed a third part of *Gaul*, and were reckoned the most powerful people in the whole country. *Cæsar* hearing that they had raised above two hundred and eighty thousand men, marched against them with all speed, and bravely attacking them, while they were plundering his allies the *Gauls*, he defeated and put to flight so many of them, that, *Plutarch* says, marshes and deep rivers became passable to the *Romans* by the prodigious number of the dead bodies. Several nations bordering upon the ocean, yielded without fighting : upon which, *Cæsar* led his army against the *Nervians*, the most savage and warlike people in those parts. These, leaving their children and effects in one of the thick forests, with which their country was covered, fell upon *Cæsar* with sixty thousand men, before he thought of engaging, or had time to encamp, with such uncommon fury, that they broke the *Roman* cavalry, and surrounded the seventh and twelfth legions, which must all have been cut off, as their officers were, if *Cæsar* himself had not hastily caught up a buckler, and rushed through his men into the midst of the enemies, and his tenth legion run in to his assistance, and broke their ranks. Still they would not give way, but obstinately stood

The Ner-
vians de-
feated.

their ground till they were all cut in pieces, and not a thousand of them left. This was *Cæsar's* second year's expedition ; and now the renown of his victories made him so formidable, even in *Germany*, that several nations beyond the *Rhine* sent of their own accord, and submitted to him.

Clodius
occasions
great di-
sturbances
at *Rome*.

When the news of *Cæsar's* last exploits reached *Rome*, the senate decreed a solemn festival for fifteen days, which was a greater honour than any had ever received before. *Clodius* having removed his enemies, began to prove an intolerable plague to many of the nobility, and even to *Pompey* himself, who now found that it would be much for his interest to have *Cicero* recalled. To this end he applied to *Milo*, one of the tribunes, a man of great courage and resolution ; and using his interest with many others, the matter was at last proposed to the senate, where it was generally agreed to. But *Clodius* opposed it with the utmost violence : and when it was proposed to the body of the people, and promoted as much as possible by *Milo* and his colleague, *Sextus Clodius*, assisted by a party of gladiators, fell suddenly upon the multitude, killed several of the people, wounded the tribunes, and dispersed the assembly. A day or two after, *Milo* seized *Clodius*, and carried him before the prætor : whereupon a great contest arose ; but *Clodius's* party was driven away by *Pompey's* gladiators, and *Pompey* immediately possessing himself of the *forum*, assembled the people, who, with universal consent,

consent and applause voted *Cicero's* return. The senate *Cicero* relikewise decreed honours to such cities as had entertained called him, and ordered his house to be rebuilt, and all his posseſſions to be reinstated at the public expence. *Cicero* was sixteen months in banishment.

The next year, *Cæsar*, intending to visit *Italy* himself, Continuent *Servius Galba*, one of his lieutenants, with the twelfth legion and part of the cavalry, against the *Antuates*, *Vera-Cæsar's gres*, and *Seduni*, nations which inhabited from the river *Rhone* to the *Alps*, in order to clear a paſſage, and ſecure a trade in those parts. *Galba* ſoon defeated a very great party, which had been ſo bold as to attack him in his camp. *Cæſar*, returning ſhortly after, found that the *Veneti*, and ſeveral other nations of *Celtic Gaul*, had revolted: whereupon he turned part of his force againſt them, but met with great difficulties in this enterprize, by reaſon of their naval strength, by means of which they ſhifted continually from place to place; but at laſt, having procured a fleet, he attacked the *Veneti* at ſea, and overthrew them. In the mean time, *Crassus*, one of his lieutenants, subdued the *Sontiates*, with the greatest part of *Aquitain*; as *Sabinus*, another of them, did the *Unelli*, and all the maritime parts. Towards the latter end of the campaign, *Cæſar* marched againſt the *Morini*, a people near *Calais*, and the *Menapii*, two nations who were ſtill up in arms. The ſeafon was too far advanced for him to do any thing more this year.

As *Cæſar's* conqueſts eſtabliſhed his reputation in *Rome*, ſo his humanity, and other excellent qualities gained him the hearts of all his ſoldiers. He had now got great ſtore of wealth, with which he not only diſcharged his debts, but likewiſe made many great friends by his magnificent preſents, especially to the ladies, and also corrupted the ædiles, prætors, and confuls themſelves. In this winter he paſſed into *Italy*, and took up his head quarters at *Lucca*, where there was ſo great a concourſe of people to pay him their respects, that two hundred ſenators were preſent together, and ſo many prætors and proconsuls, that one hundred and twenty bundles of rods were ſeen there at a time. Here the triuſvirate concerted new meaſures, and *Cæſar*, fearing he might be recalled from *Gaul*, engaged *Pompey* and *Crassus* to endeavour at the confulſhip the following year, and to continue him in his employment five years longer. This deſign was ſo displeaſing to the ſenate, and ſuch violent diſputes arose concerning it, that they went into mourning, lous of the as in public calamities, ſaying, that the proceedings of the proceedriumvirate were dangerous to the peace and liberty of *Rome*. Cato ſet up *Domitius* againſt them, as a candidate for the triuſvirate; but *Pompey*, reſolving to carry his point, ſent some armed men againſt *Domitius*, as he was going to the election, who killed one of his ſlaves, dispersed his company, wounded *Cato* in the arm, and *Domitius* himſelf escaped.

*Cæsar
continued
in the go-
vernment
of Gaul.*

*Year of
Rome 699.*

with difficulty. By such force and violence *Pompey* and *Crassus* obtained the consulship. Shortly after, the people were going to give *Cato* the prætorship; but *Pompey* pretending strange prodigies in heaven, dismissed the assembly, and then, corrupting the tribes with money, made them chuse *Antius* and *Vatinius* prætors. After this, by the assistance of the tribune *Trebonius*, the consuls procured laws, which continued *Cæsar* in his government of *Gaul* five years longer, and assigned *Syria* and the *Parthian* war to *Crassus*, and *Africa* and *Spain* to *Pompey*, with four legions, of which he lent *Cæsar* two for the *Gallic* wars.

The fourth year of *Cæsar's* expedition was employed against several nations of *Germany*, who, to the number of four hundred and thirty thousand of all sorts, being driven out of their own country by the *Suevi*, the most powerful of all the *Germans*, had passed the *Rhine* into *Gaul*, and forced the *Menagii* from their habitations. *Cæsar*, well knowing the levity of the *Gauls*, and their readiness to cast off their yoke, resolved to hinder the *Germans* from settling on this side of the *Rhine*. To this end, and to break the measures he found they had already began to concert with the *Gauls*, he anticipated the usual time of taking the field, and marched directly to the *Germans*, who, amazed at his extraordinary diligence, sent ambassadors to desire a treaty. He gave them a patient hearing, and favourable answers, but still continued his march. At last the articles were agreed on, provided *Cæsar* would stay three days; but he would allow them but one; during which, some of his cavalry going out to forage, met with a party of *German* horse, who fell furiously upon them, put them to flight, and pursued them to their very camp. The *Germans* sending their principal officers the next day to excuse this action, *Cæsar* detained them prisoners, and advancing with his whole army, fell suddenly upon the enemy, and cut them all in pieces. After this, he laid a bridge over the *Rhine*, marched into *Germany*, relieved the *Ubii*, granted a peace to such as gave him hostages, burnt and destroyed the rest, and at the end of eighteen days returned into *Gaul*, breaking down the bridge behind him.

*He in-
vades
Britain,*

Finding that he had time this year to undertake a new expedition, and animated by an ardent desire of glory, he resolved to cross the sea into *Britain*; an enterprize so hazardous, that few but *Cæsar* would have ventured upon it. His pretence was the *Britons* sending supplies into *Gaul* against the *Romans*; and, in order to his design, he made strict enquiry of the merchants who traded thither, what kind of people they were, how they made war, under what laws they lived, and which were their best ports. After this, he sent *Volusenus* to view their coasts, and, in the mean time, ordered the ships he had employed against the *Veneti* to be got ready, and made all other necessary preparations.

Several

Several of the *British* people, alarmed at the impending danger, sent ambassadors with tokens of submission to *Cæsar*, who sent them back with fair words, and with them *Cornio*, whom he privately instructed to observe the country; but *Cornio*, not daring to trust the inhabitants, staid only five days upon the coasts, and then returned to report what he had seen. *Cæsar*, leaving all things quiet in *Gaul*, and *Sulpicius Rufus* to guard the ports, put to sea in the night, with two legions and part of his cavalry, and the next morning made the *British* coast, where he met with such opposition, that the *Romans* were in danger of being driven back, till the standard-bearer of the tenth legion boldly leaped ashore, and being well supported by *Cæsar*, all the army landed, and the *Britons* fled, so terrified, that they sent soon after to desire a peace, which was granted. They had already delivered some hostages, when a great storm arose, which shattered the *Roman* ships as they lay at anchor; and this, with *Cæsar's* want of provisions, so encouraged the *Britons*, that instead of sending him the rest of their hostages, they marched against him with a numerous army, and meeting one of the legions, almost defeated it: but *Cæsar* coming up with timely assistance, brought it off. He immediately set about repairing his ships, procuring of provisions, and securing his camp; and being again attacked by the *Britons*, he overthrew them, and burnt many of their towns, which obliged them once more to sue for peace. *Cæsar* now required a double number of hostages; and finding the season far advanced, he put to sea, and returned which he safely to *Gaul*, only two of his ships, with about three hundred men on board, landing a little lower than they should and re-having done, were set upon by the *Morini*, who, not long before, had been reconciled to him. They were soon relieved, *Gaul*, and *Labienus* was sent to chastise the revolters, who being reduced, he and *Gotta* harassed the country of the *Menapians*, who had hid themselves in the woods.

The *Britons* having furnished *Cæsar* with a fresh pretence for attacking them, by breaking their articles with him, he second ex-embarked the next spring at *Iceius*, or *Calais*, with five legions and two thousand horse, and landed without opposition to *Britain*. in *Britain*, where he shortly after forced one of the enemy's camps. About the same time, news was brought him, that his whole navy was extremely damaged by a storm, and some of his ships lost. Upon this he retired back towards the sea coast, where he repaired most of them in ten days, and wrote to *Labienus* to build more. After that, he marched against *Cassivelaun*, the general of all the *British* forces, and defeated him in a bloody battle, which so intimidated the enemy, that they were afraid to appear against him in any body. *Cæsar* thereupon advanced farther into the country, and passed the *Thames*, in spite of all opposition, his men wading up to the neck in water. *Cassivelaun*, notwithstanding

Her returns
back to
Gaul.

Year of
Rome 701.

And passes
the *Rhine*
into Ger-
many.

standing his reputed valour, kept to the woods and forests ; and finding that several towns had surrendered to *Cæsar*, and particularly his own, he also sent to him, desiring peace. *Cæsar* received his submission, took hostages, and imposed a certain tribute upon *Britain* ; after which, finding the season far advanced, and apprehending danger from some tumults in *Gaul*, he crossed the sea again, and brought back his army with much glory and renown.

The next year *Cæsar* perceived that many of the states of *Gaul* were disposed to a general insurrection ; whereupon he reinforced his army with three *Roman* legions, and as many auxiliaries as he could well procure. He opened the campaign sooner than usual, thereby to break, or at least weaken the union of the disaffected, of whom he soon reduced several nations, as the *Nervii* first, and, shortly after, the *Senones*, *Carnutes*, and *Menapians* ; while his lieutenant *Labienus* subdued all the people about *Treves*. After this, he built a bridge, and passed the *Rhine* a second time, because many of the *Germans* had entered into a confederacy with the *Gauls*. His attempts upon the *Suevi* being attended with little success, by reason of their flying into woods and impassable places, he turned his arms against the *Eburones*. But while he was ravaging their territories, the *Sicambri*, crossing the *Rhine* suddenly, attacked his lieutenant *Q. Cicero*'s camp, killed many of his men, and caused a great consternation among them all, till the news of *Cæsar*'s approach forced them to retire. *Cæsar* then fell again upon the country of the *Eburones* ; after which, having held a council in *Gaul* for the punishment of the revolters, and provided his army with all things necessary, he drew it into winter quarters.

During these great actions in *Gaul*, *Pompey* and *Crassus*, upon the expiring of their consulships, began to take care about the several governments that were allotted them. *Crassus* was extremely elated with the thoughts of his expedition into *Syria* and *Parthia*, promising himself to surpass even *Pompey* in glory ; and therefore he hastened his preparations as much as he could. The tribunes strongly opposed the raising of men, and endeavoured to repeal the laws made for their expeditions. *Pompey* was satisfied with sending his lieutenant into his provinces ; being unwilling to leave the city, as he pretended, because of his office of superintendant of the provisions ; an honour which *Cicero*, in return for his being recalled from banishment, had procured him from the senate, that he might thereby have authority all over the *Roman* empire. But *Crassus* had recourse to force. The tribunes, unable to withstand it, desisted, and loaded him with curses and imprecations ; and indeed most men exclaimed loudly against the injustice of attacking the *Parthians*, who had not offended the *Romans*, and who were then at peace with them. These reproaches made no impression

pression upon *Crassus*, who having got all things ready, set out for his province.

Pompey kept wholly to the city, studying how to make *Pompey* himself still greater and more powerful. The fame of *Cæsar's* conquests, which engrossed the attention of all *Rome*, jealous of began now to prove very ungrateful to him, who feared no- *Cæsar's* thing so much as a rival in glory. He therefore did all he could to diminish the reputation of that great commander, obliging the magistrates not to publish any letters they received, till he had forestalled the credit of them, by spreading false and disadvantageous reports. The prudent, who wished well to their country, foresaw with grief the miseries that would ensue from a rupture between two such extraordinary persons ; and what still augmented their fears, was, the death of *Pompey's* wife, *Julia*, daughter to *Cæsar*, which happened at the same time. *Pompey* loved her passionately ; and her senie and virtue had always a great ascendant over the dispositions both of *Cæsar* and *Pompey*. The people of *Rome* shewed the respect they bore her, by public demonstrations of their sorrow : and when *Pompey* would have carried her body to one of his houses near *Alba*, they would not suffer it, but bore it into the field of *Mars*, where they buried it with the greatest magnificence. From this moment *Pompey* resolved to pursue nothing but his own advancement ; and in order to regain the favour of the people, he built a stately theatre for plays, shews, and other public diversions, which *Cicero* was much displeased at, as appears from one of his epistles.

While *Pompey* was managing his affairs at home, and *Cæsar's* far in the midst of *Gaul*, *Crassus* was pursuing his expedition rapacious with all vigour. In his journey he marched through *Jerusalem*, where he rifled the temple of a great treasure, to his expense the value of ten thousand talents, which *Pompey*, to his dition. great reputation, had spared. He spent many days in weighing the treasure of the idol goddess in *Hierapolis*, or *Edesia*, in *Syria* ; and in his whole passage he shewed more of covetousness than valour, lifting many men, and then discharging them again for money. He likewise neglected many opportunities of falling upon the *Parthians* unprovided ; despised the friendship of the king of *Armenia*, who gave him leave to pass through his country to *Parthia* ; took no care about refreshing his men, till he came within the enemy's reach, and neglected to pass down the river *Selucia*, as he was advised, where he might have been supplied with provisions by water. This last counsel he rejected through the cunning insinuations of *Abgarus* the *Osroenian*, who, having formerly been a friend and ally of the *Romans*, was now in the interests of the *Parthians*, and feeding *Crassus* with money to gild over his treachery, gave them notice of all that passed in the *Roman* camp. He likewise persuaded *Crassus* to lay aside all thoughts of *Selucia* and *Ctesiphon*, and march directly

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directly against *Surenas*, the *Parthian* general. This advice he followed ; and thereby, first losing his son, he himself His death, was circumvented by *Surenas*, under pretence of a treaty, and either slain by his enemies, or killed by some of his own men, to prevent his falling into their hands. His men were miserably slaughtered, to the number of twenty thousand, besides ten thousand taken, and his head was carried to *Orodes*, king of *Parthia*, who caused melted gold to be poured into his mouth, crying, *Now satisfy thyself with gold, of which thou hast always been so unsatiably greedy.*

Thus fell *Craffus*, one of the richest men in all the *Roman* empire, and one of the heads of the triumvirate. His death laid the foundation of the civil war between the other two ; for while he lived he was a check to them both, and balanced their interests : but now an open field was left for their emulation and ambition. *Craffus* was killed in the first year of his expedition, and in the 701st of *Rome*.

Great disturbances at *Rome*.

Factions and corruption never ran higher in the state, than at this time. What bribery could not purchase was obtained by dint of violence. The consuls, finding themselves debarred, by the power of the triumvirate, from waging war and leading armies, as formerly, made it their sole business to enrich themselves out of the public revenues, or from bribes, as well as the salaries depending upon their offices. *Pompey* connived at all this, hoping that the infirmities of the state would occasion him to be created dictator ; and for that reason he retired for a while into the country, that his friends might have the fairer opportunity of insinuating the necessity of his presence, as well as authority, for preserving the peace of the city. At the time for the election of new magistrates, the contention among the candidates was so great, that none could be chosen for eight entire months : and what still heightened these mischiefs was, the death of *Clodius*, killed by his great enemy *Milo*, who met him by accident near his country house. The body was brought to *Rome*, and exposed all bloody to the people, who thereupon immediately ran with fury to *Milo*'s house, to set it on fire ; but they were repulsed, and several of them killed : upon which they returned to the body, pulled down all the magistrates seats, made a funeral pile of them, and set fire to it with such rage, that all the buildings round the *forum* were burnt with *Clodius*'s body. The mutineers then dispersing all over the city, under pretence of searching for *Milo*'s friends, committed such horrid outrages, that nobody dared to walk the streets unarmed.

Pompey
made sole
consul.

These fatal mischiefs made every one turn their eyes up on *Pompey*, as the fittest person to redress all : but while they were consulting about creating him dictator, *Cato* prevailed with the senate to make him consul alone, that so, if occasion were, he might be afterwards accountable for any mal-administration. Accordingly, the authority of a dictator

tator was conferred upon him under a milder name ; a thing never known in *Rome* before, but upon some extraordinary occasion, and then only for a few days, when the consuls were sometimes commissioned, *To take care that the commonwealth received no damage*. New troops were allotted to *Pompey*, one thousand talents allowed yearly for their pay, and the government of *Spain*, which he administered by his deputies, was continued to him for four years longer. *Milo* was shortly after accused by *Clodius*'s brother. *Cicero* undertook his defence ; but, intimidated by the appearance of *Pompey*'s soldiers, who surrounded him as he was pleading, he was put out of his speech, and *Milo* was banished. When *Cicero* afterwards sent him his oration in writing, the excellency of it made him answer, *That it was happy for him that Cicero was out in his harangue ; for otherwise he should not have lived so well as he now did at Marseilles* ; for that was the place of his exile. *Pompey*, after executing the office of dictator for a little time, took for his colleague *Scipio Metellus*, whose daughter *Cornelia* he had lately married. This alliance was such an addition to his interest, that he now made no doubt of being able to out-top *Cæsar*, and only waited till affairs were somewhat more ripe for execution. But *Cæsar*, by his great policy and industry, his noble exploits abroad, and his profusion of presents at home, still secured himself a sufficient party in the city. He caused a new *forum* to be built at *Rome*, the ground whereof cost him one hundred thousand festerces ; and he gave the people a public entertainment, in acknowledgment of the honours done to his daughter *Julia*. He was a great encourager of learning. At this time flourished, among many other learned men, that excellent historian, *Sallust*.

The troubles in *Rome*, and *Cæsar*'s absence, encouraged many of the nations of *Gaul* to endeavour once more to recover their liberty. They pursued their design with greater vigour than ever, and chose *Vercingetorix* for their general. Upon the news of this, *Cæsar* immediately set out, forced his way over the mountains through deep snows, and overthrew *Vercingetorix*, who thereupon retired to *Alesia*, a city of the *Madubii*, and shut himself up in it, with eight thousand men, and all things necessary for a siege. *Cæsar*, notwithstanding the hazard of such an attempt, invested the place ; and though two hundred and fifty thousand of the bravest of the *Gauls* came to relieve it, and in a manner besieged him, yet, by his wonderful skill and management, his double and treble trenches, and his vast lines of contravallation, he repulsed the relievers, and soon after became master of the town, to his great honour and reputation. All the disaffected in those parts submitted immediately after, and thus ended *Cæsar*'s seventh year's expedition in *Gaul*, which was the most dangerous and the most glorious that ever he undertook.

Cæsar's eighth and last year's expedition into Gaul. The next year the *Gauls* resolved to try their fortune once more, and many of their nations again entered into a confederacy. *Cæsar*, having intelligence of their designs, began his march from *Bibracte*, made great devastations throughout the territories of the *Bituriges* in *Aquitain*, and subdued several of the people about those parts. *C. Fabius* and *Caninius*, two of his lieutenants, defeated others of them ; and *Cæsar* joining this last, invested *Uxellodunum*, a city of the *Cadurci*, which, though very strong by its situation, he reduced with little bloodshed, by turning the course of the springs that supplied the place with water. The rest of *Aquitain* soon submitted. He then went to *Narbonne*, and disposed his men in their winter quarters, in such manner that they proved very useful to him afterwards in the civil wars : and thus ended *Cæsar's* eighth and last year's expedition in *Gaul*, by which he acquired great honour and renown, and the *Romans* a vast increase of riches and dominions.

The jealousies between Cæsar and Pompey began now to be more conspicuous than ever ; and a rupture might well be expected, when two persons, the greatest that ever Rome produced, were become rivals in glory, and their tempers were such, that the latter could not endure an equal, nor the former a superior. *Cæsar's* reputation stood very high, his riches were great, his generosity was unbounded, his troops almost adored him, and numbers of the senators were obliged to him for considerable sums, which he had lent them without interest. He entertained with magnificence all that served under him, and his army was a refuge to all criminals and debtors, many of which last he discharged at his own expence ; but for some, whose debts were larger than ordinary, he used to say, *That one civil war would make all even.* All this was done at the expence of *Gaul* ; which occasioned this observation, *That Cæsar conquered the Gauls with the Roman steel, and the Romans with the Gallic gold.*

Pompey having observed that *Cæsar* had rendered himself very disagreeable to the senate in his consulship, made it his study to gain the favour of that body, and succeeded therein. *Cæsar* was aware of the consequence of this, and therefore endeavoured vigorously to obtain the consulship again, in his absence, and likewise to get his government continued to him ; trying all ways to keep his army till he should be chosen consul. But he soon found that this affair did not succeed according to his wish, owing chiefly to the opposition of *Marcus Marcellus*, one of the present consuls, and his great enemy. He therefore, though sufficiently sensible of Pompey's jealousy, resolved to endeavour once more to preserve his friendship, and to that end offered him his niece *Octavia*, and demanded Pompey's daughter for himself : but Pompey preferred an alliance with *Scipio*, whom he joined with him in the consulship for the last five months.

The

The first public appearance of the division was occasioned by Pompey's two laws, published in his consulship ; the one, to inquire into the conduct of the officers of the state for twenty years past ; and the other, to disqualify all absent persons from demanding any public employment. Though both these laws were plainly levelled against Cæsar, no violence was used, but all was managed with extreme artifice and cunning, till the election of the new consuls, who were Æmilius Paulus and Calidius Marcellus. Every one was impatient to see how they would declare themselves. A present of fifteen hundred talents had already secured the former in Cæsar's interest ; but the latter was his enemy. The tribune Curio, a man of great resolution, and very eminent for his abilities at the bar, now burthened with debts both for himself and others, and particularly for Mark Anthony, one of his colleagues, was, from a violent enemy, brought over to be a friend to Cæsar by the making of his circumstances easy to him. He did not, however, immediately declare himself, but artfully dissembled his intentions, the better to penetrate the designs of the other party, after which he sought an opportunity to break with Pompey. In order to this, he demanded the superintendence of the highways ; and on its being refused him, as he knew it would, he shewed his resentment : and soon after, when the consul Marcellus proposed, with great earnestness, the recalling of Cæsar from his government, Curio applauded his wisdom ; adding, *That it was but just that Pompey and Cæsar should be recalled together.* The meaning of this proposal was plain ; and Pompey's friends began to be very troublesome to Curio ; particularly Appius, one of the censors, who threatened to expel him from the senate, and actually proposed it in one of their meetings. Curio submitted to any thing decreed against himself only, but would yield to nothing where Cæsar's interest was struck at ; and the consul Æmilius secured him from the effects of Appius's menace.

Curio made the same proposal to the people as he had done to the senate. The people received it with the greatest applause : and, as a farther testimony of their satisfaction, they empowered Cæsar to demand the consulship without removing from his province. Upon this, Pompey left the city, under pretence of going to his government : but he really went no farther than a country house of his, where falling sick, he wrote to the senate, *That he was ready to resign all his employments when Cæsar did the like ; which he would confirm upon his return to Rome.* Cicero immediately laid hold of this, and told him, *It was his duty to begin what he proposed : he would engage that Cæsar should follow his example.* The matter was then publicly debated ; but ended only in an order, *That two legions should be drawn out of Cæsar's and Pompey's army to be sent against the Parthians.* This was only to weaken Cæsar, for Pompey likewise demanded the legions he had

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had formerly lent him: *Cæsar* saw at once the reason of this order, and *Pompey's* designs. However, he made no opposition, but surrendered two legions, generously giving each man five and twenty crowns.

Cicero endeavours to mediate between them, but failed. *Cicero* returned at this time from his government of *Cilicia*, from his exploits in which he pretended to have merited the honour of a triumph. His absence had hindered his joining with either party; and his present pretensions obliterated the memory of his former services. Proposals were made, but to no purpose; for *Appius*, returning from *Cæsar's* army, gave out, that his soldiers had no esteem for him, and that they would certainly come over to the senate's party whenever they should repass the *Alps*. This relation gave *Pompey* such confidence, that he would not hear *Cicero*: and when this last afterwards asked him, *What forces he had to oppose Cæsar*; his answer was, *That he need but stamp with his foot, and an army would start out of the earth*. Many of the senators began to think very meanly of *Cæsar*; and *Cato* himself scornfully declared, *That he would bring him to an account for his actions; and that he should be treated as Milo had been before him*.

Cæsar passes the *Alps*. *Cæsar* often wrote to the senate, to desire to be continued in his government, as *Pompey* had been; or, that both might be recalled at the same time; or else, that he might be permitted to stand for the consulship by proxy. These proposals being rejected, he repassed the *Alps* with the third legion, and marched to *Ravenna*; from whence he sent a letter to the new consuls, *Cornelius Lentulus* and *Clodius Marcellus*; wherein, after an honourable mention of his own exploits, he signified, *That he was ready to resign all his power, in case Pompey did the like; otherwise they might reasonably expect, that he could not be wholly insensible of the injury done to him as well as to his country*. Great debates, and violent dissentions arose about this letter; but at last a decree was issued, purporting, *That Cæsar should disband his forces within such a time, on pain of being declared an enemy to the state*. This decree, though strongly opposed by many, was immediately followed by another, published only in case of extremity, directing the consul and other magistrates to take care that the commonwealth received no damage: and *Pompey* was ordered to command what troops were ready. *Domitius* was appointed to supersede *Cæsar*; and all were up in arms in *Rome*. *Cæsar* received a speedy account of this from *Curio*, *Anthony*, and *Longinus*, who fled to him in slaves' habits, in which condition he shewed them to his army, telling his men, *That the senate had dealt basely and ungratefully by him, who had done them so many services; as well as unjustly and inhumanly by his friends, whose persons were sacred by their office, but who were now forced to conceal themselves under the mean disguise of slavery, to shun the fury of his enemies; and all for maintaining those undoubted rights which even Sylla durst never violate*. Then, tearing his robes,

robes, and melting into tears, he conjured all his soldiers to defend his honour and reputation, after having served nine years under him with so much glory and renown. The soldiers, to a man, answered, with loud acclamations, *That they were ready to reveng all injuries done to their general:* and Year of thus began the famous civil-war, about four years after the *Rome* 705. death of *Craffus*.

Among the many warlike qualities of *Cæsar*, his diligence in preventing an enemy and pursuing a victory, held the first rank. He never had to deal with so expert a commander as at this time; and therefore stood now in need of all his skill and policy. The first step he took, was, to send a chosen party of men, armed only with swords, to put themselves as secretly as possible into *Arminium*, the first city of his province. He himself remained at *Ravenna*, and went to see the combat of gladiators, as if he had thought of nothing but pleasure and amusement; and when night came, he sat down to supper with his friends, staid a little while with them, and then rising up, desired them to make themselves welcome, and that he would be with them again in a moment. But he had secretly ordered his chariot to be got ready, and, with some few of his particular friends, set forward towards *Arminium*. When he arrived at the banks of *Cæsar's* the *Rubicon*, a little river which passed *Cisalpine Gaul* from passage of the rest of *Italy*, all the misfortunes of the approaching war the *Rubi-* presenting themselves to his melancholy mind, he began to *con.* consider what posterity would think of the step he was about to take. Sometimes he was minded to go back; and turning himself to *Afinius Pollio*, *'Tis now in our power, said he, to return; but if we pass this fatal river, our only retreat must be to our arms.* Some authors say, that just by the place where he stood, of a sudden there appeared a man of an extraordinary stature, who made excellent music with a reed he played upon. This uncommon sight drew many of the soldiers to him; among the rest, a trumpeter; from whom he snatched his trumpet, and sounding a charge with a more violent blast than ordinary, threw himself into the water and swam to the other side. *Cæsar*, continue our authors, without farther consideration, passed the river, crying, *Let us go where the gods so loudly call, and the fury of our enemies drives us!* From thence he marched directly to *Arminium*, and He takes possessed himself of it without resistance. He had only six *Aminium*. thousand men at this time; the rest of his troops not having yet joined him.

This unexpected enterprize filled *Rome* with the utmost Great consternation, every one imagining *Cæsar* at its gates with consternation all his army. *Pompey* was amazed, and *Cicero* at a loss what to do, as appears by his epistles on this occasion. But what *Rome*. stung *Pompey* most of all, was, the sarcasms and bitter reflections of many of his own party; some of whom accused him of indiscretion, others of injustice; and *Favonius*, a crack-

A GENERAL HISTORY

Pompey, the consuls, and most of the senators, leave Rome.

crack-brained philosopher, who pretended to imitate *Cato*, bid him stamp with his foot and produce his armies. At length Pompey told them, *That if they would follow him, they should not want an army; that it was neither their houses nor their provinces that could inspire them with the love of virtue and liberty; but that men of honour might find it in all retreats; and that their following him would be the only way to put them in a condition of returning to their houses with glory.* The consideration of the present danger made them resolve to quit the city. Accordingly, the consuls, and almost all the senate, followed him with great precipitation to *Capua*, where were the two legions which *Cæsar* had sent from *Gaul*. Pompey put his affairs in the best order he could, and resolved to retire towards *Brundusium*. He left *L. Domitius* in *Corfinium*, and *Cicero* to command in *Capua*, who received his commission with some relunctancy. *Labienus*, upon some disgust, left *Cæsar*, and went over to Pompey; and *Cæsar*, either thro' policy or generosity, sent all his money and equipage after him. Some overtures of accommodation were made by Pompey; but the demands on both sides could not be agreed upon. Pompey's design was only to gain time; his chief reliance being upon the forces of the *East*, which were absolutely in his interest: and *Cæsar*, on his side, depending upon the valour and affection of his soldiers, had no thoughts of quitting his arms, but wanted only to shew that he had taken them up with justice.

Cæsar proceeds to action, and becomes master of Italy.

The negociation being over, *Cæsar* seized upon the towns of *Picenum* which lay in his way, and very soon became master of all that province. This progress redoubled the fears of *Rome*; and *Lentulus*, who was come back to seize the public treasure, was obliged to fly. In the mean time, the twelfth legion joined *Cæsar*, who thereupon marched directly after Pompey, without offering to attack *Rome*, which he knew would fall of course to the conqueror. The first place that made any resistance was *Corfinium*, the chief city of the country of the *Peligni*, which was possessed by *Domitius*, who had lately raised twenty cohorts in those parts. *Cæsar* made his approaches with two legions, and was opposed by five cohorts, who defended a bridge about three miles from the city, but were driven back to the gates of *Corfinium*, which was immediately invested. *Domitius* prepared for a vigorous defence, and wrote to Pompey, *That he had now a fair opportunity to hem in Cæsar, if he would come up; and that it would not be for his reputation to leave so many senators and knights as were now besieged, as well as so many soldiers, to the mercy of the enemy.* Pompey answered, *That he was not then in a condition to hazard a battle; that Domitius had engaged himself in Corfinium contrary to his opinion, and therefore ought to think of making the best retreat he could.* It was this refusal that made *Cicero* so angry with Pompey, as we find he was, in one of his letters to *Atticus*.

Domitius

Domitius concealed *Pompey's* answer, giving out, That he would bring speedy relief. But at the same time he consulted with his friends how to make a private retreat; which being discovered, his soldiers secured him, and sent to *Cæsar*, offering to deliver him up, and surrender the place. *Cæsar* kept his men from entering that night, to prevent all violences; and the next day *Lentulus*, who was in the town, came out, and humbly begged pardon, reminding him of their antient friendship, and acknowledging many favours he had formerly received at his hands. *Cæsar* interrupting him, told him, *That he came not from his province to injure any man, but for his own security, the restoration of the tribune's office, and the liberty of Rome.* *Lentulus* desired leave to return with this message; and the next day, the senators and knights who were in the town, together with their children, and the officers of the garrison, came out to *Cæsar*, who gave them all liberty to go where they pleased: and to shew that he fought as little after money as after the lives of his enemies, he returned *Domitius* six thousand *sesterces* that were seized, though he was satisfied that it was public money, and given out by *Pompey* to pay soldiers. He made *Domitius*'s men take the military oath to him; and, after staying seven days in *Corfinium*, marched into *Apulia*.

Pompey having intelligence of what passed at *Corfinium*, retreated to *Brundusium*, where the consuls immediately embarked for *Dyrrachium* in *Epirus*, with thirty cohorts, *Pompey* continuing in the town with twenty others. Shortly after, *Cæsar* arrived before the place, and having taken one of *Pompey's* engineers, freely set him at liberty, with orders to tell his general, *That it might be for both their interests, as well as the good of the republic, for them two to have an interview, and not to trust matters to a third person.* No answer being returned, *Cæsar* set about blocking up the harbour; and when his works were pretty far advanced, he again sent to *Pompey* to desire an interview. Answer was now returned, *That the consuls being absent, no propositions of that kind could be received.* By this time, the ships which had carried the consuls being returned, *Pompey* and all his troops went on board them as secretly as they could, and immediately set sail for *Dyrrachium*. *Cæsar* sent after them, and took two of the ships, which had been run a-ground through haste. *Brundusium* opened its gates. Thus *Cæsar*, with little or no bloodshed, became master of all *Italy* in two months.

Cæsar now resolved to visit *Rome*, to settle some sort of government there. Accordingly, after sending some considerable force into *Sicily* and *Sardinia*; the one kept by *Cato*, and the other by *Aurelius Cotta*, both of whom abandoned their posts upon the arrival of *Cæsar's* troops; he set out for that city: and in his way thither paid a visit to *Cicero*, whom he would gladly have persuaded to go with him. Upon his arrival at *Rome*, he assembled what senators he found there

there, and, calling them the senate, made a speech in justification of what he had done, and proposed sending ambassadors to *Pompey*; but none were found to undertake that office. Considering that he should soon want money, he went to the public treasury, to furnish himself there: but the tribune *Metellus* boldly opposed him, saying, *That money was sacred by the law, which denounced the greatest curses against whosoever touched it upon any occasion but the Gallic war.* *Cæsar* replied, *That arms and laws seldom agreed well together; and that he had removed the former reasons by reducing all Gaul to the Roman obedience.* He then went to the doors of the Treasury, but the keys could not be found; upon which he ordered the locks to be broken; and when *Metellus* had still the boldness to dispute it with him, he laid his hand upon his sword, and threatening to kill him, said, *Know, young man, that it is harder for me to say this than to do it.* *Metellus* immediately retired, and *Cæsar* took three thousand pounds weight of gold out of the Treasury, which was ever after at his command in all his wars.

His expedi-
tion
against
Afranius

and Petreius
As he was setting out, well knowing *Pompey's* circumstances, he said, *He was going to find an army without a general; and as in Spain should come back to find a general without an army.* Being informed, on his arrival in *Provence*, that the people of *Marseilles* had resolved to refuse him entrance; and that *Domitius* had got thither with seven gallies, filled with slaves and peasants belonging to his lands; he sent to them, requiring them to submit; and on their answering, *That they were determined not to take part either with Cæsar or Pompey, to both of whom they had equal obligations;* he immediately besieged the town with three legions, and ordered twelve ships of war to be built at *Arles*; which were completed in a month, and brought before *Marsailles*. Finding this affair like to be tedious, he left *D. Brutus* to command the ships, and *C. Trebonius* to carry on the siege, and departed for *Spain*, where *Fabius*; whom he had sent before, joined him with three legions; which, with his own forces, made a noble army. *Afranius* and *Petreius* were then posted near *Ilerda*, in *Catalonia*, with a sufficient number of forces. *Cæsar* advanced towards them, and a bloody contest ensued, in which neither side had any great advantage. Heavy rains that fell soon after, and swelled the river *Segre*, along which *Cæsar* had incamped, and washed away two bridges he had thrown over it, which reduced him to great freights, by his not being able to get provisions, or to join a supply of forces that came to him from *Gaul*, or to rebuild his bridges, by reason of the violence of the storm, and the opposition of the enemies who lay on the other side of the river. The news of this gave such hopes to *Pompey's* party at *Rome*, that many who had hitherto stood

neuter,

neuter, now declared in his favour; and among them was Cicero himself, though he soon after took an opportunity of leaving him again. Cæsar's great skill and diligence put a speedy stop to all this joy; for he rebuilt his bridges, got provisions, and joined the forces which came to his assistance: and his lieutenant Brutus beat the Marseillans at sea. Several towns of Spain submitted. Afranius and Petreius, disliking their situation, decamped at midnight, and marched towards Octogesa, situated on the river Iberus, over which they had sent a party to lay a bridge. But Cæsar sent his cavalry after them, and obliged them to ford the river before they could come to their bridge; then suddenly crossing the river himself with his infantry, he pursued them so close that they could neither reach the intended place, nor return to their former camp. By this means he reduced them to such extremities of hunger and drought, that they were obliged to yield to his mercy. He generously gave them all their liberty, and treated them with the utmost courtesy. In a short time after he became master of all Spain, and de- Which parted from Marseilles, which surrendered upon his arrival. country he Domitius had made his escape by sea. Cæsar pardoned the in- becomes habitants, more upon account of their name and antiquity, master of. as he told them, than for any other merit; and leaving two legions in garrison, he set out for Rome.

Upon his arrival there, he was received with great satisfaction by most people, and was made dictator by M. Lepidus the prætor: but finding this office not well liked of, he re-laid it down at the end of eleven days, and was chosen consul with Servilius Isauricus. To ingratiate himself with the people, he made several laws favourable to them, and advantageous to the state, and recalled those whom Pompey's sentences had forced to leave their country. He then set out for Brundusium, to go against Pompey; after having received the bad news of the defeat and death of Curio, whom he had sent against Varus, Pompey's lieutenant in Africa.

Pompey, after his departure from Italy into Epirus and Greece, had made all possible preparations for resistance, preparing all the East to his interest; and, during the time of Caesar's being at Rome, and in Spain, had assembled very powerful armies both by sea and land. His land-forces consisted of nine Italian legions complete, besides the two which his brother-in-law Scipio brought him; and the auxiliaries from the eastern countries amounted to seven thousand horse, three thousand archers, and eight cohorts of slingers. Besides these troops, which were quartered in Dyrrachium and Apollonia, and over all that coast, to oppose the coming down of Cæsar, he had a fleet of five hundred large ships, besides numbers of smaller vessels, commanded by Bibulus. He had also drawn great sums of money out of Asia and Greece; and had been successful against Dolabella and Caius Antonius, who commanded for Cæsar on the coast of Illyricum, driving the former

former out of that country, and taking the latter prisoner. These advantages induced many persons of note to join him; so that he had in his camp upwards of two hundred senators, who met in the form of a senate. Of this number was *M. Brutus*, who, though he hated *Pompey*, joined his party, because he thought it had the most justice on its side. In one of the assemblies of this senate, it was determined, by the politic advice of *Cato*, *That no Roman citizen should be put to death out of battle; and that no town, subject to the Romans, should be plundered.* This decree not only gained the authors of it the good wishes of the people, and the reputation of great justice and humanity; but kept the fortune of *Cæsar* a long while doubtful; and was at last made use of to justify his death.

War between
Pompey
and *Cæsar*
in Illyri-
cum.

Cæsar, not having ships enough to transport all his troops at once, was obliged to leave seven of his twelve legions behind him at *Brundusium*; and with the other five, amounting to no more than twenty thousand foot and six thousand horse, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, he set sail upon the twenty-fourth of *January*, and landed the next day at a place called *Pharsalus*. He then sent back his fleet, to bring the rest of his legions, under the command of *Calinus*; but in their passage, thirty of the ships fell into the hands of *Pompey's* admiral *Bibulus*, who burnt them and their crews. In the mean time *Oricum* and *Apollonia* surrendered at the sight of *Cæsar's* troops: by which means he cut off all communication with the land from *Bibulus*, so long as he staid to intercept the return of his fleet. *Cæsar*, still careful to justify his actions, sent *Rufus*, whom he had twice taken prisoner, to *Pompey*, once more to offer a treaty, and to refer all to the senate and people of *Rome*: but *Pompey*, knowing how much the people were in *Cæsar's* interest, refused to accept this proposal.

Pompey, who was now in *Macedonia*, fearing lest *Cæsar* should become master of *Dyrrachium*, where all his ammunition lay, marched with his whole army to save that place. Many of his new raised troops having deserted by the way, he made all his soldiers, on his arrival at that city, swear, *That they would never abandon their general, but follow him thro' all his fortunes.* This oath was likewise taken by all the officers. *Pompey* was encamped on one side of the river *Apsus*, and *Cæsar* on the other; both impatiently waiting for the arrival of succours. *Cæsar* had written several times to *Brundusium*, but still his troops there did not come; upon which, *Bibulus* being dead, and *Pompey's* fleet not near so well commanded as before, he resolved upon an action which nothing could excuse but the extraordinary confidence he always had in his good fortune. He disguised himself in the habit of a slave, and with all imaginable secrecy put himself on board a fisherman's bark, at the mouth of the river *Apsus*, with a design to pass to *Brundusium*: but the weather was so boisterous,

ous, that, after several vain attempts to get out to sea, the wind still increasing, the master of the bark ordered his mariners to desist. *Cæsar* then discovering himself, *Fear nothing*, said he, *for thou carriest Cæsar and all his fortune*. The sailors, encouraged by the presence of so great a man, made fresh endeavours, and got out to sea; but the waves ran so high that they were at last forced to return to land. *Cæsar's* soldiers immediately ran to him, and told him, with great tenderness and affection, *That he had reflected upon their courage, by going to seek new forces, when they were sure to conquer without, whilst he was pleased to head them*. Soon after, *Cæsar* received the good news of the safe arrival of most of his troops at *Apollonia*, under the comand of *Mark Anthony* and *Calinus*. They consisted of three veteran legions, one new raised, and eight hundred horse.

The nearness of the two armies had occasioned several parleys as well as skirmishes; and here the last proposals of accommodation were made. *Pompey* protested, *That it never should be said, that his return was a favour bestowed upon him by Cæsar*; and *Labienus* cried out, *That nothing could make a reconciliation but Cæsar's head*. All hopes of peace being at an end, *Cæsar* decamped to join *Anthony*, and *Pompey* did the like to hinder his design. He had no river to pass, as *Cæsar* had, but posted himself in a place where he lay in ambuscade for *Anthony*: who, being informed of it, intrenched himself in an advantageous situation, where he staid for *Cæsar*, who soon after arrived: and *Pompey*, fearing to be hemmed in between two armies, retreated to *Asparagus*, near *Dyrrachium*; leaving *Anthony* the liberty of joining *Cæsar*, which he did the same day. *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, at the head of all their troops, were now preparing to dispute the empire of the world; and, what was still more valuable to them, the pre-eminence of all that glory and renown which they had gained by their arms; one in the west, and the other in the east. As the actions of these two great rivals were, on this occasion, more remarkable than perhaps any yet met with in the *Roman* story, especially in point of generalship; it may not be amiss to be somewhat particular in our relations of them.

Cæsar marched directly towards *Pompey* at *Asparagus*; and coming within sight of his camp in three days, he fortified his own, and the next day drew out his troops to offer him battle. *Pompey* stirred not; and from that moment *Cæsar* perceived he must take other measures. Accordingly, he decamped the next day, and went towards *Dyrrachium*, with design either to force *Pompey* to shut himself up in that town, or to cut off his communication with it. *Pompey* at first believed that *Cæsar* drew off for want of provisions; but, upon better information, he marched the next day, hoping to prevent *Cæsar* by a shorter way than he was obliged to take. *Cæsar*, being aware of this, rested his troops but a small part of the night, and arriving the next morning under

the walls of *Dyrrachium*, he discovered the van of *Pompey's* army, who immediately secured a hill called *Petra*, which commanded the sea, and under which was a small shelter for ships, where few winds could annoy them. Both parties intrenched themselves in the posts they had taken; and *Pompey* caused part of his ships to come under his camp, and immediately sent into *Aʃia* and other parts for provisions and ammunition. *Cæsar*, on his side, perceiving that the war was like to continue long, and that he should be in want of corn, caused magazines to be made in all parts not in the enemy's hands: but, notwithstanding all his care, the disadvantages he laboured under were such, that his army was but ill furnished at last.

The inconveniences that were like to follow from hence, put *Cæsar* upon a new design. All around *Pompey's* camp were little hills, high and steep, of which *Cæsar* possessed himself, and built towers upon them in the nature of redoubts; then, drawing lines of communication from hill to hill, he endeavoured to block up *Pompey* by that circumvallation. This was done chiefly to diminish *Pompey's* reputation among foreign nations, by shewing them, that, though he was superior in numbers, and invested by *Cæsar*, he dared not engage him. But *Pompey* resolved to run the hazard of any censure, rather than venture a battle at this time, or quit either *Dyrrachium* or the sea, from whence he was plentifully supplied with all necessaries; whilst *Cæsar*, who held him besieged, was reduced to such distress, that his men were forced to live upon beans and barley, and a kind of root called *chara*, which they mixed with milk. But when summer came on, the scene was greatly altered, and *Pompey's* army could scarce be kept alive for want of water, which *Cæsar* had turned a different way by dams and other methods. On the contrary, *Cæsar's* troops were healthy, and now well furnished with every thing except wheat, of which also they had fair hopes, harvest being near at hand. Frequent skirmishes happened; in which sometimes the one, and sometimes the other, had the better; and *Cæsar* drew out his men almost every day, and offered battle to *Pompey* within view of his lines. *Pompey* drew out also, but always kept his troops under the defence of his ramparts, where *Cæsar* did not think fit to attack him. *Cæsar* had drawn several provinces of *Greece* over to his party; and understanding that *Scipio* was come into *Macedonia*, he sent to him, to procure an accommodation between him and *Pompey*, which he might easily have brought about, as he had the command of an army. But this not succeeding, *Cæsar* blocked *Pompey* up more closely than ever; and brought him at last into such a situation, that his horses, having consumed all their forage, and even the leaves of the trees that were within their reach, were scarce able to go upon their legs for want of sustenance.

This distress made Pompey resolve to make an effort to extricate himself, especially after he had been informed of the condition of Cæsar's fortifications, by two deserters who came over to him. To this end, drawing out cohorts of his light-armed troops and archers, he put them on board his ships, and attacked Cæsar's works next the sea, which had been too little regarded, and not well completed. This was done with such effect, that all the centurions of the first cohort were cut off, except one; and though Cæsar and his officers used their utmost endeavours to hinder Pompey's designs, yet, by his great skill and conduct, he got out of his intrenchments, and incamped in another place near the sea, where he had both the convenience of forage and of his shipping. Cæsar now resolved to hem in Pompey closer than before; and, in order to this, he attempted to cut off a legion of the enemy which were posted near a wood: but this action brought on a general battle, in which his men were intangled within the intrenchments of the old camp lately abandoned, and at the same time so surprised and over-powered by Pompey's forces, that, in spite of all Cæsar's endeavours, they fled with great precipitation and loss: Pompey pursued his victory to the very camp of Cæsar, but durst not attack it; partly through surprize at the suddenness of Cæsar's victory, and partly through fear of ambuscade. This was his great error; for Cæsar himself confessed, *That he must have been irretrievably undone, if Pompey had known how to make use of his victory.* Pompey was saluted *Imperator*: Labienus begged the prisoners, and ordered them all to be killed: and now the victorious party, exulting in their advantage, without considering to what uncommon circumstances it was owing, carried themselves every where as undoubted conquerors.

Cæsar, resolving to change the whole course of the war, Who assembled his men, and after exhorting them not to be dis- marches couraged by one little disaster, one error, or inadvertency of into Thes Fortune, whose favour they had experienced in the course of *sail*. many glorious conquests, he retreated to Apollonia. Pompey harassed his rear for four days, but was repulsed with loss, and at length obliged to give over his pursuit. From Apollonia, Cæsar hastened to join Domitius, one of his lieutenants, who was now in Macedonia with three legions, and whom he feared Pompey might surprise. Pompey, perceiving which way he marched, was in as great fear for Scipio, now in Thessaly with the Syrian legions. Each general marched with all possible expedition, both to secure their friends and surprise their enemies. Pompey had the advantage of the shortness of the way, and Domitius very narrowly escaped him, and joined Cæsar at Eginum, on the frontiers of Thessaly. Cæsar, having now all his forces together, marched directly to Gomphi, the first town in the way from Epirus to Thessaly, and of which the inhabitants, who some time before had pro-

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mised obedience to him, now refused to open their gates, expecting assistance from *Scipio* and *Pompey*. Piqued at this resistance, he invested the town, which was very rich and strong, and took it by storm before any succours could arrive. This done, he left it to be plundered, and marched farther on into *Thessaly*, all the towns of which submitted to him except *Larissa*, where *Scipio* was.

Cæsar
and *Pom-
pey* meet
in the
plain of
Pharsalia,

Pompey arrived in *Thessaly* within a few days after the taking of *Gomphi*, and incamped in the plains of *Pharsalia*, where *Scipio* joined him. *Cæsar* likewise advanced thither. The approach of these two noble armies, in which were all the flower of the *Roman* legions, whose valour was to decide the fate of that great empire; the hatred and ambition of the generals, animated by the prize as well as the glory of the conquest; together with the small appearance of an accommodation; made it out of doubt, that nothing but a general battle could determine this great quarrel. *Pompey's* party, being the strongest, looked upon themselves as sure of victory, and began already to dispute about sharing the spoils and offices of their adversaries. But *Cæsar* was far otherwise employed, using all his care and skill to encourage and perfect his men.

where the At length, finding them vigorous and desirous of action, two ar- he drew out of his camp, and offered *Pompey* battle. But mies come that general, either doubting his troops, or fearing to hazard to a gene- his reputation, declined it, and endeavoured to waste *Cæsar's* ral battle, army with fatigue and want of provisions, keeping his men, even when he drew out, so near his intrenchments, that *Cæsar* could not attack him without great disadvantage. *Cæsar* thereupon resolved to decamp, and to try, by frequent motions, to weary out *Pompey's* men, who were not so hardened to toil and labour as his. While his tents were taking down, advice came, that *Pompey's* army was drawn up in order of battle, and far enough from his trenches; upon which *Cæsar* ordered all his troops to halt, and, with extreme joy, told them, *That the happy and long wished for moment was now come, in which they might gain immortal honour*. He then drew up his troops in order, and advanced with them towards the place of battle. *Pompey*, on the other side, was full of melancholy thoughts, but did what he could to encourage his men, telling them, *That his cavalry alone was sufficient to gain the victory*. *Labienus* seconded him, and took a solemn oath, *not to return into his camp but with victory*. *Pompey* himself, and all his officers, swore the same.

Pompey's army consisted of forty-five thousand foot, according to *Plutarch*, and seven thousand horse; *Cæsar's* but of twenty-two thousand foot, and not much above one thousand horse: but *Appian*, with some reason, excepts the auxiliaries, which he supposes to have been great on both sides; though all agree that *Pompey's* forces were double the number of *Cæsar's*. *Pompey* left seven cohorts to guard his camp, and drew

drew up all his men in three lines, every legion making three battalions, and each battalion was drawn up in half cohorts ; that is, two hundred men in rank, and eight in file. The *Syrian* legions were placed in the middle, under the command of *Scipio*; the *Spaniards*, whom *Pompey* most relied upon, on the right, under *Domitius Abenobarbus*; and, on the left, was *Pompey* himself, with the two legions which *Cæsar* had restored at the beginning of the war, under *Lentulus*. The rest were in the same order, between *Scipio's* legions and the wings ; only the auxiliary troops, at least such as fought in order, composed the body of reserve : and, as for the others, they were drawn out without order upon the left, with the archers, slingers, and all the cavalry ; the right being fortified by a river. *Cæsar* left two cohorts to guard his camp, and drew up in three lines also, in the same order as *Pompey*. The tenth legion was upon the right, and the ninth upon the left, joined almost to the eighth : the rest of the cohorts, being drawn up between these legions, were in the center, were *Domitius Calvinus* commanded ; *Sylla* having the right wing and *Athony* the left. *Cæsar* put himself at the head of the tenth legion, whose valour he had often experienced, in order to be opposite to *Pompey*, who intended to fall suddenly on the flanks of *Cæsar's* troops, which this last soon perceived by the order of his battle, and thereupon drew six cohorts out of all his troops, of which he composed a body of reserve. He then placed his cavalry so as to cover the right of the tenth legion, and ordered his third line not to stir till they received a signal from him.

As the armies approached, the two generals went from rank to rank, encouraging their soldiers. *Pompey* represented to his men the justice and merit of his cause ; the advantage of their numbers, strengthened by the assistance of so many illustrious senators ; and the glory lately obtained at the battle of *Dyrrachium*. *Cæsar* only told his, *That he had endeavoured, by all possible means, to obtain an honourable peace ; and, if his enemies had so pleased, they might have spared the blood of many brave men*. Then, seeing the impatience of his soldiers to fall on, he gave the signal for battle. The word on *Pompey's* side was, *Hercules the invincible* : that on *Cæsar's*, *Venus the victorious*. There was now only so much space between the two armies as was just sufficient for the place of battle. *Pompey* ordered his men to receive the first shock without moving from their places. *Cæsar's* soldiers seeing that, like men of skill, of their own accord made a halt in the midst of their career ; and, after taking a little breath, ran furiously upon the enemy, first discharging their javelins, and then drawing their swords, as *Cæsar* had ordered them. *Pompey's* men received the first charge without the least disorder ; and falling on with their javelins and swords, a cruel and bloody battle ensued, which for some time seemed equal. Then *Pompey* ordered his cavalry to charge, which, with the multitude of

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in which
Pompey is
totally de-
feated;

his camp
is taken.

archers and slingers, soon obliged *Cæsar's* men to give ground, and *Pompey's* cavalry got upon their flank, as was at first designed. *Cæsar* seeing this, immediately ordered his body of reserve to advance, and charge upon the faces of the enemy, with their pikes ported. This attack quite disconcerted the nice and effeminate knights; and the fear of spoiling their faces, put them into such confusion, that the moment *Cæsar's* cavalry rallied, they were all broke; and the archers and slingers being thus abandoned, were all cut to pieces. *Cæsar*, following that advantage, charged *Pompey's* troops upon the flank, and gave the signal for his third line to advance. These fresh troops, pouring in upon *Pompey's*, wearied out and attacked on all sides, easily broke them. The flight began among the auxiliaries, *Pompey's* right wing still maintaining its ground: but, upon *Cæsar's* calling out to his men, to kill the strangers, but save the *Romans*, these last laid down their arms, and a dreadful slaughter was made among the others.

Pompey retreated to his trenches; and *Cæsar*, now sure of the victory, cried out to his men, *That they ought to pursue it, and take the enemy's camp*. Though they were wearied out with the excessive heat of the weather, and it was now noon-day, yet, upon seeing their general march on foot at their head, they followed him with great resolution, and falling on with fresh courage, drove all their enemies to a neighbouring mountain. *Pompey* himself, quite disheartened and confounded, getting on horseback, fled to *Larissa*, and from thence to the sea. *Cæsar* begged of his troops not to lose time in plundering the camp, but to complete their glorious victory by following the enemy to their retreat. They did so, and immediately threw up a trench about the mountain, which *Pompey's* men soon quitted for want of water, and retired towards *Larissa*. *Cæsar* followed them with four legions, and forced them to a high hill, at the foot of which was a river. Though *Cæsar's* men were ready to faint with the incessant toil of the whole day, and it was now almost night, yet he prevailed upon them to make one effort more, to cut off the convenience of water from the enemy by a trench. This immediately forced them to a capitulation: only some senators made their escape in the dark. The next morning, *Cæsar* ordered them all to come down into the plain and lay down their arms. They did so, and falling upon their knees before him, begged for mercy; which he not only granted with great clemency and kindness, but strictly commanded his soldiers not to offer them the least insult, or plunder any of their baggage. Thus *Cæsar*, by his wonderful skill and courage, and by the indefatigable ardor of his soldiers, obtained the most complete, though not the most bloody, victory that ever general did; fifteen thousand of the enemy being slain in battle, and twenty-four thousand taken prisoners, with very little loss on his side.

The

The great *Pompey*, who just before had been the commander of kings, was now forced to take shelter with a few friends in a poor fisherman's bark, from which he got on board another ship, and sailed away as fast as possible. But the ungrateful sound of his defeat still flew before him; and his misfortunes so benumbed his senses, that he did not even think of the resources he still had left by sea, where a powerful and victorious fleet waited only his command. He sailed first to *Amphipolis*, then to *Lesbos*, and from thence to *Egypt*, where king *Ptolemy*, whose father *Pompey* had settled in his kingdom, was then at war with *Cleopatra*. *Pompey* sent to him, to implore his protection. The king himself, who was very young, returned no answer to the messenger: but *Photinus*, *Achillas*, and *Theodotus*, who were the young prince's chief counsellors, desired him to come; and, under pretence of paying him the greater respect, *Achillas* and *Septimius*, a *Roman* tribune, went off in a small vessel to receive him, and invited him on board their bark, *the sea*, said they, *being too shallow for his galley to land him*. *Pompey* imprudently did as they desired; and as he was stepping out of the boat, where he they treacherously murdered him, cut off his head, and left his body naked on the shore. His freedman *Philip*, who was with him, staid by till the multitude, who were assembled on this occasion, had satisfied their curiosity and were gone; and then, wrapping it up in his own garment, he made a funeral pile of some broken planks of a fishing-boat. While he was laying them together, an old *Roman*, who had served from his youth under *Pompey*, came, and helped him to perform these melancholy rites. Thus fell, by the hands of three or four villains, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, an hero who had triumphed over three parts of the world.

Cæsar followed *Pompey* into *Egypt*, and arrived at *Alexandria* just as the news of his death reached that city. He had with him only three thousand two hundred foot, and eight hundred horse; the rest of his troops being ordered to follow him. Soon after his arrival, one of the assassins, thinking to pay his court to *Cæsar*, presented him *Pompey's* head wrapped up in a veil, together with his signet: but *Cæsar*, with the utmost horror, turned his eyes from so dismal a sight; and, reflecting on his former friendship with the deceased; the inconstancy of fortune; and the calamities which often attend the greatest of men; he burst into tears, and, with an angry voice, commanded the messenger to depart that instant. He kept the seal; but ordered the head to be buried with great solemnity in the suburbs of *Alexandria*, *Pompey's* where he erected a temple to *Nemesis*, the goddess of Re- venge. *Cæsar's* landing at *Alexandria*, and his entering that city with his fasces carried before him as consul, greatly offended the multitude, who cried out, *That their king's authority was invaded*: He took no notice of this, but immediately ordered

some legions which had been raised for Pompey's service, to be brought to him out of *Asia*. In the mean while, the eunuch *Photinus*, who had the administration of the kingdom, and was at *Alexandria* with the young king, behaved with such haughtiness, even intimating a design of having recourse to arms, that *Cæsar*, unable to bear his insolence, publicly declared, *That the difference between the king and his sister belonged to the cognizance of the people of Rome, and consequently to him as consul; their father having made the Roman people executors of his will.* At the same time he issued a proclamation, ordering *Ptolomy* and *Cleopatra* to disband their armies, and bring their cause to his tribunal. Advocates were appointed on both sides; and *Cæsar* decreed, *That Ptolomy and Cleopatra, being the eldest son and daughter of Ptolomy Auletes, whose will was, read on this occasion to the people, should, according to the custom of that country, be joined in marriage, and reign together in Egypt, under the protection of the Roman people; and that the younger Ptolomy, and Auletes's other daughter, named Arsinoe, should reign in Cyprus;* which he made them a present of, that island having lately been subdued by the *Romans*.

The *Alexandrian war.*

Photinus was the only person in the assembly who did not applaud this decree. The reason was, that, as he had been the chief cause of the breach between *Cleopatra* and her brother, and of her expulsion out of the kingdom, he was afraid their reconciliation would bring him into danger. He therefore endeavoured to raise new discontents among the people; and prevailed upon *Achillas* to bring his army, consisting of upwards of twenty thousand men, from *Pelusium* to *Alexandria*, in order to drive *Cæsar* out of the city. This gave rise to the famous *Alexandrian war*; for the particulars of which the reader is referred to the history of *Egypt*. King *Ptolemy* perishing in this war, *Alexandria* and all *Egypt* submitted to the conqueror, who thereupon settled *Cleopatra*, and the surviving *Ptolomy*, her younger brother, on the throne, as king and queen; which was putting the whole power into her hands, *Ptolomy* being then only eleven years old. *Achillas* and *Photinus* perished also in this war, together with all the accomplices of *Pompey's* murder, except *Theodotus*, who, flying from *Egypt*, wandered up and down, despised and hated by all men, till *M. Brutus*, after *Cæsar's* death, finding him in *Asia*, put him to death, after making him suffer the most exquisite torments.

Honours
heaped
upon
Cæsar.

When the news of *Pompey's* death reached *Rome*, the senate and people strove who should heap most honours on the conqueror, now become absolute master of their lives, liberties, and fortunes. He was made consul for five years; dictator for a whole year; tribune of the people, and head of that college, for his life; empowered to make peace and war with whom he pleased, and to levy what forces he thought fit: so that all the dignities and power of the republic now centered in

in *Cæsar* alone. As he could not then go in person to *Rome*, to take possession of these honours, he appointed *Mark Anthony* his general of the horse, and committed the government of *Italy* to him during his absence. *Anthony* was forced to lay down his office at the end of six months, and was made consul; the augurs saying, *it was unlawful for any general of the horse to hold that post above six months*. But the chief reason was his carrying things with too high a hand; which, with the outrageous behaviour of *Trebellius* and *Dolabella*, both tribunes, raised great disturbances in the city. *Cæsar's* presence was now much wanted; and he might have been at *Rome* long before this, had he not been detained in *Egypt* by the charms of *Cleopatra*, with whom he staid nine months, and whom he left with child of a son who was called *Cæsario*.

At length he was forced to quit that kingdom, and march into the north of *Asia*, against *Pharnaces*, king of the Cimmerian *Bosphorus*, son of *Mithridates the Great*, who, taking advantage of the civil wars of the *Romans*, endeavoured to recover his father's dominions, and made himself master of *Colchis*, *Armenia Minor*, and several other places, in the absence of the Tetrarch *Deiotarus*. *Cæsar* had sent *Domitius Calvinus* against him, before he left *Egypt*; but he, together with *Deiotarus* and *Ariobarzanes*, who joined him, was considerably worsted by *Pharnaces*, who, elated with his success, over-ran all *Pontus*, and marched into *Bithynia*, where his career was stopped by the revolt of *Asander*, to whom he had intrusted the government of his kingdom. He was preparing to march against *Asander*, when *Cæsar* entered the kingdom of *Pontus*, and in one day marched up to, fought, and defeated him. His letter on this occasion to his friend *Anitius* at *Rome*, containing only these three words, *Veni, feats him. Vidi, Vici*; *I came, I saw, I conquered*, was remarkably expressive of his celerity in this expedition. After settling his affairs in these parts in the best manner his time would permit, and giving the government of *Armenia* to *Ariobarzanes*, that of *Judea* to *Hyrcanus* and *Antipater*, that of *Bosphorus* to *Mithridates*, and that of *Pontus* to *Cælius Vinicianus*, he set out for *Rome* with all possible expedition.

Upon his arrival in *Italy*, *Cicero*, and many others of *Pompey's* party, went to meet him, and were received with turns to as much civility as if they had always been on his side. *Italy*. This courteous behaviour so far gained him the hearts of the people of *Rome*, that he easily appeased the dissensions there; and the time of his dictatorship being expired, he was chosen consul with *Æmilius Lepidus*. His stay at *Rome* was but short, the affairs of *Africa* calling him to that country, where the remains of *Pompey's* party had rallied themselves under *Scipio*, *Cato*, and *Juba* king of *Mauritania*. After several skirmishes, in which he was sometimes in great danger, he resolved to come to a decisive battle. To this end, he invested the city of *Tapsus*: *Scipio* and *Juba* came,

Cæsar marches against Pharnaces

and defeats him.

Carries the war into Africa.

Subdues
the re-
mains of
Pompey's
party.

Cato re-
treats to
Utica,

where he
kills him-
self.

came, as he expected, to relieve it, and were totally defeated. *Tapsus*, *Adrumetum*, and *Zama* immediately surrendered. *Cato* fled to *Utica*, : *Juba* and *Petreius* killed each other out of despair, and all *Juba*'s kingdom submitted to the government of *Rome*. *Sitius*, one of *Cæsar*'s lieutenants, shortly after intercepted *Afranius* and *Sylla*, as they were going to *Spain*, defeated their forces, and took them prisoners ; soon after which they were both killed in a mutiny. *Scipio*, and several senators who had embarked with him for *Spain*, were driven upon *Sitius*'s fleet where all of them lost their lives.

Cato, the only general that remained of *Pompey*'s party, had retreated to *Utica*, and established a kind of senate there, composed of three hundred *Romans*. His first resolution was, not to surrender that town on any account : but finding the inhabitants not so firmly resolved, he quitted that design for another more agreeable to his character. He desired his friends, some to leave themselves by sea, and others to rely upon *Cæsar*'s clemency ; and, embracing them with a more than ordinary tenderness, spent the evening with a few that remained, in discoursing upon moral subjects, tending to prove that the good man only is free, and that all wicked men are slaves. His son, suspecting his intention, entered his room privately, and took away his sword. He laid down on his bed, and taking up *Plato*'s dialogue on the immortality of the soul, began to read it with great attention. After he had read some time, in a transport of joy, which the hope of an happy immortality had raised in his breast, he looked for his sword, and missing it, grew very angry till it was brought him. He took it, and feeling the point, laid it by him, saying, *Now I am master of myself*. He then took his book again, which he had read twice over, and fell into a sound sleep : but just as day began to appear, he ran his sword into his body. The wound was such, that he did not die immediately, but fell staggering upon his bed, and with that motion threw down a table, on which he had drawn some geometrical figures. At the noise of this, his son and friends broke into the room, and found him weltering in his blood, with his bowels a great part out of his body. His eyes were yet open, and his freed man *Butas* laid him upon his bed, put up his bowels, which were not hurt, and sewed up the wound. But *Cato*, after some time, coming to himself, thrust away *Butas*, rent the wound open again, and tearing his bowels, expired immediately. He was one of the most virtuous citizens *Rome* ever produced ; had all the virtues and none of the faults of *Cato* the censor, one of his illustrious ancestors, and would, with his invincible constancy and resolution, have supported the sinking republic had not the gods themselves, says *Plutarch*, decreed her destruction. *Cæsar*, upon hearing of his death, said, *Cato has envied me the glory of saving his life, and therefore I envy*

envy him his death ; designing, as some have thought, to conquer him by generosity and kindness. Utica surrendered immediately. Cæsar then marched into Numidia and Mauritania, and reduced both those kingdoms to Roman provinces. Before he left Utica, he gave orders for the rebuilding of Carthage, as he did, soon after his return to Italy, for the rebuilding of Corinth ; so that these two famous cities were destroyed in the same year, and in the same year raised out of their ruins. Two years after, they were both re-peopled with Roman colonies ; and from these new inhabitants of Corinth were descended those Corinthians to whom St. Paul wrote his two epistles.

The war in Africa being now compleatly finished, Cæsar returned to Rome. The whole city went out to meet him, turns to and conducted him to the capitol, where he returned thanks to Jupiter for the success of his arms. The senate and people strove who should be most forward in heaping honours upon him : supplications and sacrifices of thanksgiving were bestowed appointed for forty days. His usual guard was, by a decree of the senate, trebled, and the number of lictors, who attended him as dictator, doubled. His dictatorship was prolonged for ten years ; and the dignity of censor, which had hitherto been divided between two magistrates, was conferred on him alone, unde the title of *præfet*, or *reformer of manners*, that of censor seeming too vulgar. His person was declared sacred and inviolable ; and, to raise him above the level of his fellow citizens, it was decreed, that he should sit, during his life, next the consuls ; that he should give his opinion the first in all public deliberations ; that he should sit at all public shews in a curule chair ; and that, even after his death, the chair should be placed at the shews, to render his memory immortal : nay, they went so far as to place his statue in the capitol next to that of Jupiter, with this inscription on the pedestal, *To Cæsar, a demi-god.* But the title of *demi-god* was erased, by his order, the moment he saw it.

Cæsar had too much penetration not to know, that this profusion of honours was the effect of fear, rather than of love ; and therefore, when he accepted them, he declared, that he would make no other use of his authority, than to prevent any farther disturbances in the republic, and to render, as far as in him lay, all the members of it happy. He then assembled the people, and appearing in the assembly more like a private citizen than a victorious general, returned them thanks for their attachment to him, and gave them a particular account of his victories, telling them, that by his last conquest, he had gained to the commonwealth of Rome a country so rich, and of such extent, that it would supply the city yearly with two hundred thousand bushels of corn, and three millions of measures of oil. In confi-

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Four triumphs decreed him.

consideration of his many conquests, four triumphs were decreed him.

In the first, which was over the *Gauls*, the names of three hundred nations and eight hundred cities, reduced by the death of a million of enemies, were carried before his chariot. The second was over *Egypt*. The third shewed the defeat of *Pharnaces* in *Asia*; and the fourth, that of *Juba* in *Africa*. The utmost magnificence was displayed on this occasion. His soldiers followed him, crowned with laurel, and the whole city attended him with loud acclamations. In this manner he proceeded to the capitol, the steps whereof he ascended upon his knees, to set the people an example of religion. The vessels of gold and silver which were carried before him in these triumphs, amounted to the value of sixty-five thousand talents, that is above twelve millions of our money, besides one thousand eight hundred and twenty-two crowns of gold, weighing fifteen thousand and thirty-three pounds, which were presents made him by princes and cities after his victories.

His liberality towards the soldiers and the Roman people.

Out of these sums he paid his soldiers their arrears, together with an hundred and fifty pounds of our money to every private man, as much more to every centurion, and thrice that sum to each tribune and commander of the cavalry; and for their retreat after the wars, he gave them inheritances in several places out of *Italy*. As to the *Roman* people, whose favour he courted, he gave to each particular person ten bushels of corn, and ten measures of oil, and added an hundred denarii, by way of interest, to the three hundred he had promised them before he set out for *Africa*. After this, he treated the people at twenty-two thousand tables; and that nothing might be wanting to the pomp and magnificence of these feasts, he entertained the city with a combat of two thousand gladiators, and made representations of sea and land fights of four or five thousand men on a side, besides all sorts of plays and shews. These entertainments lasted several days, and drew such multitudes of people to *Rome*, that the greatest part of them were forced to lie in the open air, and many were stifled in the crowd: among these last were two senators.

He reforms the government,

He then made it his whole business to reform the government, and establish good order in the city; to which end he made several excellent laws, such as granting great privileges and exemptions to such as had numerous families, recalling those who had settled in foreign parts, giving rewards to such as had many children, restraining luxury, and inviting to *Rome* learned men from all parts of the world. He committed the power of judicature to the senators and knights only; and, considering how much his own long command in *Gaul* had given him an opportunity of establishing an extraordinary power, he ordained, that no praetor

ter should command above a year in his province, nor a consul above two year's after the expiration of his office. He also undertook to regulate the *Roman* calendar, the want of and the accuracy in which had occasioned many inconveniences. *Roman* The year which the *Romans* made use of till this time con-*calendar*. fisted of twelve lunar months, which fell eleven days short of a solar year. *Cæsar*, who was himself a good astronomer, reformed this abuse by introducing the solar year of three hundred and sixty-five days, and adding one intercalary day every fourth year, called the *bis-sextile*. At this time flourished the poet *Catullus*,

While *Cæsar* was thus employed in works of peace, the *Pompey*'s two sons of *Pompey* had assembled the remains of their fa-*sons* rether's party, and made themselves masters of several strong new places in *Spain*. They had many good officers, and, war in among the rest, *Labienus*, who had learnt the art of war un-*Spain*. der *Cæsar* himself. *Cæsar* sent two of his lieutenants against them; but they not succeeding, he resolved to go in person. But before he left *Rome*, he assembled the *comitia*, and having caused himself to be chosen consul a fourth time; as dictator, he appointed his colleague, *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, his general of the horse, and filled all the inferior offices with his own friends and creatures, to secure the capital in his absence; after which, he took leave of *Cleopatra*, whom he kept at *Rome* in his own house, and set out for *Spain*, where he arrived in twenty-four days, which was much sooner than the enemy imagined he could be there. He assembled what troops were in that country, and marched immediately towards *Corduba*, where *Sextus*, the younger of the two *Pompeys*, was then quartered. *Sextus* sent an express to his brother *Cneius*, who was then besieging the city of *Ulla*, desiring him to come with all speed to his assistance. He did so; and *Cæsar* finding he could not draw him to a battle, went and invested the city of *Ategua*, about sixteen miles from *Corduba*, which the republican party had made their place of arms. The besieged made a brave resistance, but were at last forced to capitulate. The surrender of this city was followed by that of many others, and the *Pompeys*, driven from place to place, resolved at last to come to a battle. The two armies met in the plains of *Munda*. *Pompey*'s men were desperate, knowing that all hopes of pardon were cut off; and total- and *Cæsar*'s found on this occasion, a resistance they had ne-*ly* de-*feats* ver known before. The fight continued many hours ex-*the Pompeys in the ger*; but at last he gave the enemy a total overthrow, and plains of killed thirty thousand upon the spot. This battle was so *Munda*. fierce and dangerous, that *Cæsar* often said, *He had fought at other places for his glory, but at Munda for his life*. *Labienus* and *Varus* were killed, and all the enemy's ensigns were taken. *Cneius*, with one hundred and fifty horse, escaped to *Carteia*, and got on board his fleet, from whence he was forced

Year of
Rome 709.

Cæsar sets
out for
Spain,

All Spain submits. forced back by *Cæsar's* lieutenant *Didius*, and got to a castle, where he hid himself in a cave, in which he was killed. His brother *Sextus*, escaping from *Corduba*, fled in disguise to *Celtiberia*, where he remained concealed all his life. All *Spain* submitted immediately, and *Cæsar* exacted great contributions from the enemy's cities, under pretence of punishing their rebellion.

Cæsar returns to *Rome*. *Cæsar* returned to *Rome*, highly pleased that he had at last brought under submission that commonwealth which gave laws to the greatest part of the world. He entered the city in triumph; but this triumph was not attended with any

His triumph of *ed to see the memory of their beloved Pompey insulted over, fends the and the race of one of the greatest men in *Rome* almost extirpated.* joyful acclamations of the people, who were much concerned to see the memory of their beloved *Pompey* insulted over, and the race of one of the greatest men in *Rome* almost extirpated. What made it still more distasteful was, that he had never acquainted the senate, by any letter or exptes, of the victories he had obtained during the course of the war: and, not content with having triumphed himself, he bestowed the same honour upon two of his lieutenants, *Q. Fabius Maximus* and *Q. Pedius*, with this difference, that the representations of cities, rivers, &c. carried before *Cæsar* were of ivory, and those of his lieutenants only of wood.

Peace was now established throughout all the dominions of the *Romans*, and the civil war was intirely ended, which, tho' it did not last much above four years, had been so destructive, that, at a *census* just before *Cæsar's* last expedition, there were found but one hundred and fifty thousand heads of families in *Rome*; whereas in the *lustrum* before, there were three hundred and twenty thousand.

He is created perpetual dictator.

Disatisfied as the *Romans* were with many of *Cæsar's* actions, yet, siding with fortune, they again began to heap new honours upon the conqueror, and those greater than any they had yet bestowed. *Cicero*, indeed, proposed in the senate, the conferring such honours on him as were, in some measure, within the bounds of modesty; but others, striving who should deserve most, carried them so high, that they made *Cæsar* odious, even to the most indifferent and moderate sort of men. They made him dictator for life; subjected all magistrates, even the tribunes of the people, to his power; decreed, that he alone should levy troops, command armies, declare war, make peace, take charge of the public money, and that all inferior magistrates should oblige themselves by an oath to observe whatever decrees he should think fit to enact. This was making him, in effect, sovereign prince, or king. Among other titles, that of *Imperator* was given him; not in the sense in which it had been formerly bestowed on generals, after some signal victory; but as importing the greatest power and authority in the commonwealth. From him was derived the name of *Imperator*, or *Emperor*, and likewise that of *Cæsar*, to his successors; and this was the beginning of the imperial state of *Rome*, though

though it was not settled till some years after. He was likewise made censor for life, and consul for ten years; though with regard to this last office, he divested himself of it for a certain time, and made *Fabius* and *Trebonius* consuls for the remainder of the year. From this time the consulship lost its pristine dignity, and few held it a whole year, especially when all its authority was soon after swallowed up by the *imperial* power. As to the other magistracies, he pretended he would not concern himself with them, but leave them, as usual, to the nomination of the people: but this soon proved only a pretence; for he appointed them himself, and sent them into the provinces, without fixing their departments by lot.

Cæsar's enemies are thought to have had some share in the extraordinary honours that were conferred on him, as well as his flatterers, since they took from thence an opportunity of alienating from him the minds of such as were friends to the ancient form of government. On the other hand, he himself made it his study to gain the affections even of his most inveterate enemies; not only pardoning those who had borne arms against him, but bestowing honours and offices on several of them; insomuch that the senate and people, to testify their gratitude for the mild use he made of his power, decreed a temple to *Clemency*. To win the people, he entertained them frequently with public feasts and shews, and distributed corn among the poorer sort; and knowing the regard they still retained for *Pompey*, he ordered the statues of that great man, which had been thrown down, to be set up again; by which, said *Cicero*, he fixed his own. To gain the confidence of the senate, and the republican party, contrary to the advice of his best friends, he dismissed his guards, saying, *It was better to suffer death once, than to live always in fear of it*; and as for the nobility, he attached most of them to his interest, by raising them to the chief offices in the state, and trusting them with the government of the many provinces that were then subject to *Rome*. To this end, he increased the prætors to sixteen, and the quæstors to forty. He created six new ædiles, and augmented the number of the other curule magistrates in proportion. But as there still remained many unrewarded, who had served him with great fidelity, he allotted them places in the senate, by which means the number of the senators rose from three hundred to nine hundred. This change gave great offence to the ancient senators, many of the new raised ones being common soldiers, sons of freed men, foreigners lately admitted to the *Roman* citizenship, *Gauls*, *Spaniards*, and such like. After thus debasing that once most august assembly, he treated it with contempt, looking upon its members as his vassals and creatures. Of this he gave a signal instance, when the consuls, prætors, and all the curule magistrates then in *Rome*, attended by the senate, waiting on him with a decree, by which some new honours were conferred upon him, he received

He courts
the affec-
tions of
the people

and of the
nobility.

Increases
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ber of the
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senators.

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ceived them with all the haughtiness of a sovereign, without condescending to rise from his seat. This carriage offended not only the senators, but the people too, who thought the whole republic insulted by it.

Not long after, he gave a fresh occasion of resentment, by affronting the tribunes. While he was one day sitting in a golden chair upon the *rostra*, to view the ceremony of the

Mark An- *Lupercalia*, *Mark Anthony*, who was then his colleague in the consulship, came into the *forum*, and, falling down before *Caesar*, presented him a diadem wreathed with laurel. Some *crown*.

clapped their hands, as if they approved of it; but when *Caesar* put the crown back, the applause was general. *Anthony* offered it a second time; and upon *Caesar's* refusing it again, the whole assembly rang with loud acclamations. *Caesar* then, finding his design would not take, rose up, and ordered the crown to be carried into the capitol, saying, that *Jupiter alone was king of the Romans*. The next morning, *Caesar's* statues were found with royal diadems on their heads; but *Flavius* and *Marcellus*, two tribunes of the people, not only pulled them off, but caused those to be apprehended and committed to prison, who, the day before, had applauded *Anthony's* offering the crown to *Caesar*. Upon this, *Caesar* displaced the tribunes, and inveighed against them in a public speech, in which he also very injudiciously abused and ridiculed the people.

He disobeys the people. A conspiracy formed by *Cassius* His design was now plain to every one; and the zealous republicans, detesting his ambition, began to hold private meetings, and to consult among themselves about the proper means him, first, for delivering *Rome* from the yoke she groaned under. The chief of the conspirators was *C. Cassius*, a sincere friend to his country, and at the same time an enemy to *Caesar*, on a private account, the dictator having, a few months before, bestowed the first and most honourable praetorship on *Brutus*, though he could not help owning, that *Cassius* had the best right to it. *Cassius* first formed the plan of the conspiracy himself, and then imparted it to a few, whom he knew to be secret enemies both to the tyrant and to tyranny.

As *Brutus* was highly esteemed both by the people and senate, *Cassius* looked upon him as a person highly proper to be engaged in his enterprize. He was a most zealous republican, and fully convinced that the commonwealth could be no longer maintained without the death of the dictator; but the obligations he lay under to *Caesar* restrained him from using violent means. He had not only been pardoned himself, and obtained the same grace for many of his friends, after the battle of *Pharsalia*; but was one in whom *Caesar* had a particular confidence. *Cassius* therefore, not daring to discourse the matter with him openly, laid, in the night time, papers about his chair, where he used to sit as praetor, and determine causes, with words to this import: *Brutus, thou art asleep, and not a true Brutus*: and under the statue of the famous

Who draws *Brutus* into the plot.

famous *Junius Brutus* he wrote, *Would to heaven thou wert alive, or that some of thy name resembled thee!* *Cassius*, perceiving that these sentiments made a deep impression on his mind, first set his wife *Junia*, who was sister to *Brutus*, to raise in the breast of her brother those sentiments, which he wanted to find in him, and then determined, at all events, to tell him his design.

Cæsar, little dreaming of the danger that menaced him, was then preparing for an expedition against the *Parthians*, and had already ordered sixteen legions and ten thousand horse to march towards *Brundusium*, intending to follow them in four days. His flatterers seized this opportunity to give out, that, according to the *Sibylline* oracles, the *Parthians* could not be overcome, but by a king; and *Aurelius Cotta*, the keeper of those sacred volumes, was to propose to the senate to give him that title every where out of *Italy*, within which he was still to be only dictator. *Cassius* took this occasion to pay a visit to *Brutus*, and asked him, whether he intended to be at the senate-house when *Cæsar's* friends were to propose giving him the title of king? *Brutus* answered, that he designed to absent himself that day. But suppose you are called thither, replied *Cassius*. Then, said *Brutus*, I shall think it my duty to speak, and use my utmost endeavours against such unwarrantable proceedings; nay, and to die, rather than out-live the liberty of my country. Ah! replied *Cassius*, What generous Roman would suffer you to die for his liberty? You are not acquainted with yourself, *Brutus*, if you imagine, that those papers which were thrown into your tribunal, came from any but the most illustrious and bravest men of Rome. From other *prætors* they demand games, shews, and plays; but from you, whose very name is a terror to tyrants, they expect the ruin and downfall of arbitrary power; being ready to expose themselves to the utmost dangers, in expectation of your auspicious aid. These words made so deep an impression on *Brutus*, that, notwithstanding the many favours he had received at the dictator's hands, he entered into all *Cassius's* measures, and, from that time, took upon himself the whole management of the conspiracy. The name of *Brutus* had such effect, that sixty In which of the most illustrious citizens soon engaged in the plot; many others and till the time came for executing their design, they made theirs join. it their business to stir up the common people by a thousand false reports; such as, That *Cæsar* intended to fix the seat of his empire in Egypt or Phrygia, and to transport thither all the riches of Italy, leaving Rome to the mercy of his creatures and favourites. *Cæsar* hearing of this, began to suspect that some plot was carrying on against him. His friends, believing that *Mark Anthony* and *Dolabella* were concerned in it, advised him to be upon his guard, and watch them narrowly. To which he answered, That he was not at all afraid of such plump jolly fellows; but rather of pale lean men, like *Cassius* and *Brutus*. However, his flatterers, among whom were some of the conspirators

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Cæsar's
vast designs.

spirators, telling him that he had no cause to fear, for that the commonwealth was more concerned than himself in his preservation, he neglected the necessary precautions for his safety, and was more intent upon making preparations for putting in execution the vast designs he had formed, than in guarding against the attempts of his domestic enemies.

These designs were, to make war upon the *Parthians*, to revenge the death of *Crassus*; then to pass through *Hyrcaania*, and from thence to march by the *Caspian sea* to Mount *Caucasus*, till he came into *Scythia*; then to over-run all the countries between *Scythia* and *Germany*, and *Germany* itself; from whence he intended to return through *Gaul* and *Italy*, describing the spacious circle of his intended empire, and bounding it on every side by the sea.

Brutus, from the time of his being engaged in the conspiracy, strove as much as possible, when abroad, to keep his uneasiness of mind to himself; but at home, and especially in the night, he was not the same man; but sometimes, on a sudden, started out of his bed, and, at other times, was so taken up with unquiet thoughts, and so perplexed in his mind, that *Porcia*, his wife, concluded he had some dangerous and difficult enterprize in agitation. Desirous as she was to know the secret, she resolved not to inquire into it, till she had first tried whether she had courage and resolution enough to keep it, even in the midst of torment. To this end, she gave herself a deep wound in the thigh, and, after bearing it without betraying the least sense of pain, told her husband, that though she was the daughter of *Cato*, and the wife of *Brutus*, two titles in which she might have placed much confidence, yet, to be sure of herself, she had made that severe trial of her own constancy. *Brutus*, touched with this, discovered the whole plot to her.

The con-
spirators
fix on the
ides of
March for
the execu-
tion of
their de-
sign.

The senate was appointed to meet on the ides of *March*, to give *Cæsar* the title of king, and that day the conspirators fixed upon as the most proper for the execution of their design; judging that he would not fail coming to the senate-house on that occasion, and that it was safer to fall upon him there, most of the senators being privately his enemies, than in any other place, where the populace might divert the blow. All the ancient historians are full of prodigies and apparitions, which, in their opinion, were manifest presages of *Cæsar's* tragical death. *Spurina*, a famous augur, bid him beware of the ides of *March*, for that he was then threatened with some great danger. The night before his death, he dreamt that he was carried above the clouds, and that he shook hands with *Jove*; and his wife *Calpurnia* dreamt, that he was assassinated in her arms. The doors and windows of the apartment where he lay flew open of their own accord, with a great noise, and a prodigious flash of light. These accidents somewhat alarmed him; and his wife, by her prayers and tears, prevailed so, that he was

upon

upon the point of resolving not to stir out that day, and was going to send *Mark Anthony* with orders to the senate not to assemble, when *Decimus Brutus*, who was one of the conspirators, and his intimate friend, coming in, made him change his resolution, and, taking him by the hand, in a manner forced him out of his house. A slave was just then coming to give him an account of the conspiracy, but could not get up to him by reason of the crowd; and in his way of being to the senate-house, one *Artemidorus*, who was intimately acquainted with most of the conspirators, delivered him a paper, containing the heads of the conspiracy, and desired him to read it instantly, for that it concerned him nearly; but *Cæsar*, without reading it, put it among other papers that were given him.

The assembly of the senate was at this time held in a great hall which *Pompey* had built for that purpose, and in which his statue stood. *Cæsar*, as he was entering, met *Spurina*, and smiling told him, *The ides of March were come*. Yes, replied the augur, but they are not past. As soon as he had taken his place, the conspirators crowded round about him, under pretence of joining their prayers with those of *Metellus Cimber*, in behalf of his brother, who had been banished. *Cæsar* rejected their petition; but *Cimber* still pressed on him with great earnestness, and laying hold of his robe with both hands, pulled it off his shoulders. In that instant, *Casca*, who stood behind him, drawing his dagger, stabbed him in the neck; but the weapon glancing, the wound was not mortal. *Cæsar* immediately seized *Casca* by the hand which held the dagger, crying out, *Vile traitor! What dost thou mean?* *Casca*, on the other side, called to his brother to come and help him; upon which, the rest of the conspirators, drawing their daggers, surrounded *Cæsar*, and fell upon him with such fury, that several of them wounded each other. *Brutus*, in particular, received a wound in the hand from *Cassius*, who, flying at *Cæsar* with prodigious rage, gave him a deep wound in the head. The hero, thus baited on all sides, to use *Plutarch's* expression, like a wild beast in a toil, fought and defended himself in the best manner he could, till, looking round him, to see if he could make his escape, he perceived *Brutus*, with his dagger in his hand, Filled with anguish at this fight, he struggled no more, but crying out, *What! my son Brutus, and Death of thou too!* he covered his face with his robe, and wrapping *Cæsar* the skirts of his garment round his knees, that he might fall with decency, he sunk down at the foot of *Pompey's* Year of statue, and expired, having received three and twenty *Rome* 710. wounds. The senate looked on with horror and amazement; but not one of them dared to lend him the least assistance.

Thus died, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, the greatest warrior that *Rome*, or perhaps the world ever saw, after he

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had fought with success fifty pitched battles, taken by assault a thousand towns, and slain, if *Pliny* is to be credited, eleven hundred ninety-two thousand men. He was a person of most extraordinary parts, and wonderful abilities in all the arts of war and civil government, and of equal diligence and application in the use of them. He was beloved and revered by the people, honoured and adored by his friends, and esteemed and admired even by his enemies. But as his ambition, which knew no bounds, prompted him to enthrall his country, and usurp an arbitrary power over those who were as free as himself, his life was certainly a just forfeit. If the state had been deemed irretrievable, and a despotic governor a necessary evil, *Rome* could not have had a better than *Cæsar*.

Great disturbances in the city.

So great a confusion immediately ensued among the senate and people, that the conspirators soon perceived their action would not be so generally approved as some of them had expected. All the senators, who were not accomplices, fled from the assembly with such precipitation, that many were in danger of their lives as they pressed out of the senate-house: and the people, alarmed at the news, ran up and down the city, some for information, some for safety, and others for plunder. The conspirators, marching through the streets, preceded by a herald, who carried on the point of a lance a cap, the symbol of liberty among the *Romans*, exhorted the people to resume their rights. But they were no more those ancient *Romans*, to whom liberty was more precious than life itself. They were become effeminate, debauched, and accustomed to live by selling their votes to the highest bidder. *Brutus*, therefore, and his followers, retired to the capitol, whither they were attended by a body of gladiators, belonging to *Decimus Brutus*.

Anthony and *Lepidus* declare against the conspirators.

Anthony and *Lepidus* were extremely enraged at *Cæsar's* death, and resolved to revenge it to the utmost. The latter immediately brought into the *Campus Martius* a legion of his, and *Anthony*, as consul, took the command of it. The conspirators thereupon sent deputies to them, desiring them to consider the fatal consequences of a division at that time, and assuring them that no personal hatred to *Cæsar* had put them upon what they had done, but only their sincere love to their country. *Anthony*, considering that *Decimus*, who was now governor of *Cisalpine Gaul*, might fall upon him with a powerful army; in order to gain time, whereby he hoped to bring over *Decimus's* soldiers, answered; That tho' they had bound themselves by oath to revenge *Cæsar's* death, yet they were not chaste, but were content to have the senate assembled, that they might be governed by so many illustrious and discerning persons.

The senate was immediately called, and many debates arose, which at last terminated in this, either that *Cæsar* must be declared a tyrant, or that his murderers stood in need

need of pardon. *Anthony* opposed the former, urging, that if the memory of *Cæsar* were condemned, all his orders must be cancelled, which would be proclaiming many illustrious men whom he had raised, unworthy of their honours. After many violent heats and disturbances, the senate passed an act of oblivion for all that was past, and ratified *Cæsar's* ordinances. This act of oblivion brought mat- nate passes ters to a more peaceable posture : but *Anthony* and *Lepidus* were still resolved to pursue their revenge on the conspira- oblivion, tors, though seemingly reconciled to them. They therefore, and con- the next day, ordered *Cæsar's* will to be read in the presence firms *Cæ-* of the people, the conspirators in vain opposing it. By the *sar's* ordi- will it appeared, that *Octavius*, the grandson of *Julia*, *Cæ-* nances. *Cæsar's* sister, was adopted to take upon him his name, and constituted heir of three parts in four of all his estate, and *Pinarius* and *Pedius*, his two other great nephews, heirs of the remaining fourth part. To the *Roman* people he left *Cæsar's* his gardens on the other side of the *Tiber*, and to every Ro- will. man citizen in particular a certain sum of money. Among his second heirs, who were to inherit in case of mortality, he substituted *Decimus Brutus*, one of the conspirators ; and several others, who had dipped their hands in his blood, were appointed guardians to his children, in case he left any. These tokens of *Cæsar's* good-will revived the affection of the people for him, and provoked them a-new against *Brutus* and his followers.

Immediately after this, *Cæsar's* body, borne with great pomp and solemnity by some of the most illustrious of the senate, was brought into the middle of the *forum*, and laid upon a bed of ivory, richly adorned with cloth of gold and purple, in a small temple of gilded wood, built after the model of that of *Venus*. The robe in which he was killed was hung up by it. All the people crowded to see this sight, weeping and lamenting a-fresh ; and those especially who had borne arms under their deceased hero, cried aloud for vengeance. *Anthony* then ascended the rostrum, and pronounced *Cæsar's* funeral oration, enlarging upon every topic which could move compassion. He enumerated the many victories he had gained, the great conquests he had made, and the various nations he had subdued. Then he mentioned all the titles of honour which the republic had conferred upon him, his dictatorship, his several consulships, and, above all, the glorious name of *father of his country*. From thence he passed to his virtues, extolling his courage, his learning, his eloquence, his humanity, generosity, and clemency even to his enemies. After this, he repeated the oath which the people of *Rome* had taken to him, by which they swore, that his person should be sacred and inviolable, and that they would defend him at the hazard of their own lives. Then unfolding the bloody garment of *Cæsar*, he shewed them in how many places it was pierced, and exposed

sed to their view the number of his wounds. But observing that some of the senators were displeased at this speech, he concluded it with saying, that what had been done ought to be forgot, since it was the crime of some evil dæmons, enemies to *Rome*, rather than of men ; and that nothing farther ought to be thought of, but honouring the memory of the illustrious deceased, and placing him among the immortal gods.

Various artifices used to stir up the multitude. Anthony had scarce done speaking, when one of the spectators, as if some fury had possessed him, snatching up *Cæsar's robe*, displayed it again to the multitude, crying out, *Here is the spoil of an hero beloved of the gods, and reverenced by the world, even to adoration.* These words, interrupted with frequent sighs, and uttered with a mournful voice and gesture, occasioned a general commotion. At the same time appeared on a sudden an image of *Cæsar* in wax, which moved by springs, and shewed all the wounds he had received. This sight transported the populace even to madness ; the *forum* resounded with cries of grief, and bitter menaces and curses against the authors of his death, whom they stiled assassins and parricides, worthy of the most cruel punishments.

Cæsar's body burnt. Upon the lighting of the pile, the old soldiers who had served under *Cæsar* threw into the flames all the military rewards they had received from him ; and many women of distinction, to testify their grief, and honour the memory of the deceased, committed to the fire their jewels, their childrens ornaments and robes, and whatever they had of value about them. The incensed multitude, snatching the flaming brands out of the fire, ran to burn the houses of the conspirators, but were repulsed, and meeting with one *Cinna*, whom they mistook for another of that name, who was one of the conspirators, they immediately tore him in a thousand pieces. *Brutus* and his party were so alarmed at these proceedings, that they immediately withdrew privately to *Antium*. All the strangers in *Rome* mourned after the custom of their respective countries, especially the Jews, who watched several nights at *Cæsar's funeral pile*. At last divine honours were decreed him, and an altar was erected by the people on the spot where his body was burnt. His great nephew *Octavius* afterwards built a temple there, and set up a pillar of jasper, twenty feet high, with this inscription, *To the father of his country.*

Octavius returns to Rome. At the time when *Cæsar* was killed, his heir and adopted son *Octavius*, afterwards called *Augustus*, was at *Apollonia* in *Greece*, from whence he set out for *Rome*, upon the first news of the murder, fully determined to revenge his death : not doubting but he should find both a friend and assistant in *Anthony*. But *Anthony* was now so much taken up with projects of aggrandizing himself, that he gave but little heed to what *Octavius* said ; and when this last publicly declared himself

himself *Cæsar's* heir, and, as such, demanded his money of *Anthony*, or at least some part of it, he treated him with great coldness, and contempt of his youth, and refused to give him any. *Octavius* was now about eighteen years of age, graceful, sensible, insinuating, and ambitious. His first step to gain the hearts of the people was, to sell all his inheritance, to pay off the legacies left them by his uncle. This procured him much love, and *Cæsar's* old soldiers flocked to him in great numbers; whilst *Anthony* became suspicious both to the senate and people. To please these last, who still continued to have a passionate affection for *Pompey*, *Anthony* proposed the promoting of *Sextus*, his only surviving son, to the same command of the seas and navy that his father formerly had, and the allowing him a sum of money out of the public treasury, in lieu of his father's forfeited estate. This was immediately agreed to with great applause, and *Pompey* was recalled into *Sicily*, where he afterwards managed a sharp war against *Octavius*.

As the consular year was near expiring, and the differences between *Anthony* and *Octavius* increased daily, the former deceiving the senate with a false report of the *Getæ* having invaded *Macedonia*, desired the command of the six legions which lay in that province. The senate was very unwilling to grant this, and at the same time expressed great jealousy of his power; to remove which, he preferred a law, making it death for any one ever to aim at being made dictator. These legions he designed to bring over into *Italy*, to awe and command all; and the better to effect this, he proposed another law, by which he caused the government of *Macedonia*, which had been assigned to *M. Brutus*, to be given to his brother *C. Antonius*, and to himself that of *Cisalpine Gaul*; *Anthony* which had been allotted to *Decimus Brutus*. The senate obtains would by no means hear of this demand; but he obtained the profit of the people, partly by force, and partly by bribes. Still vince of he was not quite so successful as he expected; for his quarrels with *Octavius*, and his neglect of revenging *Cæsar's* death, gained him the hatred of his soldiers; so that when he had brought his legions from *Macedonia*, two of them went over to *Octavius*, who was then very busy in going through all *Italy*, and gathering together soldiers out of the colonies his uncle had planted. At length *Anthony*, with a considerable army, marched into *Gaul*, from whence he began a civil war. commanded *Decimus Brutus* to depart. *Decimus* retreated to *Mutina*, now *Modena*, where *Anthony* soon after besieged him; and thus a new war broke out in about three quarters of a year after *Cæsar's* death. *Rome* 711.

About this time the new consuls entered upon their office. These were *Hirtius* and *Pansa*, who had both served under *Cæsar*, and were great friends to *Cicero*. *Hirtius* was the author of that relation of the *Alexandrian* and *African* wars, which is annexed to *Cæsar's* commentaries. Upon their

assembling the senate, *Anthony* was declared an enemy to the state, chiefly by the means of *Cicero*, who bore great sway in the senate, and whose *Philippics* we owe to this occasion. The two consuls were ordered to raise troops, and hasten to the relief of *Decimus*, who was reduced to great straits in *Mutina*; and, at the same time, *Ostavius* was commanded

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Anthony defeated, and both the consuls killed. Shortly after, *Anthony*, and *Publius Murena*, this last was defeated, and mortally wounded ; and *Anthony* was, in his turn, worsted by *Hirtius*, as he was returning to his camp. Not many days after, a general battle was fought near *Mutina*, wherein *Anthony* was defeated with great loss, and obliged to raise the siege of that city ; after which he fled to *Lepidus*, who then commanded in *Cisalpine Gaul*. The consul *Hirtius* was killed in this engagement.

The senate dis-
gusts Octavius.
Anthony had no sooner left Italy, than the senate, thinking they had nothing farther to fear from him, slighted Octavius exceedingly, and denied him a triumph, which they granted to Decimus, whom he had relieved. Decimus too, as chief commander in Cisalpine Gaul, ordered him to quit that province. Octavius thereupon retired to Bononia, where the consul Pansa, who then lay dying of his wounds, advised him strongly to join with Anthony and Lepidus, as the only means by which he could revenge his uncle's death. Accordingly he wrote to them immediately, inviting them both to Italy, and at the same time sent four hundred of his soldiers to Rome, in the name of his army, to demand the consulship for him. The news of their approach, and that at the head of seventeen legions, together with Octavius's coming in person with eight legions, so terrified the senate, that the comitia was immediately assembled, and he and Q. Pedius were elected consuls. The senate also decreed, that after his consulship he should take place of all other consuls, that he should levy what forces he pleased, and likewise have the command of Decimus's legions. The city too was committed to his care, and power was given him to do whatever

whatever he thought right, even beyond the limitation of the laws; a power which he retained to his death. One of the first uses he made of his new authority was, to get his adoption confirmed in a general assembly of the people, to procure the condemnation of *Brutus*, *Cassius*, and all their accomplices, and to cancel the decrees made against his murderers friends. *Decimus Brutus* attempted to save himself by flying to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, who were now in *Greece*; but as he was traversing *Gaul*, with only a few attendants, his troops having forsaken him, and gone over to *Anthony*, he was taken by *Camelius*, a lord of that country, who sent his head to *Anthony*. *Trebonius* and *Basilius*, two other of the conspirators, were killed much about the same time, the former by *Dolabella*, and the latter by his own slaves.

Soon after *Octavius*'s promotion to the consulship, *Anthony* and *Octavius*, *Lepidus* arrived in *Italy*, and he met them near *Mutina*. Their conference lasted three days, and ended in this agreement: and *Octavius* should resign the consulship to *Anthony*'s friend *dus* meet. *Ventidius*: That the supreme authority should be divided between them three, and be kept by them for the space of five years, under Articles of the name of triumviri, and in quality of reformers of the common-wealth. That they should cause this authority to be confirmed by the Roman people: That *Anthony* should have all *Gaul*, except Narbonne, which *Lepidus* was to have, with *Spain*; and that *Octavius* should have *Africa*, with *Sicily* and *Sardinia*: That *Italy*, and the eastern provinces which were possessed by *Brutus* and *Cassius*, should for a while remain in common: That *Anthony* and *Octavius* should immediately join their forces, and make war upon *Brutus* and *Cassius*, whilst *Lepidus*, with four legions, staid at *Rome*, to maintain the authority of the triumvirate there. Thus did these three men, as *Plutarch* observes, divide the empire of the world between them, as if it had been their paternal inheritance. They farther agreed, not only that all their enemies should be cut off, but, as they had occasion for immense sums of money to carry on their designs, those also who were possessed of great riches, or who were thought to retain the least spark of zeal for their antient laws and liberties. The fate of *Cicero* caused the greatest contest on this occasion. *Anthony* insisted that his name should be set down in the fatal list. *Octavius* endeavoured to save him, but at last gave him up, on *Anthony*'s consenting to sacrifice his uncle *Lucius*, and *Lepidus* his brother *Paulus*. The list of the others, whom the triumvirs doomed to die, was soon drawn up, each of the tyrants setting down the names of his particular enemies, and even of the enemies of his creatures. Three hundred of the senatorian, and about two thousand of the equestrian rank, were proscribed; and the articles of this wicked confederacy being sworn to, *Octavius* and *Anthony* joined their armies. Thus was concluded the second triumvirate, which gave the last blow to the liberty of *Rome*.

The second triumvirate.

Their proscrip-
tions.

The fatal decree was drawn up, published, and sent to *Rome*, together with the first list of those that were condemned to die, and some companies of soldiers to put the orders of the triumvirs in execution. The soldiers arrived in the evening, before the decree, and meeting four of the proscribed persons in the streets, immediately put them to death. Others were massacred in their houses, several in the temples, and in an instant the whole city was filled with horror and confusion. As the list of the proscribed persons was not yet made public, every one feared for himself, and the terror became general. Some, in the height of their despair, resolving to involve the whole city in their ruin, set fire to it in several places. Early the next morning, a list of the proscribed, containing the names of only seventeen persons, was set up in a public place, together with the decree of the triumvirs.

The entry of the triumvirs into Rome. During these alarms, the triumvirs, at the head of their united forces, advanced towards *Rome*, and entered it on three different days; *Oetavius* on the first, *Anthony* on the second, and *Lepidus* on the third, each of them being attended with his prætorian cohort and one legion. The first step they took after their arrival was, to get a law passed by the people, investing them with the authority they had usurped; after which, *Oetavius* resigned the consulship to *Ventidius*; and these three tyrants, now looking upon themselves as lawful magistrates, added daily to the list of the proscribed, till the number amounted to three hundred senators and above two thousand knights, making it death to conceal or help any one of them, and offering large rewards to whoever discovered or killed them. Nothing but cries and lamentations were heard through all the city: the streets were covered with dead bodies, and the heads of the most illustrious of *Rome* were exposed upon the *rostra*. The common price of the head of a proscribed person brought to the triumviri, was ten thousand sesterces, if done by a freeman, and half as much if done by a slave, with the freedom of the city. Of those that could escape, some fled to *Brutus* in *Macedonia*, some to *Cornificius* in *Africa*, but most of all to young *Pompey* in *Sicily*, where this last was now very powerful at sea.

The death of Cicero. The person most aimed at by *Anthony* was *Cicero*, who was then at his country house, near *Tusculum*, from whence he got on board a ship, with design to pass over into *Macedonia*, and join *Brutus*; but not being able to endure the sea, he returned to land, saying, *He would die in his own country, which he had so often preserved*. He came to a small village about a mile from the shore, where his servants, finding that he was pursued, put him again into his litter, and were carrying him back to the ship, when the assassins overtook them. *Cicero* ordered his litter to be set down, and quietly stretched

stretched out his neck to *Popilius Lena*, the tribune, whose life he had formerly saved by his eloquence. *Lena* cut off his head; and, by *Anthony's* particular direction, his right hand, with which he had written the *Phillipics*, and immediately hastened to *Rome*, and presented them to *Anthony*, who was holding an assembly for the election of magistrates. The cruel tyrant no sooner beheld them, than he cried out, in a transport of joy, *Now let there be an end of all our proscriptions! Live, Romans, live in safety; you have nothing more to fear.* The head and hand were set up in the *forum*, where the people could not, without horror, see those sad remains of a man who had so often triumphed in that very place by the force and charms of his eloquence. Thus fell, in the sixty-third year of his age, the greatest orator that the world ever produced; *a man, who, to use Cæsar's words, obtained a laurel as much above all triumph, as it was more glorious to extend the bounds of the Roman learning, than those of the Roman empire.*

The triumvirs having now almost glutted their revenge, began to think of raising the necessary sums for carrying on the war against *Brutus* and *Cæfcius*, which they estimated at two hundred thousand talents. In order to this, they daily issued triumvirs' out new proscriptions against the richest citizens of *Rome*, caused them to be murdered, and seized on their estates. They loaded the people with most grievous taxes; seized all the gold and silver they could lay hands on, whether belonging to *Romans* or to strangers, and drew up a list of fourteen hundred of the richest ladies of *Rome*, mothers, daughters, relations, or any way allied to those they had proscribed, and taxed them all most excessively. The ladies applied to men taxed the female relations of the triumviri for relief; but that not succeeding, they went in a body to the tribunal of those magistrates, and demanded to be heard. *Hortensia*, the daughter of *Hortensius*, a very famous orator, spoke with such boldness, that the triumvirs, fearing some sudden tumult, ordered their lictors to drive away all the women: but the people crying out against such violence, they adjourned the affair to the next day, when, to appease the multitude, they reduced the number of the ladies to four hundred; but, at the same time, taxed above one hundred thousand men. The triumviri then assembled the few senators they had left alive, and entering the senate-house, declared, *That the proscription was at an end.* *Lepidus* endeavoured to justify their past proceedings, and assured the senators, *That he would give them no farther cause of complaint:* but *Octavius* openly declared, *That he still reserved to himself the liberty of punishing the guilty.* The triumvirs then, of their own authority, without so much as assembling the people, appointed their colleague *M. Aemilius Lepidus* to be one of the consuls for the following year; and appoint joined with him *L. Munatius Plancus*; and, after filling up the great all the other great offices in the same manner, for several ensuing officers.

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suing years, with creatures of their own, *Anthony* and *Oetavius* divided the money and troops between them, and set out on their expedition against *Brutus* and *Cassius*. *Anthony* embarked at *Brundusium*, and *Oetavius* at *Rhegium*; and both of them landed at *Dyrrachium*.

Year of Rome 712. The conspirators had now made a considerable progress in the East; and *Cassius*, having possessed himself of all *Syria*, thought of invading *Egypt*, where *Cleopatra* had declared for the triumvirs, and was ready to join them with a powerful fleet. But he was recalled by *Brutus*, upon the news that *Anthony* and *Cæsar* were upon their march with forty legions, of which eight had already passed the *Ionian* sea. *Cassius* therefore leaving *Syria* to his brother's son with one legion, sent a party of horse into *Cappadocia*, to kill *Ariobarzanes*, and levy great sums on his subjects; and, after several other severe exactions, he joined *Brutus* at *Smyrna*, where they consulted about the present war, and agreed to begin by reducing the *Rhodians* and *Lycians*. This expedition was soon completed, and extraordinary contributions raised. The *Rhodians* were plundered of almost all they had; and the inhabitants of *Xanthus*, after an obstinate resistance, set fire to their city, and destroyed themselves with it. *Brutus* and *Cassius* met again at *Sardis*, from whence, after several consultations, they resolved to march against *Anthony* and *Oetavius*. Here it was that *Brutus* is reported to have seen a ghost or spectre in his tent.

A spectre appears to Brutus. This memorable story is thus related by *Plutarch*, *Florus*, and *Appian*. As *Brutus*, according to his usual custom, was sitting one night, late, alone, and very thoughtful, in his tent, with only a dim light burning by him, all being silent in the camp, and especially about his tent, he heard, on a sudden, an unusual noise at the door, which at the same time flew open. Casting his eye towards the place from whence the noise came, he saw a huge and frightful figure advancing towards him, which he undauntedly addressed, saying, *What art thou; a god, or a man? and for what reason comest thou hither?* I am, replied the spirit, thy evil genius, *Brutus*: thou shalt see me again at *Philippi*. *Brutus* boldly answered, *Well, I will see thee there*: upon which the apparition vanished. He immediately called his servants, who all told him, that they had neither seen nor heard any thing. He continued watching all the rest of the night, and, as soon as it was day, went to give an account of what had happened to *Cassius*; who, as he had been brought up in the principles of the *Epicurean* philosophy, ascribed the vision wholly to the weakness of his senses, and the force of imagination, which easily moves and varies into all manner of ideas. This he maintained by the example of dreams; where the fancy, forming different images, affects the organs of the body after the same manner as they would be moved by outward objects. *But that there is any such thing*

as spirits and demons, continued he, let us not believe; much less that spirits can have human shape, voice; or any power over us: though I could earnestly wish it was so, that we might not only rely upon the greatness of our forces, but likewise on the assistance of those immortal beings who could not but be favourable to a cause so just and sacred as ours is. This discourse satisfied Brutus, who shortly after passed over into Thrace, and so to Philippi, a city between that country and Macedonia, near which the forces of the triumviri were posted.

The whole world now waited the event of a battle which The art was to decide the fate and fortune of the *Roman* empire. The army of the conspirators consisted of nineteen legions and twenty thousand horse; and that of the triumviri of the spirators same number of legions, but much better disciplined, and thirteen thousand horse. Brutus and Cassius encamped on a viri meet, high ground near the sea, whereby they were plentifully supplied with all sorts of provisions. The other party was greatly distressed for want of necessaries, having only Macedonia and Thessaly open to them; for Pompey, Murcus, and Abenobarbus, had, with their fleets, cut off all communication with Africa, Spain, and Italy. This made Anthony extremely desirous of coming to a battle, which Cassius as carefully avoided, though Brutus was much for it, saying, *he was impatient to put an end to the miseries of mankind, by a glorious victory, or a glorious death.* At last Anthony, with great labour, made a way through a large fen, and Cassius threw up works against him, which, with the soldiers eagerness to fight, brought on a general engagement, though much against Cassius's will, who declared, *That he was forced, in the same manner as Pompey was, to expose the liberty of the Roman people to the hazard of a battle.* In the morning, just before the action, Cassius asked Brutus, *What he intended to do, if Fortune should prove their enemy?* When I was young, answered Brutus, I condemned the death of Cato, and maintained, that such a way of avoiding disgraces, was an impious attempt against Heaven which sent them: but now I have altered my opinion, and am resolved, if we are unsuccessful in this last struggle, no longer to preserve a life which I devoted to the service of my country on the ides of March, and which I have ever since enjoyed with liberty and honour. At these words Cassius smiled; and, tenderly embracing him, Now, said he, we may boldly venture against the enemy; for either we ourselves shall conquer, or have no cause to fear those who do.

The forces of the triumvirate were commanded by Anthony The first alone, Octavius being sick. Brutus, seconded by Messala, commanded the right wing of the army of the republicans, Philippi. and attacked the left wing of their enemies with such fury, that they bore down all before them, and penetrated to the very camp of Octavius, who had just been carried to Anthony's. Anthony, in his turn, opened himself a passage through the left wing of the republicans commanded by Cassius,

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Cassius's death. *Cassius*, and, pursuing his advantage, soon became master of his camp. *Cassius* retreated to a hill not far off, expecting the event of the battle on *Brutus's* side. Whilst he was there, perceiving a body of horse make towards him, and not being able to distinguish, by reason of the great dust, whether they were friends or enemies, he sent *Titinius* to reconnoitre them. *Titinius* was received with great joy, for they were friends coming with tidings of victory: but he staid so long with them, that *Cassius*, fearing *Brutus* had been defeated, and his friend taken prisoner, cried out, *Alas! to preserve the remainder of a miserable life, I have ruined my best friend.* At these words he retired into his tent, and either killed himself, or made his freedman kill him. *Titinius* arrived immediately after, and, accusing himself of being the cause of *Cassius's* death by his delay, stabbed himself and fell upon the body of his friend.

Brutus was extremely grieved at the death of *Cassius*, whom he called the last of the *Romans*. He ordered his body to be removed out of sight, and buried privately, lest his army should be too much dejected; but could not help saying to his friends, *That he thought Cassius happy in being beyond the reach of those misfortunes which remained for them to suffer.* For some little time he avoided fighting, hoping to starve his enemies, who were now in extreme want of provisions, their fleet having lately been defeated; but at last the eagerness of his soldiers, and his fear of a general desertion if he delayed it any longer, forced him to hazard a second battle. We are told, that the spectre which he saw before, appeared to him again the night before this decisive action, but said nothing now. Whatever melancholy apprehensions he had upon him, he encouraged his men as much as possible, promising them the liberty of plundering *Lacedemon* and *Theffalonica*: and when the battle began, the eagerness of both sides made them throw aside their missive weapons, and betake themselves immediately to their swords, fighting a long time with prodigious fury, till at last *Brutus's* party was borne down by main force, and intirely defeated.

*The spec-
tre ap-
pears
again to
Brutus.*

*Second
battle of
Philippi.*

*Brutus
defeated.*

Brutus fled to a hill hard by, and there remained all night; and when, in the morning, he found no way of escaping, he said, with a cheerful countenance, to the few friends that were with him, *That he looked upon himself as much happier than any of his conquerors, since he should enjoy the reputation which always follows virtue, and which tyranny and injustice would never deserve.* Then, beseaching his friends to provide for their own safety, and adding, *That he hoped Anthony and Octavius, satisfied with his death, would pursue their tyranny no further*, he withdrew with two or three only of his particular friends; of which number was *Strato*, whom he earnestly conjured to give him the last testimony of his affection, by performing that friendly office which all others had declined. He too being as unwilling as the rest, *Brutus* called one of his slaves; upon which *Strato* cried

cried out, *Forbid, ye gods, it should ever be said, that Brutus died by the hand of a slave for want of a friend*; and presented of *Brutus*, the point of his sword to *Brutus*, who threw himself upon it, and expired immediately.

Thus fell *Brutus* in the forty-third year of his age, and with him fell the liberty of *Rome*. The conquered troops submitted, and the triumvirs established, on the ruins of the republic, the authority they had usurped, and became masters of the whole *Roman* empire, *Sicily* alone excepted, which was still held by *Sextus*, the son of *Pompey* the Great; but the opposition they met with from him was not considerable.

The first days after the victory were employed by the triumviri in punishing their enemies. *Anthony* sacrificed *Hortensius* to the memory of his brother *Caius*; *Livius Drusus*, the father of that *Livia* who was afterwards married to *Octavius*, killed himself in his tent; and *Quintilius Verus*, after having adorned himself with all the ensigns of the honours and dignities he had borne, chose rather to die by the hands of his freedman, than be exposed to the insults of his merciless enemies. *Octavius*, on this occasion, betrayed a cruelty unworthy of a *Roman*. He sent the head of *Brutus* to *Rome*, Cruelty to be thrown at the feet of his uncle's statue. His ashes of *Octavius* were sent to his wife *Porcia*, *Cato*'s daughter, who, it is said, killed herself by swallowing burning coals. He condemned a senator and his son to draw lots for their lives; but they both refused it, the father voluntarily giving himself up, and the son stabbing himself before his face. To another, who begged of him to have the rites of burial, he answered, *That he would soon be at the disposal of the crows*. These bitter words and rigorous punishments rendered him odious as well as terrible to all the prisoners that were brought before him.

After the triumviri had glutted their revenge, they began to consider how they could best establish their authority, and extirpate those who still stood up in defence of their liberties; for *Pompey* was still in possession of *Sicily*; *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, and *Statius Murcus*, *Brutus*'s two admirals, commanded two powerful fleets; the former on the coasts of *Macedon*, the latter in the *Ionian* sea; and *Cassius Parmensis*, one of the conspirators, had a great fleet, and was at the head of a considerable army in *Asia*. They agreed, that *Anthony* should undertake the settling of the East, and raising money there to reward the soldiers; and that *Octavius* should lead the veterans back into *Italy*, to put them in possession of the turns to lands which had been promised them; and likewise to drive *Italy* young *Pompey* from his retreat, which served for an asylum to all the zealous republicans.

Anthony first visited *Greece*, where his affability and generosity, particularly at *Athens*, gained him the hearts of all. From thence leaving *Marcus Censorinus* to command in that country, he passed over into *Asia* with all his troops. There all

A GENERAL HISTORY

The behaviour of
Anthony
to the
Greeks.

all the princes of the East, who acknowledged the *Roman power*, came to make their court to him ; some bringing presents, and others their wives and daughters, who strove which should appear most charming in his eyes. This crowd of sovereigns, who constantly attended him with their praises and submissions, most agreeably soothed his voluptuous and ambitious temper. He pardoned all those of *Brutus's party*, who surrendered themselves to him, except *Petronius*, who was one of the conspirators : and *Quintus*, who was charged with betraying *Dolabella* to *Cassius* in *Laodicea*. But then he stripped several rich citizens of their estates to gratify his flatterers and buffoons ; and assembling the deputies of all the subjects of the *Romans* in those parts, in a set speech he insisted upon his necessities and their duties ; and thereby squeezed out of the inhabitants almost all the money that *Brutus* and *Cassius* had left them. After this, he went a progress through the provinces of *Asia*, giving every where proofs of generosity and good nature. He pardoned *Lucius*, brother to *Cassius*, and several other of his enemies in those parts ; but spared none that had any hand in *Cæsar's death*.

On his arrival in *Cilicia*, he sent *Dellius* into *Egypt*, to summon *Cleopatra* to appear before him, and give an account of her conduct during the war ; for, though she had assisted *Dolabella*, yet *Serapion*, her lieutenant in *Cyprus*, had joined *Brutus* and *Cassius*, which the triumvirs had taken much amiss, considering what she owed to the memory of *Cæsar*. *Dellius's* persuasion, and her confidence in her own charms, easily determined her to go in person to *Anthony*, whose heart she made no doubt of gaining. Arriving at the mouth of the river *Cydnus*, she embarked in a vessel whose stern was of gold, the sails of purple silk, and the oars of silver, which gently kept time to a concert of excellent music. The queen was laid under a canopy of cloth of gold, adorned like *Venus* rising out of the sea, with lovely children playing about her like Cupids, fanning her, and her women habited like Nereids and Graces, leaning negligently on the sides and shrouds of the vessel. The sweets that burned around her perfumed the banks of the river, which were covered with an infinite number of people, who ran with such eagerness to see this sight, that *Anthony*, who was mounted on a throne to make a shew of majesty, was quite deserted. *Anthony* desired her to land and sup with him, but she desired his company first on board her galley. The sumptuous elegance with which he was entertained there, was such that, when he returned the compliment the next day, he found it impossible to equal, or even approach, her taste and magnificence. After some time spent in mutual compliments, *Cleopatra* told him, *She came not thither to clear herself, but to be recompensed for the great services she had done to him and Cæsar, in afflicting Dolabella, and commanding a fleet in person in spite of Cassius*

His inter-
view with
Cleopatra.

and

and his party. This interview proved fatal to *Anthony*. No longer master of himself, he, from this moment, entertained a passion for her, which was the cause of all the future misfortunes of his life. The pursuit of arms gave way to gentler cares, and he followed her into *Egypt*, where he spent the ensuing year in all the delights and pleasures his wanton heart could wish, or that luxuriant nation furnish.

Whilst *Anthony* was thus wholly taken up with *Cleopatra*, Year of Octavius was very busy in settling the affairs of Italy, and dividing the promised lands among the veterans. Rome 713. This was extremely difficult, and very dangerous; for as the public treasury was quite exhausted, and he could not possibly raise money enough to satisfy the troops, it became absolutely necessary for him to give up several towns allotted for their recompence. The inhabitants of those unhappy towns flocked daily in great multitudes to *Rome*; and vast numbers of women, with children in their arms whose tender years and innocence drew compassion from every one, filled the temples and public places with their cries and lamentations. The people of *Rome* talked very freely and boldly, and *Octavius* heard their murmurings with a dissimulation peculiar to himself. He borrowed what money he could; but finding that not sufficient, he at last broke through all difficulties, and, pursuant to his first design, gave his soldiers lands and other places for their inheritance. The rich city of *Cremna*, which had been attached to the interest of *Brutus*, suffered exceedingly in this iniquitous distribution; and *Mantua*, unfortunately too near that place when abandoned to the mercy of the ungovernable soldiery, had more than her share in these misfortunes. The prince of the *Latin* poets had like to have perished on this occasion by the hand of a centurion named *Arrius*, who pursued him with his drawn sword, for daring to dispute with him the possession of his great small estate on the banks of the *Mincio*; and would have deprived the world of the greatest poet *Italy* ever produced, had he not happily escaped by swimming cross a river. To this adventure *Virgil* seems to have owed his farther reputation and advancement; for it put him upon going directly to *Rome*, where his extraordinary talents recommended him goes to Mæcenas and Afinius Pollio, by whose interest he obtained Rome.

Anthony's wife, *Fulvia*, knowing that nothing but a war in *Fulvia* *Italy* could force her husband from *Cleopatra's* arms, resolved quarrels to try every method which her rage and jealousy could with *Octavius* prompt to bring him back. To this end she applied to her *vius*, and brother-in-law *Lucius*, who was then consul, and who, being under great obligations to her, and disliking *Octavius's* war in proceedings, readily came into her designs of quarreling with *Italy*. Many plausible pretences, of which there could be no

want in such unsettled times, were made use of. *Rome* and all *Italy*, were in great misery : provisions were extremely dear, by *Pompey's* preventing all supplies from abroad ; and at home the troops consumed the whole produce of the land, and committed a thousand disorders. *Fulvia* and *Lucius* took advantage of these misfortunes to fire the soldiers and people against *Octavius*, who, on his side did his utmost to calm them ; heard their complaints with patience, and promised to redress their grievances. An open rupture soon ensued. The veterans who had served under *Anthony*, complaining that *Octavius* had favoured his own men in the distribution of the lands, together with such of the *Italians* as had been driven from their antient inheritances, sided with *Fulvia* and *Lucius* ; whilst the friends of the late dictator, and those legionaries who were satisfied with the lands fallen to their share, took part with *Octavius*. *Lucius* was forced to retire to *Perusia*, a strong city of *Hetruria*, where he was closely besieged by *Octavius*. *Ventidius* and *Afidius*, two of *Anthony's* commanders, attempted in vain to relieve the town, which, being at last reduced to the utmost miseries of famine, *Lucius* came out, surrendered himself to *Octavius*, and, with great earnestness, interceded for his poor soldiers, begging that his punishment might attone for their offences. *Octavius* received him kindly, and generously pardoned all his men. The town was designed to be plundered ; but one of the chief inhabitants, called *Macedonicus*, in a violent rage set fire to his house, and burned both himself and the whole city. *Ventidius* and the rest made no resistance ; so that this dangerous war was ended in a few months, *Pompey* taking but small advantage of it. *Octavius* entered *Rome* in triumphal robes, and crowned with laurel : public feasts were celebrated for several days together ; and it was decreed by the senate and people, *That, whenever any general should, for the future, merit a triumph, Octavius should have a share in his honour.*

Whilst *Octavius* was settling his affairs in *Italy* with all the skill and address of an able politician, *Anthony* was passing his time ingloriously at *Alexandria*, thinking of nothing but the enjoyment of his pleasures ; when he received the news that his brother had been defeated, that his wife and all his friends had left *Italy*, and that *Octavius* had made himself master of all *Gaul*, and of the legions quartered therein. From another part he received advice, that the *Parthians*, under the command of *Pacorus*, their king's son, assisted by *Labienus* and *Barzapharnes*, had made themselves masters of *Syria*, and sacked *Jerusalem*. Upon this, *Anthony*, recovering, as it were, from his lethargic indolence, resolved at length to leave *Cleopatra*, and march forthwith against the *Parthians*. With this view, having got together two hundred ships, and a considerable army, he sailed to *Tyr* : but letters which he found on his arrival there from his wife *Fulvia*, and his friends, determined

Siege of Perusia.

The Parthians over-run Syria.

terminated him to postpone his *Parthian* expedition, and to return immediately to *Italy*. In his way thither, he met *Fulvia* at *Athens*, where he blamed her and his brother *Lucius* returns to for occasioning the late disorders; and learned from her, *Italy*, that *Octavius*, after putting away her daughter *Clodia*, had lately married *Scribonia*, the sister of *Libo*; *Pompey's* father-in-law. *Octavius*, politic in all he did, hoped by this to gain an alliance with *Pompey*, whose shipping he much wanted.

Anthony, suspecting *Octavius*, advanced towards *Italy*, without shewing the least concern for *Fulvia*, whom he left sick at *Sicyon*, where she died of grief soon after. *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, the republican admiral, met him upon the *Ionian* sea, and, instead of opposing him, delivered up to his fleet and forces. *Anthony* then sailed to *Brundusium*, where the garrison, consisting of five legions, which *Octavius* had placed there, refused him admittance. Upon this, *Anthony* blocked and lays up the place, and prevailed on *Pompey* to join him in attack-
siege to *Italy*. *Octavius* marched directly to *Brundusium*, where *Brundusium* the old soldiers being unwilling to fight against *Anthony*, he was obliged to hearken to an accommodation, which was at length brought about by *Cocceius*, *Pollio*, and *Mecenas*. This dangerous breach being made up, and all offences and affronts mutually forgiven, a marriage was proposed between *Anthony* and *Octavius's* half-sister *Octavia*, the widow of *Marcellus*. Though the queen of *Egypt* had so large a share in *Anthony's* heart, yet this match was no sooner proposed to him, than he agreed to it with inexpressible satisfaction, at least in appearance. After this, the two triumvirs had an interview, His agree-
in which they made a new partition of the *Roman* empire; ment with by virtue whereof, all westward of *Codropolis*, a town of *Il-* *Octavius*. *lyricum*, was to obey *Octavius*; and all eastward of it, *An-* *thony*. *Africa* was left to *Lepidus*, whose authority declined daily. *Anthony* was to make war upon the *Parthians*, and *Octavius* upon *Pompey*, if he refused to submit upon reasonable conditions. *Italy* was to be common to both the triumvirs, for the raising of forces to carry on these wars; and *Octavius* was to pardon *Domitius*, and all who had borne arms against him in the war of *Perusia*. The two generals, He mar-
thus reconciled, marched together to *Rome*, where the mar- ries *Octa-* riage between *Anthony* and *Octavia* was solemnized with great *vius's* sis- magnificence. ter.

In consequence of this agreement, *Anthony* sent *Ventidius* into *Asia* against the *Parthians*. But, in the mean time, great trouble arose at home. *Pompey* blocking up all the *Rome* in ports of *Italy* with his numerous fleets, *Rome* was reduced great di- to the utmost extremity for want of provisions, especially stress. corn, which was become so dear that the people were ready to starve. *Anthony* thereupon pressed his colleague, either to come to an accommodation with *Pompey*, or oblige him, by a vigorous war, to recall his ships, and leave the sea open

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The people rise.

Agree-
ment be-
tween the
trinmirs
and Pompey.

Year of
Rome 714.
Anthony
marches
into the
East.

New dis-
putes be-
tween
Pompey
and Octa-
vius.

for trade. *Oetavius* was more inclined to war, *Pompey* having lately taken from him the islands of *Sardinia* and *Corsica*: but, as he wanted money to carry it on, with *Anthony's* approbation he laid two taxes on all the inhabitants of *Rome* and *Italy*; the one of two drachmas and an half for every slave; the other on all legacies. This so provoked the populace, already pinched with hunger, that they rose in opposition to these edicts, assaulted *Oetavius* in the *forum*, and would have torn him in pieces, had not *Anthony* hastened to his assistance with a body of troops. At length, *Anthony*, *Oetavius*, and *Pompey*, came to an interview; in which, among other articles, it was agreed, That *Pompey* should keep possession of the islands he then had, and that *Peloponnesus* should be yielded to him; that he should have the privilege of demanding the consulship, though absent; and of discharging that office by any of his friends; that he should leave the sea open, and pay the people what corn was due from *Sicily*; and, that all the proscribed persons, except such as were guilty of *Cæsar's* death, should have liberty to return.

All civil wars being now ended for a while, *Oetavius*, to keep his troops in discipline, sent some of them into *Illyricum*, and led the rest into *Gaul*, where some disturbances had broke out. *Anthony* departed for the East, against the *Parthians*, whom his lieutenant, *Ventidius*, had already dealt with so effectually, as fully to revenge the death of *Craffus*, and retrieve the honour of the *Roman* name. *Anthony* there settled the affairs of *Syria*; made peace with *Antiochus*, king of *Comagene*, who had assisted the *Parthians*; established *Darius* in *Pontus*, *Pharnaces* in *Idumæa*, *Herod* in *Judæa*, *Aminatas* in *Pisidia*, and *Polemon* in *Cilicia*; and then returned to *Athens*, where he spent the winter with *Oetavia* in all the luxury he could possibly devise.

In the mean time new disputes arose between *Pompey* and *Oetavius*; the late treaty having only regulated their pretensions, but not their ambition. The apparent subject of their present quarrel was *Peloponnesus*, which had been ceded to *Pompey*. *Oetavius* pretended, that it could not be given up to him, till he discharged the arrears due from that province to the republic before the treaty. *Pompey*, on the other hand, maintained, that they had yielded him that country free from all charges. A breach ensuing, *Pompey* again blocked up the ports of *Italy*, and reduced *Rome* to great distress; and *Oetavius* prepared to invade *Sicily* with a powerful army, but wanted shipping. This was, very unexpectedly, remedied by the revolt of *Pompey's* admiral *Menas*, who, being offended with his master for not revenging the death of some of his friends, came over to *Oetavius*, with three legions and a numerous fleet which he commanded; and likewise delivered up to him the islands of *Corsica* and *Sardinia*, of which he was

was governor. *Oetavius* then put to sea, to invade *Sicily*, but was beaten back by *Pompey*; and soon after his ships were *Oetavius* extremely shattered as they lay at anchor, and most of his worsted at men cast away. These misfortunes obliged him to fortify sea. the coasts of *Italy*, lest *Pompey* should attempt an invasion; and send to *Anthony* for his assistance. However, in the midst of all these cares, he still found time for love. The charms of *Livia*, the wife of *Tiberius*, made so great an impression upon his heart, that he divorced *Scribonia*, whose bad temper he was not able to bear; and, either by his intreaties or authority, made *Tiberius* quit *Livia*, whom he married, though He mar-then big with child, all the priests allowing it. *Livia*.

Anthony was now arrived at *Brundusium* with three hundred ships: part of which, being of no use to him in his *Parthian* Year of expedition, he designed to exchange with *Oetavius* for land *Rome 716.* forces. But this last having received news of *Agrippa*'s quelling the *Gauls*, and having also got together a good fleet of his own, would willingly have dispensed with *Anthony*'s coming. *Italy*. He thought him already too powerful, and therefore, under various pretences, would fain have declined going to meet him. This so offended *Anthony*, who had long been jealous of his colleague, that he could not help complaining bitterly of him. *Oetavia* generously undertook to mediate between them, and, with the assistance of *Agrippa* and *Mæcenas*, happily cleared up all misunderstandings, and brought *Oetavius* to an interview with *Anthony*; in which the exchange which this last desired, was made: and as the time which had been fixed for the duration of the triumvirate was almost expired, they, of their own authority, without any regard to the suffrages of the senate or people, prolonged their power for five years more. *Anthony* departed for *Syria*, and *Oetavius* set about making great preparations for his expedition against *Pompey*.

He resolved to invade *Sicily* in three different places at the same time. *Lepidus*, whom he had sent from *Africa*, was prepared to land at *Lilybæum*, on the south of the island; *Statilius Taurus*, who was at *Tarentum*, on the east side, at Cape *Pachynum*; and *Oetavius* himself on the western coast, at Cape *Pompey*, *Pelorum*; whilst *Agrippa*, whom he had appointed commander in chief of his navy, was to cruise off *Mylae*, a city on the northern coast. *Mæcenas*, out of his natural levity, had already abandoned the party of *Oetavius*, and returned to *Pompey*. *Oetavius*'s fleet was again dispersed and greatly shattered by a storm: but he refitted it with all possible expedition, and sent it out again under the command of *Agrippa*, who first defeated *Pompey* at sea, then was worsted himself, and afterwards landed in *Sicily* twenty-one legions, two thousand horse, and five thousand light-armed men. Nothing memorable happened on land; but *Pompey* challenged his enemy at sea, and the offer being accepted, *Agrippa* tally

A GENERAL HISTORY

and int- tally defeated him, sinking twenty-eight of his ships, and
tirely de- taking or destroying the rest; so that out of three hundred
scats him. and fifty, only seventeen escaped. With these he fled towards
Ajia, desiring to throw himself upon the mercy of *Anthony*,
whose mother *Julia* he had formerly received with great civi-
lity, when she left *Rome*, during the war of *Perusia*. *Pom-
pey's* troops submitted to the conqueror; and *Messana*, after
holding out some time, yielded to *Lepidus*; so that all *Sicily*
was now brought into subjection.

Octavius
differs
with *Le-
pidus*,

who is
banished.
Year of
Rome 718.

This victory proved the ruin of *Lepidus*, who having now
twenty-two legions and a strong body of cavalry under his
command, pleased himself with the ambitious thought of
getting all *Sicily* into his hands, and even pretended a right
to it, as having been first invaded by him. *Octavius* sent to
him, to complain of this proceeding; but *Lepidus* haughtily
answered, *That he would not suffer Octavius to take upon him
all the authority of the triumvirate, when he had an equal right to
it*. Upon this reply, *Octavius*, having first gained over, by
his emissaries, the greatest part of *Lepidus's* officers, repaired
to his camp, attended with a strong body of horse. He no
sooner appeared, than the legions taken in *Messana*, whom
he had already found means to corrupt, flocked to him, of-
fering him their service. *Lepidus*, alarmed at this, fell upon
Octavius at the head of his guards, killed his shield-bearer
close by him, wounded him, and obliged him to retire. But
the next day *Lepidus* had the mortification to see himself
abandoned by all his troops, who, with their ensigns dis-
played, marched out of their camp in good order, to join his
rival. The unhappy triumvir, thus forsaken, quitted all the
marks of his authority, and, putting on a mourning robe,
threw himself at the feet of his colleague, and begged his life;
which was granted him with his estate; *Octavius* despising
him too much to take it from him. *Suetonius* says he was
banished to *Circeii*, a small town on the coast of *Latium*, and
there ended his life in obscurity and contempt. Thus the
whole authority of the triumvirate devolved upon *Anthony* and
Octavius, who held the *Roman* empire divided between them;
the former having all the east from the borders of *Illyricum*
and the *Adriatic* Gulph, and the latter all the rest. *Pompey*
was shortly after killed in *Phrygia* by *Anthony's* order.

Octavius
returns to
Rome.

Octavius, after staying some short time in *Sicily*, to settle
affairs there, returned to *Rome*; where he was received with
all possible demonstrations of joy. The senate, in a body,
met him at the gates, and, followed by all the people crowned
with garlands, conducted him to the capitol; from whence,
after he had returned thanks to the gods for the success of
his arms, they attended him to his palace. The next day he
assembled the senate, and, in a studied speech, gave them an
account of his expedition, and assured them, that he had
undertaken so many toils and dangers with no other view
than

than to restore peace and tranquility to *Rome*. When he had ended his speech, he withdrew ; and the senators, no longer swayed with a love of liberty, but a spirit of slavery, and the meanest flattery, decreed him such honours as he himself was ashamed to assume. However, he gave leave for erecting his statue of gold in the *forum*, with this inscription, *To Cæsar, for having restored peace by sea and land*; and to appoint an annual feast to be celebrated on the day he had overcome *Pompey*. A triumph was decreed him, but he would have only an ovation : after which he assembled the people, and having returned them thanks for the honour they had bestowed on him, he lessened the taxes, and forgave those who had hired houses of the public, all the rents they owed to the Treasury. As the city, as well as the country, had been greatly infested with thieves and robbers, during the late troubles, he ordered *Sabinus*, one of his lieutenants, to pursue and bring to justice all of them that could be found in *Italy* and *Sicily* : and at the same time he established at *Rome* several companies for the guard of the city. By this means, peace and tranquility were restored ; which, together with the plenty he procured, being now master of *Sicily*, gained the affections of all the people to such a degree, that some cities went even so far as to erect altars to him, especially after one generous action, which gave them a high opinion of his prudence and good nature. He had found, among *Pompey*'s papers, a great many letters to him from some of the chief men in the senate. These he brought into the *forum*, and, before all the people, threw them unopened into the fire, protesting, *that he sacrificed his private resentments to the public good*. At the same time he solemnly declared, *That his intention was, to resign his authority as soon as Anthony should return from the Parthian war*. This declaration, however, insincere, absolutely gained him the hearts of the undiscerning multitude, who immediately *Oetavius* chose him tribune of the people for his life, hoping this new chosen dignity might induce him to lay down the odious title of tribune umvir. He readily accepted the perpetual tribuneship, which for life rendered his person sacred and inviolable ; but put off the suppression of the triumvirate till *Anthony*'s return, sending *Bibulus* to him in the mean time, to inform him of his resolution. After this, *Octavius* left *Rome*, and marched against the *Illyrians*, who had revolted.

It was believed that the death of *Pompey* would have put an end to all civil war : but the unbounded ambition of *Oetavius* and *Anthony* soon involved the *Roman* state in new troubles. *Anthony*'s passion for *Cleopatra*, and the extravagant presents of whole provinces which he made her, served *Oetavius* for a pretence to make war upon him in reality, to rid himself of a competitor so formidable, both for his valour and the high reputation he had gained among the soldiery. *Anthony* had led *Octavia* into *Italy*, and passed into *Syria*, whither he had invited *Cleopatra*, and gave her all *Phœnicia*,

Cælo-Syria, Cyprus, and a great part of Cilicia, Arabia, and Anthony's Judæa. These profuse gifts much displeased the Roman people, who daily published scurrilous lampoons, censuring his conduct, and turning him into ridicule, on account of the scandalous life he led with Cleopatra. Soon after, he marched against the Parthians with an army which made all the east tremble, but which served only to render his retreat more shameful, as we have related in the history of the Parthians. As all the misfortunes he met with in that fatal expedition were owing to his passion for Cleopatra, which made him neglect the more proper measures, to follow those only which might hasten his return to her, the Romans were highly incensed against him. But what most of all provoked them was, his taking Artabazes, king of Armenia, in the treacherous manner we have related in the history of that kingdom, and leading him in triumph into Alexandria; the Romans looking upon the ceremony of triumphing as appropriated wholly to their city.

Octavius stirs them up against him. Octavius took advantage of Anthony's impolitic conduct to exasperate the people still more against him; and when he found them sufficiently incensed, he resolved to send Octavia to her husband, that he might have a plausible pretence to declare war against him, if he should offer her the affront of sending her back without seeing her. Anthony was now at Leucopolis in Syria, waiting impatiently for the arrival of Cleopatra, who at last came, with great quantities of cloaths for the soldiers, and a vast sum of money; at least Anthony gave her the honour of it, when he distributed it. Almost at the same time, Octavia sent him word from Athens, where she had stopped, that she had brought with her cloaths, arms, and horses for his soldiers, with rich presents for his friends and officers, and two thousand chosen men well armed. This was very unwelcome news to Cleopatra, who, fearing the presence of a virtuous rival, feigned a deep melancholy, abstained from food, shed tears, and practised every art that could excite Anthony's tenderness; by which she prevailed so far, that he laid aside his expedition against Parthia, and sent Octavia word to return to Rome. After this he went with Cleopatra to Egypt.

Anthony again offends the Roman people. This injurious treatment of Octavia drew upon him the resentment of all the Romans, which was heightened by his behaviour immediately after at Alexandria, where, after feasting all the inhabitants of that city with great magnificence, and causing a throne of silver to be erected in the most public place, with two seats of gold, one for himself and the other for Cleopatra, and lower seats at their feet for his children, he proclaimed Cleopatra queen of Egypt, Cyprus, Africa, and Cælo-Syria, associating with her Cæsario, the son she had by Julius Cæsar. To his own children by her he gave, to Alexander, the eldest, Armenia, Media, Parthia, and the rest of the eastern provinces from the Euphrates to the Indus;

Indus; to *Cleopatra*, the twin-sister of *Alexander*, *Lybia* and *Cyrene*; and to *Ptolemy*, whom he surnamed *Philadelphus*, *Phœnicia*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and all the countries of the *Lesser Asia* from the *Euphrates* to the *Hellefpon*; and he conferred on each of them the title of *King of kings*. During this pompous ceremony, *Cleopatra* appeared dressed like the goddess *Ijis*, and *Anthony* like the god *Oſiris*.

Octavius, taking advantage of the general resentment *Octavius* against *Anthony*, accused him before the senate and people, accuses of this and several other attempts highly injurious to the ma- him before jesty of the *Roman* empire; upon which, *Anthony* sent some the senate. of his friends to *Rome* to plead his cause, and accuse *Octa- vius* in his turn; but this last justified himself to the entire satisfaction of the *Romans*. *Octavia* used her utmost endea- vours to bring about a reconciliation, but in vain, her ef- forts serving only to incense the people still more against *Anthony*, for his ill usage of a lady of her extraordinary merit. Both sides resolved upon a war. *Anthony* ordered *Canidius*, Both sides one of his lieutenants, to march immediately with sixteen prepare legions to the coasts of the *Ionian* sea, and there keep him- for war. self in readiness to pass over into *Europe* at a day's warning; whilst he himself hastened with *Cleopatra* to *Ephesus*, where his lieutenants had got together eight hundred vessels, of which *Cleopatra* furnished two hundred, with twenty thou- sand talents, and provisions for all his forces. *Anthony*, by the advice of his friends, was going to send *Cleopatra* back into *Egypt*, there to wait the event of the war; but she, fearing lest a peace should be made in her absence, and *An- thony* be again reconciled to *Octavia*, bribed *Canidius* to re- present to *Anthony* a number of inconveniences that her de- parture would occasion, and particularly the depriving him of the assistance of the *Egyptians*, who were the best part of his navy. These counsels, and her own artful insinuations prevailed.

Anthony and *Cleopatra* went together to *Samos*, to which Behaviour place all the kings, princes, and nations, from *Egypt* to the of *Antho- ny* and *Euxine* sea, and from *Armenia* to *Illyricum*, were ordered to *Cleopatra* proclaim, that all stage-players, dancers, singers, buffoons, at *Samos*. &c. should repair to the same island; so that frequently, when a ship was thought to come laden with soldiers, arms, and ammunition, it proved to be full of players, scenes, and machines; and whilst all the rest of the world was in tears, and great dread of the approaching war, joy and all kind of pleasure reigned at *Samos*, as if they had abandoned all other places to reside there. Thither each city within the limits of *Anthony*'s government was ordered to send an ox to be offered in sacrifice, and the kings who accompanied him contended who should make the most sumptuous entertain- ments; insomuch that the spectators could not help asking one

one another, *What rejoicings they would make after a victory, who made such magnificent feasts before a dangerous war?*

Anthony's stay at *Samos* was very favourable to *Oetavius*, who could make but small preparations for war, by reason of the discontent of all the *Italian* cities, occasioned by the heavy taxes laid upon them, and increased by the news of *Anthony's* approach with such formidable forces. But when they saw that all *Anthony's* parade tended only to fill the public places and theatres of *Samos*, *Oetavius* found means to appease them, and put himself in a posture of disputing the empire upon an equal footing with his enemies. A step which *Anthony* now took rendered him more odious than ever; for having brought *Cleopatra* to *Athens*, and there heaped upon her greater honours than ever mortal had received before, he solemnly divorced *Oetavia*, and sent orders to *Rome* to drive her out of her house. *Oetavia* readily obeyed, without murmuring, only lamenting her hard fate, in being made one of the causes of a civil war. Several of his friends, unable any longer to bear with his disorders, abandoned him, and went over to *Oetavius*, who having now got possession of *Anthony's* will, which had been lodged with the vestals at *Rome*, found therein new matter to complain of to the senate and people; *Anthony* having bequeathed most of the *Roman* provinces under his command to *Cleopatra*, and ordered, that wherever he should die, though at *Rome* itself, his body should be sent into *Egypt* to *Cleopatra*, to be buried as she should direct. To this was added a report, that *Anthony* designed to give *Rome* to *Cleopatra*, if his arms were prosperous, and to transfer the seat of the empire into *Egypt*.

Year of Rome 72. *Oetavius* now finding himself in a condition to encounter *Anthony* with equal forces, no longer delayed declaring war, but caused it to be decreed only against *Cleopatra*, for fear of provoking *Anthony's* friends, who were still very numerous and powerful. However, *Anthony* was deprived of the consulate, and his government was taken from him, for suffering himself to be ruled by a woman. The decree implied besides, that *Cleopatra* had so bewitched *Anthony* with her charms and potions, as to bereave him of his senses; and that it was not he who was to manage the war against the *Romans*, but *Mardicon* her eunuch, and *Iras* and *Charmia*, her women, who were now become *Anthony's* governors. All his followers were invited over with great promises of rewards, but not declared enemies, partly to prevent their growing desperate, and partly to render *Anthony* more inexcusable in making war against his country for the sake of an *Egyptian* woman.

The forces of Oetavius The forces of these two generals were answerable to the empire they contended for, one drawing all the east, and the other the west to his party. All the several kings of *Asia*,

Asia, that were allies of the *Romans*, followed the fortune of *Anthony*, some in person, others only with their troops, and *Antony* all which, together with *Anthony's* forces, composed an army of *Anthony*. of an hundred thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse; and his fleet consisted of five hundred ships of war, some of which had eight, and some ten banks of oars. As for *Octavius*, he had no foreign princes in his army, which amounted only to eighty thousand foot, but was as strong in cavalry as the enemy's. He had but two hundred and fifty ships; but they were lighter, better manned, and more convenient than *Anthony's*.

As soon as the season would permit, both armies took the *Anthony* field, and the fleets put to sea. *Anthony's* fleet sailed into encamps the gulf of *Ambracia*, between the islands of *Corcyra* and *Cephallenia*, and his army encamped at *Actium*, near his fleet. Whilst *Anthony's* fleet lay at anchor there, *Octavius*, crossing fleet. the *Ionian* sea, surprized *Toryne*, a small city near *Actium*, and appeared the next morning, at break of day, off *Actium*, with his ships in order of battle. As *Anthony's* legions were not yet arrived, he had but a small number of soldiers on board his fleet, and consequently must have been defeated, had *Octavius* attacked him. But this last, afraid to venture an engagement in that narrow passage, *Agrippa* being absent, stood off to sea.

Octavius's land-forces were encamped on the other side of the mouth of the gulf of *Ambracia*. While he lay there, *Anthony*, who was well acquainted with the country, found means to cut off the water from his camp, which much distressed his army. In the mean time, the brave *Agrippa* ravaged the coasts of *Greece*, intercepted all the convoys that were coming to *Anthony* from *Egypt*, *Syria*, and *Asia*, stormed several cities, and, in the sight of *Anthony*, made himself master of *Leucas*, a small island near *Actium*, and of the ships that were there. The cities of *Mathona*, *Leucadia*, *Petas*, and *Corinth* submitted to him. He defeated *Q. Nasidius*, whom *Anthony* had sent to stop the progress of his conquests; and as he was returning from the coasts of *Greece*, to join *Octavius*, he fell in with *Socius*, one of *Anthony's* admirals, who had just put to flight *L. Taurensis*, whom *Octavius* had sent out with a numerous squadron to watch the motions of the enemy. *Agrippa* attacked him, took some of his ships, sunk others, and dispersed the rest. *Socius* himself perished, and with him *Tracondimotus*, king of *Cilicia*. At the same time, a great body of *Anthony's* cavalry, commanded by himself, was defeated by a detachment of *Octavius's*, under the command of *Titius* and *Statilius Taurus*. These advantages re-animated *Octavius's* soldiers, brought several of *Anthony's* friends over to him, and made *Anthony* himself abandon in the night the camp he had fortified over against the enemy's, and retire to *Actium*, on the other side of the gulf.

At

A GENERAL HISTORY

Among the persons of distinction who went over to *Oetavius* on this occasion, were, the kings *Amyntas* and *Deiotarus*, and *Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, the last year's consul, who, notwithstanding his affection to *Anthony*, could no longer bear the haughty and insolent behaviour of *Cleopatra*. The desertion of *Domitius*, whom *Anthony* looked upon as one of his best friends, stung him to the heart ; but, with his natural generosity, he sent after him all his equipage, friends, and servants, which so sensibly touched *Domitius*, who, was sick of a fever when he fled, that he died soon after, his distemper being increased by the cutting reflection of having abandoned a man who thus requited his infidelity with kindness only.

Anthony
resolves
upon a
sea-fight.

At length *Canidius* arrived with the legions, and, seeing the danger near, changed his mind with relation to *Cleopatra*, whom he now advised *Anthony* to send back, and to go himself into *Macedonia*, where he might fight by land with so much the more advantage, as *Dicomes*, king of the *Getae*, was ready to join him with a great army. *Anthony* was much inclined to follow this advice ; but *Cleopatra*, whose words were oracles with him, byassed him the other way, and obliged him, against his own judgment, to hazard the empire and his life, in a sea-fight. This resolution being taken, *Anthony*, knowing the effeminacy of the *Egyptians*, and fearing they would turn their backs as soon as the fight began, set fire to all their ships, except sixty, which he left to serve as a guard for the queen ; and out of the squadrons of his allies he chose the best gallies, from three ranks of oars to ten, and burnt the rest, for want of mariners to man them.

Both fleets were now ready to engage ; but a violent storm, which continued for four days together, prevented them. On the fifth, the sea being calm, they advanced towards each other in good order. *Gellius Publicola* commanded *Anthony*'s right wing, *Cælius* the left, and *Marcus Oetavius* and *Marcus Justeius* the main body. On *Oetavius*'s side, *Agrippa* was placed in the centre, having *Larius* on his right, and *Aruntius* on his left. *Anthony* and *Oetavius* had no particular post, but went each in a little vessel from one division to another, encouraging their men, and putting them in mind of their former exploits and victories. *The largeness of your ships*, said *Anthony* to his men, *gives you an opportunity of fighting as firmly as on dry land*. *From your valour I expect this day the empire of the world*, and you may depend upon rewards answerable to so noble a conquest. *Oetavius* gave no less hopes to his soldiers, and ended his speech with saying, *The enemy's vessels are laden indeed, but not manned ; and if they exceed us in multitudes of men, we surpass them in number of soldiers*. *Be therefore now, as ye have ever been, conquerors*. *To speak more, were to detain you from victory*. *Only call to mind your ancient valour, and remember, that I am Cæsar, and that you are Romans*.

The armies of the two contending chiefs, to the number of two hundred thousand men, were drawn up, the one on

the

the north, and the other on the south side of the *Ambracian* The battle of *Actium*, gulf, waiting the event of the battle at sea, which was begun with equal bravery on both sides, and lasted several hours, with as fair a prospect of success for *Anthony* as for *Octavius*; when *Cleopatra*, wearied with expectation, or *Cleopatra* overcome with fear, on a sudden tacked about with her sixty ships, and fled towards *Peloponnesus*. *Anthony* struck with amazement at this sight, betrayed a weakness scarce to be imagined, and confirmed, as *Plutarch* observes, the ancient saying, that *a lover's soul lives in another's body*; for he no sooner saw the queen's ship under sail, than, forgetting the duty of a general, and renouncing the empire of the world, as if her absence had been all he had to fear, he threw himself into a small ship, and, attended only by two domestics, abandoned his men, who were sacrificing their lives in his service, to follow a base woman, who had long since begun, and was now completing his destruction. As soon as he came up with *Cleopatra*'s galley, he was taken on board; but, without so much as seeing her, he placed himself at the stern, and there, leaning his elbows on his knees, and his head on both his hands, as one confounded with anger and shame for his ill conduct, he remained a long while in that melancholy posture. His fleet His fleet submits. His men still continued the battle with great bravery till the evening, when, partly by the great conduct of *Agrippa*, and partly by the promises of *Octavius*, they were induced to submit. Three hundred men were killed in the whole action. *Anthony*'s land forces shewed no less fidelity and affection for their commander, than his marines had done. They could not be brought to believe, that a general, who had nineteen legions intire, and twelve thousand horse, could basely desert them; and especially *Anthony* who had so often seen fortune in all her shapes, as *Plutarch* expresses it, and been so accustomed to changes. They expected that he would soon appear from some part or other, and, putting himself at their head, give them an opportunity of shewing their zeal for him, which was such, that even after they were sure he had forsaken them, and they were surrounded both by sea and land, they kept in a body for seven days together, and rejected the advantageous offers *Octavius* made them; till at last, being and his army. abandoned by *Canidius* and all their chief officers, who privately made their escape, they submitted on honourable terms, and were incorporated among *Octavius*'s legions. The auxiliaries, who had served under *Anthony*, retired to their respective countries, and made their peace with the conqueror on the best terms they could. Some of them were disbanded, others continued in their former state, but all were heavily taxed. The *Romans* in general were treated with great clemency, only a few of the most inveterate being punished with death.

Anthony

Anthony continued in his melancholy three days, without seeing *Cleopatra*, till he arrived at *Tænarus* in *Laconia*, where her woman brought them to converse together as formerly, and he shewed himself as fond of her as ever. Here he learnt the fate of his navy ; but not suspecting the defection of his army, he wrote to *Canidius* to retreat through *Macedonia* into *Asia*, proposing to renew the war there. He then gave his friends that were about him one of his largest ships, laden with a vast treasure, desiring them to share it among them, and provide for their own safety. They, with tears, refused to accept it, protesting they would never forsake him : but he absolutely commanded them to depart, and leave him to his evil destiny. After this he retired to *Africa*, from whence he sent *Cleopatra* into *Egypt*, and soon after followed her thither. What ensued farther with regard to *Anthony* and *Cleopatra*, together with the affecting circumstances of their death, and the reduction of *Egypt* by *Octavius*, belongs properly to the history of that country, to which we therefore refer our readers. All *Anthony*'s statues, both in *Egypt* and at *Rome*, were thrown down, and intirely demolished ; his memory was declared infamous by the servile senate ; and a decree was passed, enacting, that none of his family should ever after bear the name of *Marcus*.

Octavius After *Octavius* had reduced *Egypt*, and settled the affairs of returns to the east, he returned to *Rome*, where he was received with universal joy and satisfaction, and had three triumphs decreed him ; the first for *Illyricum*, the second for the battle of *Aetium*, and the third for the conquest of *Egypt*. The temple of *Janus*, which had stood open two hundred and five years, was now closed, and *Rome* was so much enriched by the immense treasures which *Octavius* and his soldiers brought out of *Egypt*, that the interest of money fell from ten to four per cent. After his triumph, the name of emperor was conferred on him, not in the common sense, as importing only a title of honour, but as expressing a sovereign power and uncontrollable authority.

Octavius *Octavius*, now sole master of the *Roman* empire, partly by reforms the power with which the people had at several times invested him, and partly by the ruin of his enemies, was at the height of his wishes, and resolved to exercise all the clemency of a good prince, and all the art of a refined politician. His first care was to assure himself of *Anthony*'s adherents ; to which end he gave out, that he had burnt all *Anthony*'s papers without reading them ; well knowing, that as long as any thought themselves suspected adversaries, they would never be real friends. He gave to the senators and magistrates sumptuous feasts and entertainments, and to the people magnificent shews and plays, accompanied with such an air of benevolence, and intermixed with such a variety of pleasures, as might reasonably banish their sorrows for the old proscription, and remove their fears of a new one. He regulated

regulated many abuses and corruptions in the state with great wisdom and dexterity ; and though he did not give up the least part of his authority, yet he exercised it with such discretion and moderation, that the commonwealth was happier under his government, than when it enjoyed all its privileges. He allowed the people their due liberties, but retrenched the licentiousness of cabals and factions ; and to the senate he restored its ancient splendor, but banished its late corruption. He contented himself with a moderate power, which would not allow him the freedom of doing ill ; but he made it absolute, when it imposed upon others the necessity of doing well : so that the people were not less free, but in matters of sedition ; nor the senate less powerful, but in matters of injustice ; and the *Romans* seemed to have lost nothing of the happiness that liberty might produce, but only the misfortunes it might occasion.

Having thus established good order in the state, *Octavius Octavius* began to be extremely perplexed in his mind, and long considered within himself, whether he ought to retain the government of the empire, or restore the people to their first liberty. The examples of *Sylla* and *Julius Cæsar* filled him with doubts and difficulties, when he considered that the former, who had voluntarily resigned his power, died peaceably in the midst of his enemies ; and the latter, for retaining it, was assassinated in full senate by his most intimate friends. On the other hand, he reflected, that the commonwealth had been so extremely harassed and broken by violent factions and civil wars, that the yoke would prove their greatest relief, especially as he would manage it. He found too, that the people of *Rome* had almost entirely lost their ancient vigour and desire of liberty, and the senate much of its former firmness and resolution ; and that the corruptions of the state were so numerous, and so dangerous, that nothing but a change could cure or correct them. In this perplexed situation he determined to consult his two most intimate and trusty friends, *Agrippa* and *Mæcenas*, the former no less famous for his probity than his valour, and the latter a man of great penetration, and generally esteemed the best politician of his age.

Agrippa, sensible only of that glory which is acquired by great and heroic actions, frankly declared for a generous advises resignation, and exhorted *Octavius* to convince the world, him to it. by restoring liberty to his country, that the only motive for his taking up arms was to revenge his uncle's death. *Mæcenas*, on the contrary, represented to him, that he had done dissuaded too much to go back ; that, after so much blood-shed, there from it by could be no safety for him but on the throne ; that, if he *Mæcenas*. divested himself of the sovereign power, he would be immediately prosecuted by the children and friends of the many illustrious persons, whom the misfortunes of the times had forced him to sacrifice to his safety ; and that it was absolutely necessary for the welfare and tranquility of the republic

A GENERAL HISTORY

public, that the sovereign power should be in the hands of one, and not divided among many. *Octavius* thanked them for their friendly advice, but inclined to the opinion of *Mæcenas*, who thereupon gave him many excellent instruction and rules of government, which are related at length by *Dion Cæsius*. Among other things he told him, *That he could not fail of being successful in all his undertakings, happy in his life-time, and famous in history after his death, if he governed others as he would wish to be governed himself, had he been born to obey, and not to command.* He added, *That if, in taking upon him the sovereign power, he feared the name of king, as odious in a commonwealth, he might take the title of Cæsar, or Imperator, and under that name, which was well known to the Romans, enjoy the authority of a king.*

He continues the old magistrates.

From this time *Octavius* laid aside all thoughts of quitting the sovereign power; but, to deceive the people into a belief that they still enjoyed their ancient government, he continued the old magistrates, with the same name, pomp, and ornaments as before, but with only what power he thought fit to leave them. They were to have no military power; but were, as before, to judge finally all causes, except such as were capital, some of which were left to the governor of *Rome*, but the chief he reserved to himself. He paid great court to the people, making the very name that covered his usurpation a compliment to them, by affecting to call it the *power of the tribuneship*. He likewise won the hearts of the populace, by procuring them plenty and cheapness of provisions, and frequently entertaining them with shews and diversions; by which means he kept them in good humour, and made them forget usurpation, slavery, and every public evil; people in ease and plenty being under no temptation of inquiring into the title of their prince, or resenting acts of power, which they do not immediately feel.

He increases the senate,

but divests them of all power.

He and *Agrippa* being made censors, among other things belonging to that office, he took care to purge the senate of many unqualified members, which had crept into it during the late civil wars, and then filled it up with creatures of his own, increasing the number to a thousand. He supplied several poor senators with money out of the treasury, to enable them to discharge the public offices, and always shewed a great respect for that venerable assembly, and a desire to preserve their ancient glory and dignity, whilst he was, in fact, divesting them of all power and authority. To prevent them from raising new disturbances in the distant provinces, which he well knew how easy it might be for persons of their high rank to do in the then unsettled state of affairs, he issued an edict, forbidding any senator to travel out of *Italy* without leave, except such as had lands in *Sicily*, or *Narbonese Gaul*, provinces adjoining to *Italy*, and not in a condition to do any harm.

Year of Rome 726. Before *Octavius* ended his sixth consulship, in which *Agrippa* was his colleague, he took a *census* of the people, being forty-

forty-one years since the last, and in this the number of men *O^tavius* fit to bear arms amounted to four hundred and fifty-three numbers thousand, the most that had ever yet been found. He like- the people wise celebrated the games, which had been decreed for his victory at *Actium*; and it was ordered that they should be repeated every fifth year, four colleges of priests called *pontifices, augurs, septemviri, and quindecimviri*, being appointed to take care of them in their turns. He instituted many other games at his own expence, to amuse the people, and divert their attention from his actions and their ancient freedom; giving them also four times as much corn as they used to have. All debts due to the exchequer before the battle of *Actium*, were cancelled, excepting such as were for buildings erected at the public expence; and several severe and unjust laws, which had been made during the triumvirate, were annulled. He raised many public buildings, repaired the old ones, and added several stately ornaments to the city, which, if we may credit some ancient writers, was at this time fifty miles in circumference, and contained near four millions of souls.

Octavius, now entering upon his seventh consulship, in Year of which *Agrippa* was again his colleague, finding all things ripe *Rome 727.* for his design, the people being highly pleased with his mild government, and the senate filled with his creatures, whose fortunes depended upon his holding the power he had usurped, went, by the advice of *Mæcenas* and *Agrippa*, to *O^tavius* the senate-house, and there, in a studied speech, offered to offers to resign his authority, and restore the government of the *resign his commonwealth to the people*. This, as he knew would be power. the case, was strongly opposed by the majority of the senators, who often interrupted him whilst he was speaking, But is and, after he had done, unanimously besought him to take prevailed upon himself alone the government of the *Roman empire*. on by the He, with seeming reluctance, yielded to their requests, but senate to would accept of it only for ten years, in which time, he keep it. said, he should be able to settle all things in such peace and order, that there would be no further need of his authority, and he might put the government again into the hands of the senate and people. With this new authority the senate resolved to distinguish him with a new name. That of *Ro-*
mulus was proposed by some, *Augustus* by others, and this last, by which we shall henceforth call him, was that which he chose; the former favouring too much of royalty. For the greater safety of his person, it was decreed, that the pay of his guards should be double that of all other soldiers.

Thus *Augustus* got confirmed to him by the senate and His policy people, all the power and authority which he had usurped: in divid- but that he might still seem to share it with them, he assigned ing the to the senate the government of those provinces which were quiet and peaceable, and kept to himself such as, bordering provinces upon enemies, were most exposed to troubles, saying, *That* with the *he*

be desired the fathers might enjoy their power with ease and safety, whilst he underwent all the fatigue and danger. By this policy, he secured all the military power to himself, the troops lying in the provinces he had chosen ; and the others, which were to be governed by the senate, being quite destitute of forces. These last were called *senatorial*, and the former *imperial* provinces. The senatorial were, *Africa*, *Numidia*, *Lybia*, *Cyrenaica*, *Asia Minor*, *Greece*, *Epirus*, *Dalmatia*, *Macedonia*, *Crete*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and that part of *Spain* called *Bætica*. The imperial provinces were, the rest of *Spain*, all *Gaul* and *Germany*, *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Cilicia*, *Cyprus*, and *Egypt*. After this he set over the provinces of both sorts men of patrician dignity, with the titles of *Pro-consuls* and *Pro-prætors*; but over *Egypt* only a private knight, fearing lest a person of high rank might avail himself of the wealth and situation of that country, to raise new disturbances in the empire. *Africa* and *Asia* were given to senators, and the rest of the provinces to *prætorians*; but none of them were to enter upon this employment within five years after they had borne offices in the city ; nor was any one to hold his government above a year, but, upon the arrival of his successor, to depart immediately for *Rome*, and be there within three months after at farthest. Thus ended the greatest commonwealth, and at the same time began the greatest monarchy that ever was known.

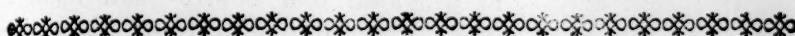
The end
of the
common-
wealth.

The *Roman* dominions, now almost at their greatest extent, contained at this time, in *Europe*, *Italy*, both the *Gauls*, *Spain*, *Greece*, *Illyricum*, *Dacia*, *Pannonia*, and some part of *Britain* and *Germany* : in *Asia*, all those provinces which went under the name of *Asia Minor*, *Armenia*, *Syria*, *Judæa*, with part of *Mesopotamia* and *Media* ; and in *Africa*, *Egypt*, *Afric*, *Numidia*, *Mauritania*, and *Lybia* ; besides many islands and parts of other provinces. This vast empire, comprehending the greatest, and by far the best part of the then known world, was near four thousand miles in length, and about half as much in breadth ; and its yearly revenues have, by a modest computation, been reckoned to amount to forty millions of our money. As to the *Romans* themselves, they had nothing left of the noble spirit, and manly virtues of their ancestors, but were sunk in luxury and effeminacy. The people, who had been wont to direct mighty wars, to raise or depose the greatest kings, and to bestow or take away vast empires, were now so lost to all sense of greatness, that if they had but bread and shews, their ambition went no higher ; and the nobility, more learned indeed, and more polite, than in former ages, were grown idle, venal, vicious, insensible of private virtues, utter strangers to public glory or disgrace, void of zeal for the welfare of their country, and solely intent on gaining the favour of the prince, as knowing, that certain wealth and preferment were the rewards of ready submission, acquiescence, and flattery.

BOOK XV.

THE

ROMAN HISTORY.



CHAP. I.

*From the Reign of Augustus to that of Constantine,
when the Seat of the Empire was transferred to
Constantinople.*

AUGUSTUS EMPEROR.

THE affairs of *Rome* were never in a more flourishing condition, than when *Augustus* became master of the empire. His first care was to satisfy his soldiers, and attach them firmly to his interest. To this end, and that he might the more easily reassemble them in case of need, he disposed them all over *Italy*, in thirty-two colonies. Twenty-five legions, with their auxiliaries, were maintained in the provinces. Of these, seventeen were in *Europe*: viz. eighteen on the *Rhine*, four on the *Danube*, three in *Spain*, and two in *Dalmatia*. The other eight were in *Asia* and *Africa*: namely, four upon the borders of the *Euphrates*, and in *Syria*; two in *Egypt*, and two in the antient dominions of *Carthage*. These forces, amounting to one hundred and seventy thousand, six hundred and fifty men, reckoning six thousand one hundred foot, and seven hundred and twenty-six horse, in each legion, were, for some ages after, constantly kept on foot, even in the most peaceable times. In the neighbourhood of *Rome* were always quartered twelve cohorts, consisting of about ten thousand men; of which, nine were called *praetorians*, and the other three *city cohorts*. These were to guard the emperor's person, and to protect and keep peace in the city. Besides these numerous and well-disciplined land-forces, *Augustus* kept constantly at sea two powerful fleets: the one near *Ravenna*, in the *Upper, or Adriatic, Sea*, to command and defend *Dalmatia, Greece, Crete, Cyprus, Asia*, and the rest of the eastern provinces; and the other at *Misenum*, in the *Lower, or Mediterranean, Sea*; to awe and protect *Gaul, Spain, Africa*, and the western provinces. They were likewise to keep the seas clear

Year of
Rome 727.Forces of
the em-
pire.

Augustus. of pirates, and to convoy the ships that came to *Rome* with the tributes of the provinces beyond sea, and the necessary provisions for the subsistence of the city.

Agustus studying to preserve peace, and to gain the hearts and affections of the people, corrected several abuses which had crept into the civil government; reformed many of the antient laws, and enacted new ones: but in all this he affected to do nothing without the approbation of the senate.

Augustus. The *comitia* were held as formerly, but such only were chosen for the great offices, as *Agustus* had before-hand recommended to the centuries. The same officers of state, the same names, pomp, and ornaments were continued, with all the appearance of authority, but without the least power. The tribunes were permitted to intercede for the people, but not to prefer or hinder any bill. The affairs of religion were left on their antient footing, *Agustus* being sensible how dangerous it must be to attempt any alterations in that respect, in a yet unsettled empire. *Italy*, and particularly *Rome*, was infested with gangs of robbers. Those he totally extirpated in a short time, and re-established public security. He also burned all the old bonds and accounts which were due to the public Treasury, and released all prisoners who were confined at the malicious suits either of their creditors, or of informers. At the same time he took great care to re-peopple *Italy*, much depopulated by the late civil wars, by bringing into it twenty-eight new colonies from *Cisalpine Gaul*, and joining that country to the proper territories of the *Romans*. The mending of the high-ways, and repairing many public edifices, were likewise objects of his attention. These things were highly pleasing to the people and senate, who, as a token of their satisfaction, honoured him with the title of *Father of his country*.

It might have been reasonably expected, that the mildness of *Agustus's* new government, and the wisdom of his institutions, should have prevented all disturbances in the conquered countries. But so prevailing is the love of liberty, that *Britain*, *Gaul*, and part of *Spain*, prepared to shake *Gaul*, and off the *Roman* yoke. Upon this, *Agustus* opened the temple part of *Janus*, which had been shut near five years, and departed Spain, re-volted immediately for *Gaul*. On his arrival at *Narbonne* he was met by deputies from the *Britons* and *Gauls*, with offers of submission, and promises of future obedience. He therefore

The *Britons* and *Gauls*, submit. made no long stay in that country, but hastened to chastise the *Spaniards*, especially the *Cantabrians* and *Asturians*, who had now done much damage to the *Roman* allies. He soon came up with the enemy, defeated them in a pitched battle near the river *Iberus*, and forced them to retire with their wives and children to one of their highest mountains, now called the Mountain of *Asturias*, where they strongly fortified themselves.

The

The *Romans*, finding it extremely hazardous to attack them in that advantageous post, surrounded them with a wide and deep ditch, fortified with castles and turrets : by which means, all the avenues and passages being shut up, those unhappy people were reduced to the utmost extremity for want of provisions : yet, such was their love of liberty, that, instead of yielding, they endured, for a long time, miseries hardly to be expressed ; the women devouring their own children, and the young men the old, to support the necessities of nature. After many unsuccessful attempts to force the *Roman* intrenchments, the *Asturians* were for throwing themselves upon the mercy of the conqueror ; but were therein opposed by the *Cantabrians*, who maintained, *that they ought, like brave men, to die sword in hand*. This dangerous contention was carried so far, that at last the *Cantabrians* drove ten thousand of the *Asturians*, with their wives and children, to the intrenchments of the *Romans*, where they begged, in the most moving manner, to be received on any terms. But the empress's son, *Tiberius*, then one of *Augustus*'s lieutenants, refusing to admit them into the camp, some of them fell upon their own swords, others lighted great fires and threw themselves into them, and others poisoned themselves with the juice of a venomous herb which grew in a forest near them. At length, the remainder of the enemy, being chiefly *Cantabrians*, to the number of twenty-three thousand men, were forced to surrender at discretion to the *Romans*, who incorporated ten thousand of them among their auxiliaries, to serve against the *Asturians*. The rest were disarmed and sold ; but most of these laid violent hands on themselves, despising their lives after the loss of their liberty and arms. *Cantabria*, now *Biscay*, being thus reduced, *Augustus* attacked the *Asturians* in their own country ; made himself master of their strong places, and intirely defeated them in a battle which lasted two days. Thus were the two most warlike nations of *Spain* forced to receive the yoke, without being ever after able to recover their liberty. Before *Augustus* left the country, he built several cities to keep the natives in awe ; among others, *Cæsar Augusta*, now *Saragossa*, and *Augusta Emerita*, now *Merida*. He likewise built a stone bridge over the *Iberus*, to facilitate the march of the *Roman* troops.

Whilst *Augustus* was thus employed in *Spain*, his lieutenants were not less successful in other parts. *Marcus Crassus* overcame the *Mæsians*, a fierce and savage people beyond the *Danube* : *M. Vincius* gained considerable advantages in *Germany* ; and *Terentius Varro* subdued the *Salassi*, a people and *Salassi* upon the *Alps*, disarmed them, and sent forty thousand of subdued. their youth into slavery for twenty years. *Augustus* divided their lands among the soldiers of his guard, and founded in this new colony a city which he called *Augusta Prætoria*, now *Aoſta*.

Augustus. *Aosta.* A stately monument was decreed to his honour, in the midst of the *Alps*, and the title of *Imperator* given him, for this victory.

About this time, *Cornelius Gallus*, to whom *Virgil* inscribed his tenth and last Eclogue, was condemned to perpetual banishment by the senate, for having spoken too freely of *Augustus*; but he prevented the execution of the sentence, by stabbing himself.

Agrippa embellishes Rome.

During *Augustus's* stay in *Spain*, *Agrippa* was not less employed in adorning *Rome*, than others were in extending her dominions. Among many public edifices which he built at his own expence, were the portico and temple of *Neptune*, the hot baths called by his name, and the famous *Pantheon*, which subsists entire to this day.

Julia married to Marcellus.

Year of Rome 73°.

Augustus, on his return to *Rome*, married *Anthony's* daughter *Cleopatra* to *Juba*, king of *Mauritania*; and his own daughter, *Julia*, whom he had by *Scribonia*, to his nephew and adopted son *Marcellus*, a youth of extraordinary accomplishments. He now entered upon his tenth consulship, with *Norbanus*; upon which the senate conferred a greater authority upon him than ever, freeing him from the obligation of the laws, and empowering him to govern the republic as he should think proper. At the same time, by a solemn oath, they approved of all his acts, and decreed, that *Marcellus*, though then not above sixteen years of age, should take place in the senate among those of the *prætorian* rank; and that he might stand for the consulship ten years sooner than was allowed by the laws. They likewise decreed, that *Augustus's* son-in-law, *Tiberius*, might stand for any office or magistracy five years before the usual time. These decrees were no sooner passed, than *Marcellus* was made ædile, and *Tiberius* quæstor.

Ælius Gallus sent to Arabia Fælix.

The unfortunate expedition of *Ælius Gallus*, against the southern *Arabs*, happened about this time. *Augustus*, being informed that their country abounded in gold, silver, and other riches, resolved either to make them his friends by treaties, or his subjects by conquest. To this end, he sent *Gallus* thither with ten thousand men; *Herod*, king of *Judæa*, furnishing five hundred more out of his own guards; and *Obodas*, king of the *Nabathæan Arabs*, a thousand, under the command of his chief minister *Syllæus*, who, under pretence of guiding the *Romans* in this expedition, treacherously led them a march of six months southward, into scorching sandy deserts, where most of them perished by famine or disease.

The Cantabrians and Asturians rebel, but subdued.

About the same time, the *Cantabrians* and *Asturians* made another attempt to recover their liberty; and having, by stratagem, surprised a considerable body of *Romans*, put them all to the sword. But *Ælius Lama*, whom *Augustus* had left governor of that part of *Spain*, soon revenged their death, laying

ing the whole country waste with fire and sword, and massacring most of their young men who were able to bear arms; by which means he reduced them to an entire subjection in less than a month.

The following year, *Augustus*, being then in his eleventh consulship, with *C. Calpurnius Piso*, had a dangerous fit *dangerously ill*. of sickness, from which it was thought he could not recover. He himself was of that opinion, and therefore sent for the chief magistrates of the state, to whom he delivered a book of his own writing, which contained an exact account of all the towns, provinces, allies, forces, riches, and taxes, of the whole *Roman empire*; at the same time putting into the hands of his colleague *Piso* his last will, the contents of which were never known, as it was not to be opened till after his death: but, from his not naming a successor, which every one expected would have been *Marcellus*, and his giving the above-mentioned register to the magistrates, in so critical a juncture, all concluded that his design was to put the commonwealth into the hands of the senate and people. His ring he delivered to *Agrippa*, as if he intended to signify, that they could not chuse a more proper person, if they desired to be governed by one man. This behaviour, at a time when his sincerity could not reasonably be suspected, gained him the affections of the people more than any thing he had ever done before. Almost all despaired of life, when *Antonius Musa*, a Greek physician, restored him to his health, to the great satisfaction of the senate and people, who immediately ordered a statue of brass to be erected to *Musa* near that of *Æsculapius*. He was also allowed to wear a gold ring; and all persons of his profession were, for his sake, exempted for ever from all taxes and tributes. The recovery of *Augustus* filled the whole city with joy; medals were struck, some of which have reached our times; and the most magnificent shew exhibits that had ever been seen at *Rome*; fathers then upon their death-beds, commanded their children to carry their sacrifices of thanksgivings to the capitol, with this inscription, *The day of our death, was the day of Augustus's recovery.*

The behaviour of *Augustus*, during his illness, occasioned a misunderstanding between *Marcellus* and *Agrippa*. The former, thinking himself injured by his uncle, who had preferred to one of his own family a man of mean descent, a soldier of fortune, expressed his resentment against *Agrippa* by such contemptuous treatment as this last could not put up with. The emperor, to prevent the ill consequences of this affair, thought it adviseable to part them; and accordingly appointed *Agrippa* governor of *Syria*. He left *Rome* immediately, but went no farther than *Mitylene* in the island of *Leros*, from whence he sent his lieutenants to govern the provinces committed to his care.

Augustus. And now *Augustus*, thinking his authority sufficiently established, resigned the fasces, after having held them nine years, to *P. Sestius*, a man of unblemished character, but a constant friend to *Brutus* and his memory. The senate was so affected with this impartial conduct of *Augustus*, in preferring *Sestius* to many of his own friends who aspired to the same dignity, that they heaped new honours upon him, declared him perpetual proconsul of the *Roman* empire, impowered him to assemble the senate when he pleased, and allowed him to exercise the authority of the tribuneship, and to enjoy all the privileges annexed to that dignity, not only within the walls of *Rome*, but in the most distant provinces. A power so unlimited was without precedent; but *Augustus* readily accepted it, as it rendered his person sacred, and secured him against all insults either in words or actions. His successors thought proper not to part with it.

The death of Marcellus. About a year after *Agrippa*'s departure for *Asia*, *Marcellus* died, in the nineteenth year of his age, to the inexpressible grief of *Augustus*, his mother *Octavia*, and the *Roman* people, whose heart he had won by his generous and noble behaviour in his ædileship. The ambitious *Livia* was strongly suspected of having hastened his death, in order to make room for her own sons, *Tiberius* and *Drusus*. His obsequies were performed with the utmost magnificence, *Augustus* himself, being his nearest relation, pronouncing, according to custom, his funeral oration.

A plague and famine in Italy. The next year, *M. Marcellus* and *L. Aruntius* being consuls, a dreadful plague raged in *Rome* and all the cities of *Italy*; which, as the lands were left untilled, was attended with a general famine. The *Tiber* overflowed great part of the city, and the Pantheon was struck with lightening. The populace imputing these calamities to *Augustus*'s having laid down the consulship, surrounded the senate-house, and threatened to set fire to it, if the fathers did not immediately create him dictator. This request was complied with: upon which they repaired in great crowds to *Augustus*, with twenty-four axes and fasces, intreating him to accept of the dictatorship, and the office of general-purveyor. The latter he accepted, that he might not seem to slight the offers of the people, and in consequence thereof, took care to have the city plentifully supplied with provisions: but he wisely refused being made dictator, having already all the power and authority of that office, without its odious title. He likewise declined the perpetual consulship, which they wanted him to reassume, and named to that important employment *P. Æmilius Lepidus*, brother to the triumvir by whom he had been proscribed, and *L. Munatius Plancus*, formerly one of *Anthony*'s greatest friends: but *Lepidus* dying soon after, and *Plancus*, who was a man of a most infamous character, being no way qualified to censure the vices of others, *Augustus*, though

The emperor refuses the dictatorship, and the office of perpetual dictator.

though he would not have the title, performed the functions of that magistracy, and enacted several excellent laws for the reformation of manners. Among other things, he suppressed several private assemblies, and regulated others: he transferred the care of the public games from the *ædiles*, who used to ruin themselves with them, to the *prætors*, whom he reduced to ten, and forbade their being at the sole expence of these diversions, but made the people contribute a small matter towards them, and paid the rest out of the public treasury. To the curule *ædiles* he committed the care of extinguishing fires, allowing them for that service six hundred slaves, who were bought and maintained at the public expence. He ordered, that none should exhibit shews of gladiators without leave from the senate, and then only twice a year, and with no more than one hundred and twenty combatants: and, as many persons of rank, women as well as men, had of late debased themselves to act and dance upon the stage, *Augustus* restrained such scandalous practices, by forbidding, under severe penalties, any of the senatorial or equestrian order to appear on the stage, and extending this prohibition to the children and grand-children of the senators.

In these regulations, *Augustus* acted with the authority of an absolute prince and legislator; but in other things he used great condescension, affecting to appear in the courts of judicature like a private person, and even to plead for his friends, or attend them when cited before the *prætors*, or other judges. This complaisance often exposed him to affronts from the adverse parties, as it happened in the case of *M. Primus*, governor of *Macedonia*, who, being accused of having made an irruption into the country of the *Odrysii*, and being asked, *What authority he had for so doing?* alledged, *That he had Augustus's orders*: whereupon *Augustus*, appearing soon after in court, was asked by the *prætor*, *Whether Primus's plea was true or no?* The emperor answered, *That Primus was certainly mistaken, for that he had given no such orders*. Upon which, *L. Muræna*, who pleaded for *Primus*, addressing himself to *Augustus*, with great boldness and anger, asked him, *What business he had there; and, what had brought him to a place where he was neither expected nor wanted?* *The public good*; replied the emperor, with as much calmness and moderation.

This conduct gained *Augustus* the love and esteem of many; but others, who were enemies to him in their hearts, and wished to see the antient government restored, entered A plot into a conspiracy against him. *Murena*, a man of an unblushed character, and *Cæpio*, the greatest debauchee in *Rome*, *Augustus*. took upon them the management of the plot, for the execution of which a day and place were already appointed: but, in the mean time, *Murena* disclosed the whole to his sister *Terentilla*, and she to her husband *Mæcenas*, who gave notice of

Augustus. of it to the emperor, after advising the conspirators to abscond, whilst he should endeavour to procure their pardon.

Augustus proved inflexible, and the conspirators, not appearing to take their trials, were interdicted fire and water throughout the whole extent of the *Roman empire*. *Cæpio* made his escape to *Cumæ*, where one of his slaves betrayed him to a centurion, who cut off his head and carried it to

Rome; and *Muræna* was discovered in *Rome*, and killed by order of the emperor, who, immediately after this, enacted two new laws: the one, that all guilty persons, who refused to appear, should be condemned to the same punishments which would have been inflicted upon them if they had been regularly convicted; and the other, that, for the future, the judges, in criminal cases, should give their opinions, not in writing, but openly, and by word of mouth. At that time *Augustus*, of his own accord, delivered to the senate the provinces of *Cyprus* and *Narbonnese Gaul*, which, from henceforth, began to be governed by proconsuls. The same year the *Cantabrians* and *Asturians* revolted a-new, but were soon quelled by *C. Furnius*.

Year of Rome 733. *Italy*, and all the west, being now in a state of perfect tranquility, *Augustus* resolved to visit the provinces of the east: but before he had got farther than *Sicily*, the people of *Rome* fell into such violent contests about the electing of consuls, that he found it necessary for him to return, to appease the disturbances by his presence; and, to prevent the like for the future, as he could not always be at *Rome* himself, to create a new magistrate, whose province should be

Agrippa to maintain good order in the metropolis. *Agrippa* seemed made go- to him the most proper person for so great an office. He vornor of therefore ordered him back from *Lesbos*, and, to procure *Rome*, and him the more respect and authority in his new employment son in law of governor of *Rome*, commanded him to divorce *Marcella*, to *Augus-* though the daughter of his sister *Ottavia*, and to marry his *tus*. daughter *Julia*, the widow of *Marcellus*. Some say that *Mecænas* promoted this match, by suggesting to *Augustus*, that since he had made *Agrippa* so great and powerful, he must of necessity either cut him off, or attach him inviolably to his interest, by marrying him to his daughter.

Augustus, after settling the affairs of *Sicily*, passed over into *Greece*, where he shewed the *Lacedemonians* particular marks of his favour, giving them the island of *Cythera* and five cities, as a reward for their kind reception of *Livia*, when she fled from *Italy* with her husband and son. The *Athenians* he punished, for having erected statues to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and afterwards sided with *Anthony*. From *Greece* he sailed to *Samos*, and there wintered. The next spring, *Apu- leius* and *Silius* being consuls, he crossed over into *Asia*, and and from settled the affairs of the provinces through which he passed. thence in- Upon his drawing near the borders of *Parthia*, *Phraates*, to the east. king of that country, dreading a foreign war, as he was uni- versally

versally hated by his subjects, sent him all the ensigns and prisoners which the *Parthians* had taken from *Craffus* and *Anthony*, and yielded to all the conditions which *Augustus* required, giving four of his sons, with their wives and children, as hostages for the performance of them. *Augustus* received the *Roman* eagles and captives with as much joy, as if he had given the *Parthians* a total overthrow. He sent orders to the senate to shut the temple of *Janus*, to offer sacrifices of thanksgiving to the gods, and, to perpetuate the memory of this action, which he looked upon as the most glorious of his whole reign, he built a temple in the capitol to *Mars the avenger*, in imitation of that to *Jupiter Feretrius*, in which the ensigns now restored were hung up, as monuments of the homage paid to *Augustus* by the haughty monarch of the *Parthians*. This year *Julia* brought *Agrippa* a son, who was named *Caius*, and on whose birth-day a perpetual sacrifice was decreed, with other solemnities. To *Sar* born. Towards the end of the summer, *Augustus* returned to *Samos*, where he was met by ambassadors from the king of *India*, who came from that vast distance to sollicit an alliance with *Augustus* him; so great was the fame of his name. Early the next spring *Augustus* returned to *Rome*, where he was received with all possible marks of honour.

The consular year expiring whilst *Augustus* was at *Samos*, dangerous tumults broke out at *Rome*, by the violent practices of *Egnatius Rufus*, who endeavoured by force to get himself chosen consul in the place of *Augustus*, who declined that office this year, after having been named to it by the assembly of the people, together with *C. Sentius Saturninus*. The factions ran so high, that many persons were killed: upon which, *Augustus*, to put a stop to the disorder, of his own authority, appointed *Q. Lucretius Vespillo*, a man formerly proscribed by the triumvirs, but now one of his lieutenants, to be colleague to *Sentius*. *Rufus*, incensed at this, formed a conspiracy with *M. Genutius* and *Plautius Rufus*, to assassinate the emperor at his return; but, before that time, their practices being discovered, they were put to death by order of the senate.

Augustus, on his return to *Rome*, was met at *Athens* by the poet *Virgil*, who had retired to *Greece* to finish his *Æneid*. The emperor, who had a great regard for him, received him with uncommon marks of kindness and esteem: but he, leaving *Athens* soon after, to visit the antiquities of *Megara*, in the hot season of the year, fell sick there. In that condition he embarked for *Italy*; but the fatigue of the voyage increasing his distemper, he died at *Brundusium*, a few days after his arrival there, in the fifty-first year of his age, *Death of Virgil*. leaving the greatest part of his wealth, which was very considerable, to his two chief patrons and benefactors, *Augustus* and *Mæcenas*. As he had not yet put the last hand to his *Æneid*, he ordered, by his will, that inimitable poem to be burnt;

Augustus. burnt ; but *Augustus*, says an ancient poet, saved *Troy* from a second conflagration, and, by that means, preserved for all future ages a most perfect pattern of epic poetry.

The general depravation of manners which now reigned in *Rome*, and the enormous height to which its inhabitants carried every kind of vice, induced *Augustus*, at the earnest request of the senate, to accept the office of censor for five years. At the same time they conferred upon him the consular power for life ; ordaining, that he should always have twelve axes and fasces carried before him, and should sit in a curule chair between the two consuls. They likewise intreated him to make new laws, offering to swear to obey them. He did so, but refused their oaths, saying, that if his laws were good, they would observe them without that tie ; if not, their oaths would be ineffectual.

Year of Rome 736. *Agrippa's* presence being now no longer necessary in *Rome*, *Augustus* sent him into *Gaul*, to stop the incursions of the *Germans*, who had passed the *Rhine*, and committed horrible disorders. Upon his approach, they immediately retired to their woods. *Agrippa* then proceeded to *Spain*, where the *Cantabrians* were again in motion, and had assembled in great numbers. In this expedition he met with extreme difficulties, but at length totally overcame the enemy, and thereby compleated the final reduction of that country, which had kept the *Roman* arms employed for two hundred years. The victor modestly refused a triumph for his great success, giving *Augustus* the honour of all he did.

Embellishes Rome. *Agrippa*, on his return to *Rome*, embellished the city with new edifices, and built, at his own expence, superb aqueducts, by which it was most plentifully supplied with excellent water. Towards the end of this year, *L. Cornelius Balbus* subdued the *Garamanti*, a people of *Africa*, till then unknown to the *Romans*, and extended the limits of the *Roman* empire as far as the river *Niger*. So important a conquest well deserved a triumph, which was accordingly granted to *Balbus*, who was the first foreigner that was ever honoured with that distinction. He was a native of *Gades* in *Spain*, and had not been long admitted to the rights of a *Roman* citizen.

Year of Rome 737. The first ten years of *Augustus's* sovereign power being now almost expired, he took the government upon him for five years more, which were soon after enlarged to ten ; and at the same time *Agrippa's* authority was likewise increased, by his being joined with *Augustus* in the censorship, and made tribune of the people for five years. *Augustus's* first step after this, was, to reform the senate, into which a great many unworthy members had crept during the civil wars. These he expelled, and reduced the number of senators to six hundred. He then corrected several abuses in the city, regulated the order of knights, the public spectacles and plays, and, to abolish bribery in elections as much as he could,

Reforms the state.

could, he ordained, that whoever should be convicted of *Augⁿstus.* having purchased the suffrages of the people with money, should be excluded from all public offices for five years; and that those who had long been used to sell their votes, might not be sufferers by this law, he caused large sums of money to be distributed among them, on condition that they should not require any thing of the candidates. The loose behaviour of the married women having deterred the young *Romans* from marriage, he laid heavy taxes upon such as continued single after a certain age, and encouraged with great rewards the procreation of lawful children. He allowed the patricians and plebeians to intermarry, excepting only the senators, whom he would not suffer to match beneath their rank. He made it lawful for any one to kill an adulterer taken in the fact, though he himself had debauched many women, not excepting even the wife of his great friend *Mæcenas*. Virgins were not allowed to marry till they were twelve years of age. His regulations with respect to military discipline were very strict. He likewise took care that the assemblies of the senate should always be held with great reverence, and ordered, that no decree should pass, but in the presence of four hundred senators, if it was possible to collect so many. He also ordained, that no man should be admitted to so great a privilege and honour as the freedom of *Rome*, till after his merits had been strictly examined and approved. This was a point he was always extremely tenacious of. Having thus reformed many abuses in the state, he applied his thoughts to matters of religion, calling in a great many prophetic books then in vogue, and causing about two thousand volumes of them to be burnt as spurious; reserving only those which were commonly ascribed to the sybils. These too he subjected to a strict examination, and retained only such as were judged genuine, which he caused to be copied by the pontifices, and lodged them in two golden cabinets in the temple of *Apollo*. These sybil-line oracles were in great repute among the gentiles, and often appealed to by the ancient Christian writers. He augmented the number, dignity, and revenues of the priests, *Lucius* especially of the vestal virgins, for which order he had a particular esteem. This year *Julia* brought *Agrippa* a second born son, who was called *Lucius*.

The following year, *Furnius* and *Silanus* being consuls, *Augⁿstus* and *Agrippa* gave the people the great secular games, which had not been seen for an hundred years before, and were now celebrated with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. In these games, one of the players calling *Augⁿstus Dominus, Lord,* he was greatly displeased, and the next morning published an edict, strictly forbidding all persons to give him that title for the future. Upon the finishing of these games he adopted *Agrippa's* two sons *Caius* and *Lucius*, and declared them his successors. It was on the occasion

Agrippa's sons Caius and Lucius

Augustus. occasion of these games, that *Horace* wrote the hymn intitled *Carmen Seculare*, which was sung at the sacrifice that was offered to *Pluto* and *Proserpine* before the shews and spectacles of the *circus*, the theatre, and amphitheatre. Great part of this year was spent in public games and diversions, of which *Augustus* was very fond, particularly of the tournaments, or warlike exercise, called the game of *Troy*, which he thought becoming the education of the young nobility. He was likewise a great encourager of wrestling; but would not allow women to be present at these games, justly accounting it indecent for them to gaze on naked men. All good actors and pantomimes were sure of his protection; but at the same time he severely examined their morals, and would not allow the least licentiousness in their lives, or indecency in their actions. Being informed, that one *Stephanio*, a comedian, was attended by a woman in the habit of a boy, he ordered him to be whipped through the three theatres, and banished the city. He likewise drove out of *Rome* *Pylades*, a famous actor, for having behaved disrepectfully towards a *Roman* citizen; and when he soon after recalled him, to gratify the people, the comedian, instead of thanking the emperor, told him, *It was his interest that the people should be diverted by men of his profession, lest they should watch his actions too narrowly, or reflect too much on their own condition.*

Augustus goes into Gaul. The next year *Augustus*, having got *L. Domitius Abenobarbus* and *P. Cornelius Scipio*, two persons on whom he could depend, raised to the consulate, resolved to leave *Rome* for a while, and march with an army into *Gaul*, to quell some disturbances there, occasioned by the avarice of *Licinius Enceladus*, who, being appointed by the emperor to collect the taxes in those parts, had obliged the people to pay them monthly, and, by a deceitful account, reckoned fourteen months in the year. *Augustus* had no sooner passed the *Alps*, than the *Gauls* returned to their duty; but the *Sicambi*, *Uspetes*, and *Tencteri*, people of *Germany*, having passed the *Rhine*, defeated *M. Lollius*, proconsul of *Gaul*, and took one of his standards. *Lollius*, though no great commander, soon retrieved his honour by falling upon the *Germans* unawares, and driving them home with considerable loss. At the same time, *C. Lentulus* made war with success against the *Dacians* beyond the *Danube*, killed three of their commanders, and left garrisons to stop their devastations. Though all was now quiet in *Gaul*, *Augustus* chose to spend the remainder of this, and all the following year, in that province; perhaps, as much with a view of making the *Romans* sensible of the benefit of his presence among them, as for any real business that he had in *Gaul*. During his stay there, the inhabitants of the country flocked to him from all parts, with complaints against *Enceladus*, whom he determined to punish in an exemplary manner. But the crafty delinquent found means to escape him, by delivering up to him the vast sums

sums he had amassed, and assuring him, that his only design *Augustus*. in stripping the *Gauls* of their money was, to take from them their best means of rebellion. *Augustus* was so pleased with this answer, and with the money he got at the same time, that he not only acquitted the iniquitous extortioner, but, deaf to the intreaties of the oppressed *Gauls*, continued him in his office.

During these transactions, the *Rhaeti*, a fierce and savage people, who inhabited some parts of the *Alps*, on the side of *Germany*, made an irruption into *Italy*, and committed dreadful devastations, putting all the males they met with to the sword, without distinction of rank or age: nay, we are told, that when they happened to take women with child, they consulted their augurs whether the child was male or female, and if they pronounced it male, the mother was immediately killed. *Drusus*, the second son of *Livia*, a youth of extraordinary valour and great accomplishments, was sent against these cruel enemies, and in a short time drew them to a battle, defeated them with great slaughter, and drove them out of *Italy*. Those that escaped, being joined by their neighbours the *Vindelici*, attempted to enter *Gaul*, but were repelled by *Drusus*'s brother *Tiberius*, and at length their whole nation was forced to submit. The *Norici*, another barbarous nation of *Germany*, bordering upon the *Vindelici*, met with the same fate. In the mean time, *Agrippa* was so successful in settling the affairs of the east, that a triumph was decreed him for his great services. But he, out of a peculiar greatness of mind, again declined it; and, in imitation of his example, the *Romans*, from this time, generally deferred that honour to their emperor, and contented themselves with only the ornaments of triumph. The triunvir *Lepidus*, who had lived a private life ever since his disgrace, dying about this time, *Augustus* took upon him the office of *Pontifex Maximus*, or high priest, vacant by his death. *Augustus*, *Pontifex Maximus*.

Augustus having now settled the affairs of *Gaul*, stopped the year of incursions of the *Germans*, suppressed the rebellion of *Spain*, *Rome* 741, and reduced most of the nations inhabiting the *Alps*; left *Drusus* with an army upon the *Rhine*, and returned to *Rome*. He re-after he had been absent near three years. He was received turns to with universal joy and satisfaction, but refused several new honours that were offered him: neither would he suffer the people to come out to meet him, as they desired, but, according to his usual custom, to save both them and himself the trouble of that ceremony, he entered the city by night. The next morning the whole city waited on him at his palace, for so his house was called, because it was situated on the *Palatium*, or *Palatine* hill. He received them with great courtesy, and went with them to the capitol, where he took the laurel from about his fasces, and laid it at the feet of the statue of *Jupiter Capitolinus*.

Augustus.

Makes several excellent laws, particularly with regard to the soldiery.

He now made several excellent new laws, which were long after observed by his successors. Among other things, he enacted, to the great satisfaction of the inhabitants of Italy, that, for the future, the service of the veterans should not be rewarded with lands, but money. By the same law, the time was fixed which each corps was to serve, and the pay they were to receive, both during their service, and if they continued to serve longer than was required of them. The emperor's own guards, called the *prætorian cohorts*, were to serve twelve years before they could demand their dismission, and the rest sixteen : the former were to be allowed about twelve-pence of our money a day, and the latter five-pence. If they chose to continue in the army after the time of their service was expired, they were accounted veterans, and, as such, exempted from all drudgeries, and obliged only to fight, and that for no more than five years, after which they were intitled to the rewards due to veterans, which were, by this law, five thousand drachmas for the *prætorian cohorts*, and three thousand for the common legionaries : but, some years after, *Augustus* extended the time of service of the former to sixteen years, and that of the latter to twenty.

Death of Agrippa.

Towards the end of this year, *Agrippa* returned to *Rome* from his eastern expedition, but, as we before said, refused entering the city in triumph. *Augustus* confirmed to him the tribunitial power for five years more, the former term being near expired, and then sent him at the head of a powerful army into *Pannonia*, where fresh disturbances were breaking out. He soon quieted them, disarmed the *Pannonians*, and made them give him hostages for their peaceable behaviour ; after which he returned to *Italy*, but fell sick in *Campania*, and died before *Augustus* could possibly arrive to see him, though he set out the very instant he was informed of his illness. *Augustus* justly lamented, in the illustrious deceased, the loss of the greatest general of his age, the wisest minister, and the most faithful, constant, and disinterested friend he had in the world. The senate decreed him a monument in the *Campus Martius*; but *Augustus* insisted, that his remains should be deposited in his own *mausoleum*, near those of *Marcellus*, declaring that he would not be separated, even after his death, from two persons he had so tenderly loved. The emperor himself pronounced his funeral oration.

Tiberius chosen in his stead,

and married to Julia.

Thus long did *Augustus* reign, in some measure with a partner, though not a rival, in the empire. Upon his death the emperor, still judging it necessary to have some one superior to all others in power and dignity, to assist him in the cares of government, chose, much against his will, *Tiberius*, his grandsons *Lucius* and *Caius Cæsars* being yet too young to bear any public offices. But before he invested *Tiberius* with the power *Agrippa* had enjoyed, he obliged him to divorce his wife *Agrippina*, and marry *Julia*, whose infamous conduct

conduct was well known to every one in *Rome*, except her *Augustus*. father *Augustus*.

The nuptial ceremonies were no sooner over, than *Augustus* sent his new son-in-law against the *Pannonians*, who, upon the news of *Agrippa*'s death, had again revolted. *Tiberius* soon subdued them, forced them to deliver up their Defeats arms, and to give hostages, laid waste their fields, plundered their cities, and, after fending the best part of their youth *Pannonians*. into other countries, returned to *Rome* the same year. The senate decreed him great honours, and, among the rest, a triumph: but *Augustus* obliged him to content himself with the marks of distinction which were granted for life to those who had triumphed; namely, to have a particular place at the public shews, and to appear with the triumphal robes and a crown of laurel. His younger brother *Drusus* was not less successful against the *Gauls* and *Germans*, for which he was honoured with the prætorship on his return to *Rome*, and afterwards with the proconsular power. Both *Tiberius* and *Drusus* were saluted with the title of *Imperator* by the soldiers; but *Augustus* would not allow it them. Neither would he suffer any statues to be erected, which the senate and people had contributed money for, except to *Public Safety, Concord, and Peace*. *Augustus*'s sister *Octavia* died this year, universally lamented.

Drusus was scarce returned to *Rome*, when the *Uspetes*, *Drusus's* *Tencteri*, *Sicambi*, *Cherusci*, *Catti*, and several other *German* exploits in nations, assembled a very powerful army, in order to invade *Germany*. *Gaul*. He thereupon returned immediately to his army, which he had left in *Frisia*, or *Friesland*, and marched from thence into the country of the *Tencteri*, whom he easily subdued, and afterwards brought into subjection the *Sicambi*, *Cherusci*, and *Catti*, whom he defeated in a very bloody battle, and extended his conquests to the banks of the *Weser*, which he would have passed, had he not been obliged to return for want of provisions. He found in the camp of the enemies a prodigious quantity of iron chains, which they had prepared for the *Romans*; and so great was their confidence, that they had agreed beforehand about the division of the booty: the *Tencteri* were to have the horse, the *Cherusci* and *Sicambi* the baggage, and the *Uspetes* and *Catti* the captives. *Drusus* was saluted *Imperator* by his troops on the field of battle; after which, to secure his conquests, he built two forts, the one at the confluence of the *Lupias* and the *Aliso*, (now the *Lippe* and the *Alme*), the other in the country of the *Catti*, upon the *Rhine*, and made that famous *Tiberius* canal, long known by the name of *Drusus's Dyke*. For again these exploits he was honoured with the triumphal ornaments, on his return to *Rome*. This same year *Tiberius*, *Pannonians* being sent against the *Pannonians* and *Dalmatians*, who had again rebelled, reduced them a-new.

Augustus. The following year, *Drusus* and *Q. Crispinus* being consuls, *Augustus*, bent upon the total reduction of *Germany*, left the capital, attended by *Tiberius* and *Drusus*, and advanced to the banks of the *Rhine*, from whence he sent *Tiberius* against the *Dacians*, and *Drusus* to complete the conquest of the rest of *Germany*. *Tiberius* easily succeeded in his expedition; and *Drusus*, passing the *Rhine*, and afterwards the *Wefer*, brought under subjection all the nations from the *Rhine* to the *Elbe*. Having attempted in vain to pass the river, he erected several trophies in that neighbourhood, and began his march back to the *Rhine*; but before he could reach it, he was seized with a violent fever, which carried him off in a few days, in the thirtieth year of his age. His body was conveyed to *Rome*, attended the whole way by *Tiberius*, the chief officers and magistrates of the *Roman* colonies and *Municipia*, through which it passed, meeting it on the road, and following it with the utmost pomp from one city to another. *Augustus* himself received it at *Rome*, and pronounced a funeral oration, in honour of the deceased, in the *Flaminian circus*, in which he begged with tears, that the gods would grant him a death as glorious as that of the young hero, and make the grandchildren they had given him tread in his footsteps. *Tiberius* made another funeral oration in the *forum*, from whence the body was carried on the shoulders of the *Roman* knights to the *Campus Martius*, where it was burnt with great solemnity. The ashes were afterwards deposited in *Augustus's mausoleum*. In military skill and courage *Drusus* was not inferior to the greatest commanders of his age: his character was unblemished, his integrity incorruptible, and his heart open and sincere: the public good was his only aim in all his actions; and it is agreed on all hands, that he would have re-established the republic, and resigned with joy the sovereign power, had it ever devolved to him. He left three children, *Drusus*, surnamed *Germanicus*, *Livilla*, and *Claudius*, who succeeded *Caligula* in the empire.

Year of Rome 747. *Augustus's* second ten years being expired, he pretended a great desire to lay down his authority, but was easily persuaded to keep it ten years longer. This limitation of time was what contributed more than any thing else to his security on the throne; because, by receiving his power from the senate and people, he openly acknowledged the sovereignty to be lodged in them; so that they were not quite destitute of all hopes of recovering it. This year died that great patron of learning, and able statesman, *Mæcenas*. His talents qualified him for the highest posts, but his love of ease would not suffer him to accept of any; resting satisfied with the equestrian rank. *Augustus* lost in him a friend for whom he had a great value, though he had not of late honoured him with the same intimacy as formerly, on account of

Death of Mæcenas

of his too great intimacy with his wife *Terentilla*. Though he slighted preferments himself, as capable of disturbing his quiet, yet his good nature often made him employ his credit with the emperor in behalf of his friends, and seldom without success. Of the ascendant which he had gained over *Augustus*, and the freedom with which he corrected his faults, and curbed his cruel temper, *Dion Cassius* gives us the following remarkable instance. *Augustus* was one day judging some criminals, *Mæcenas*, perceiving him to be in a bad humour, and inclined to give too great a loose to his revenge, attempted to approach his tribunal; but not being able to break through the crowd, he wrote the following note, *Come down from the tribunal, butcher*, and threw it into his lap. *Augustus* no sooner read it, than he rose up, and quitted the tribunal, without sentencing any of the criminals to death. *Horace*, the prince of the Latin lyric poets, did not long survive his great patron and benefactor; for *Mæcenas* died about the beginning of September, and *Horace* Death of on the twenty-seventh of the following November. This *Horace*. same year died also one *Caius Cæcilius Isidorus*, so immensely rich, that he left his heirs 4116 slaves, 3600 yoke of oxen, 230,057 head of other cattle, and above three millions of our money in specie. About this time, *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* began to write his books of the Roman history and antiquities.

On the calends of *January* of the ensuing year, *Tiberius, Ti'erijs*, who was now come to *Rome*, entered upon his second consulship, with *Cn. Calpurnius Piso*, and was the same day honoured with a triumph for his advantage over the *Germans*, a fight the Romans had not seen for some time. Before he umphs. left *Rome*, he dedicated a temple, which the senate had erected to his mother *Livia*, she herself being present at the ceremony. In the beginning of the spring he left the capital, and returned to *Germany*; but did nothing remarkable there in this expedition. This year a dreadful fire broke out in *Rome*, which consumed many fine buildings, and was thought to have been occasioned by the debtors, with a design to make their escape; in that confusion, from the houses of their creditors. This occasioned the creation of new officers, called *Curatores Vicorum*, who were permitted, on certain days, to wear, within the verge of their jurisdiction, *Vicorum*: the robe peculiar to magistrates, and to have two lictors to attend them. At the same time, the six hundred slaves, formerly allowed the ædiles for the extinguishing of fires, were assigned to them; and the city, by *Augustus's* particular order, was divided into fourteen regions or wards, and these into inferior precincts, the government of which was committed to the abovementioned officers, the tribunes of the people, and the prætors.

The following year, *Lucius Cæsar*, elated by his high birth, and many flattering compliments imprudently made

Augustus.

Bold demand of
Lucius
Cæsar.

Tiberius
desires
leave to
retire.

He goes
to Rhodes.

Year of
Rome 749.

Caius and
Lucius
Cæsars
receive the
robe.

made him, boldly demanded of *Augustus*, in the public theatre, the consulship for his brother *Caius*, though then but a boy. The emperor, no less surprized than offended at this unseasonable demand, answered, *That he hoped he should never lie under the necessity of raising any one to the consular dignity under twenty years of age.* And on the youth's urging him still further, he told him, with a grave air, *That an office of such importance ought to be discharged only by a man who could bridle his own passions, and resist the extravagant desires of the giddy and headstrong multitude.* However, his affection for the two brothers, in some degree, got the better of his reason, so far, that he granted *Caius* the priesthood, a place in the senate, and the privilege of sitting among the senators at all public shews; but, at the same time, to curb their ambitious temper, he made *Tiberius* tribune of the people for five years, and gave him the government of *Armenia*.

Tiberius had scarce received this new addition of power, when, jealous of the favour *Augustus* shewed to his grandsons, or, as some think, to avoid being an eye-witness of the scandalous debaucheries of his wife *Julia*, to the great surprize of every one, he desired leave to retire to *Rhodes*, under pretence of prosecuting his studies there. The emperor did all he could to divert him from this design; but *Tiberius*, obstinately bent upon departing, and finding all other means to prevail upon the emperor ineffectual, shut himself up in his apartment, and abstained four whole days from all kind of nourishment. *Augustus* thereupon complied with his request, and *Tiberius* immediately departed for *Rhodes*, where he lived some years like a private man. At length, growing weary of his retirement, he wrote to the emperor, begging leave to return home, and visit his friends. But this was absolutely denied him, and a messenger sent, bidding him lay aside all thoughts of his friends, since he had been so impatient to abandon them; nor was it till seven years after that *Augustus* would consent to his coming back to *Rome*.

This year *Augustus*, after having declined the consular dignity for seventeen years together, resumed the fasces; purposely, as it is thought, to render the ceremony of giving the manly robe to his grandson *Caius* more solemn; for he gave it him with his own hand, presented him to the senate, and designed him consul for the fifth year after, *Caius* being then but fifteen years of age. The next year he again reserved the consular dignity for himself, and conferred the same honours on his other grandson *Lucius*. Thus were the two sons highly favoured and honoured by *Augustus*; but their mother *Julia* met with a very different treatment shortly after. Her infamous debaucheries, hardly to be matched in history, had for some years been the talk of the whole town; but *Augustus* had the misfortune of most princes, who are, generally speaking, the least acquainted with their

their nearest concerns. He believed, indeed, that she did *Augustus*. not lead a very strict life, but never imagined her capable of those monstrous excesses, of which he now found her guilty. Upon a full discovery of her behaviour, he was so violently afflicted, that, not able to conceal the transports of his grief and anger, he communicated his misfortune, and the disgrace of his family, by letter, to the senate; an indiscretion, which he afterwards said he should never have been guilty of, had *Agrippa* or *Mæcenas* been living. Overcome with shame and rage, he first thought of putting his daughter to death; but, after calmer consideration, he banished her to *Pandataria*, (now *Santa Maria*) a desert island on the coast of *Campania*, where she was forbid the use of wine, and of any kind of delicacy either in diet or cloaths, and no person whatever was permitted to go near her without his leave. Her mother *Scribonia*, whom *Augustus* had divorced the same day that she was born, voluntarily accompanied her in her banishment. Not long after, her eldest daughter by *Agrippa*, named also *Julia*, being convicted of the same crimes as her mother, was banished to the island of *Tremera*, (now *Tremiti*), in the *Adriatic* sea. Incredible numbers of persons of great distinction were banished, or put to death, for having been accessary to her debaucheries. Some writers tell us, that *Augustus* laid hold of this opportunity to get rid of many who gave him umbrage, though they were in fact innocent of *Julia's* crimes.

Julia ba-
nished.

Augustus, to divert his thoughts from these domestic troubles, gave the *Romans* the most magnificent and expensive shews that had ever been seen; but, in the midst of them, news was brought him, that the *Armenians*, assisted by the *Parthians*, had driven out *Artabazes*, whom he had appointed king of that country, and raised *Tigranes* to the throne in his stead. Being now too far advanced in years to undertake so distant a war, and not caring to recall *Tiberius* from *Rhodes*, he resolved to send into the east his grandson *Caius*, *Caius Cæsar* who was then entered into his nineteenth year: but first sent he made him proconsul, and married him to *Lollia Paulina*, into the the daughter or niece of *M. Lollius*, who had been his go-east, viceroy, and whom he now appointed to command under him. *Caius* had various success in this war; but at length the *Armenians* submitted, and the *Parthians* returned home.

Augustus, being now in his thirteenth consulship, with Year of *Plautius Silanus*, the temple of *Janus* being shut, and all the *Rome* provinces of the *Roman* empire, perhaps all the nations of the world, enjoying a profound tranquility; the Prince of Birth of *Peace*, the Lord of Heaven, and Saviour of the World, after an *CHRIST*. ineffable manner, joined himself to human nature, and appeared on earth.

The following year, *Caius Cornelius Lentulus* and *L. Galpurnius Piso* were raised to the consulship; and the year after they were succeeded in that dignity by *Caius Cæsar*, tho'

Augustus. then absent in Syria, and L. *Æmilius Paulus.* During their administration nothing remarkable happened in Italy, or in the countries subject to the Romans, except the death of Herod, king of Judea, whose end was as miserable as his life had been detestable. The next year *Tiberius* was at

Tiberius returns to length allowed to return to Rome; *Caius*, to whom *Augustus* had referred that matter, to deliver himself from the importunities of *Livia*, consenting to it; but upon condition that

Tiberius returns to he should not bear any office in the commonwealth. He retired to *Mæcenas's* gardens, and there lived like a private man, doing friendly offices for some of his friends, but not meddling with public affairs. He was soon rid of both the objects of his envy; for *Lucius Cæsar* died suddenly at *Massilia*, not without some suspicion of his having been poisoned by *Livia*; and, in less than two years after, his brother *Caius* died at *Limyra*, a city of *Lycia*, of a wound which he received in *Armenia*. Their bodies were brought to *Rome* by the military tribunes, and their ashes deposited in *Augustus's* mausoleum.

Death of Caius and Lucius Cæsars. *Augustus's* grief for the loss of his two grandsons was inexpressible. *Livia* and *Tiberius* endeavoured to comfort him; and on this occasion it was, that the artful *Livia* prevailed upon him to adopt her son *Tiberius*. But in return he obliged *Tiberius* to adopt *Germanicus*, the son of his brother *Drusus*, though he had a son of his own: and it is remarkable, that *Augustus*, in adopting *Tiberius*, solemnly swore before the people, *That he adopted him for the sake of the commonwealth*. At the same time, he conferred on him the tribunitial power for five, or some say, ten years. Thus was *Tiberius* loaded with honours, and, in a manner, sole candidate for the succession, by the artful management of his mother *Livia*.

Tiberius adopted by Augustus, and Germanicus by Tiberius. The conspiracy of *Cinna*. In the mean time, a dangerous conspiracy against the emperor was discovered, at the head of which was *Cornelius Cinna*, grandson to *Pompey*. As several persons of the highest rank were engaged in the plot, *Augustus* was greatly at a loss what measures to take in so nice an affair. If he used rigour, he was afraid their friends and relations, who were very powerful, might raise dangerous disturbances to revenge their death; and if he pardoned them, it might encourage others to the like attempts. *Livia*, perceiving that something disturbed him greatly, extorted the secret from him, and convinced him, that, in so critical a juncture, clemency was preferable to rigour. *Augustus* thereupon sent for *Cinna*, and taking him into his closet, charged him with the conspiracy, named to him all his accomplices, the time and place they had agreed on, and many other circumstances, which shewed that he was perfectly acquainted with their design. *Cinna* was thunder-struck; but his surprize was still greater, when *Augustus*, instead of treating him as a traitor, only reminded him of his ingratitude, saying, *I have twice*

twice given you your life, *Cinna*; first as an enemy, and next as a *Augustus*. rebel; and now I give you the consulship. Let us therefore be friends for the future, and strive to shew, whether my confidence in you, or your fidelity to me, will be the greatest. At the same time he pardoned all his accomplices. This generous behaviour made such an impression upon *Cinna*, that he was ever after inviolably attached to the interest of *Augustus* and his family. About this time, and perhaps on this occasion, the people offered him the title of *Dominus, Lord*, an appellative peculiar to masters with respect to their slaves: but he not only refused it, but published an edict, forbidding any one to address him by that name. Towards the end of this year, the people, whether out of love to the emperor, or respect to his family, earnestly intreated him to recall his daughter *Julia*; but he answered them, *That fire and water should sooner meet than they two*. His resentment in this matter was so great, that, being informed that *Phœbe*, one of his daughter's confidants, had hanged herself, he protested openly, *That he would rather have been Phœbe's father than Julia's*: and when the people grew very pressing with him, he could not help telling them, in a violent passion, *That he wished they might have such daughters and such wives*. However, he was at length prevailed upon to change her place of confinement, where she had now been five years, and to remove her to the continent; but he would never consent to her return to *Rome*.

In the beginning of the next year, *Cinna*, who had conspired against *Augustus*, being consul with *Messala*, *Tiberius* was sent into *Germany*, to complete the conquests his brother *Drusus* had begun. *Velleius Paterculus*, the historian, and his great panegyrist, attended him in this expedition, in quality of *præfectus equitum*, or commander of horse. From him we learn, that *Tiberius* over-ran the country of the *Canninefates*, now the province of *Utrecht*; that he reduced the *Attuati* and *Bruæteri*, who inhabited the present territory of *Munster*; together with the *Churusci*, who possessed the duchies of *Brunswick* and *Lunenburg*, and made himself master of all the countries on the *Visurgis* and the *Lupias*, (now the *Weser* and the *Lyppe*); after which he returned to *Rome*, where, in this and the following year, so dreadful a famine reigned, that all foreigners, gladiators, wrestlers, and slaves, except physicians and schoolmasters, were ordered to eighty miles distance from the city, *Augustus* himself sending away most of his own attendants. On this occasion he doubled his usual largesses to the poor, and ordered provisions to be brought from *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and the neighbouring countries, at the public expence, and to be sold at a low rate. This gained him still more than ever the affections of the people, who were for decreeing him new honours, which he absolutely refused.

Augustus. About this time, the *Parthians*, tired of the troubles that were daily raised in their country by pretenders to the crown, sent a solemn embassy to *Augustus*, begging of him, in the name of their whole country, to give them a king. The emperor, as much pleased with this mark of submission, as if he had subdued that warlike nation, named *Vonones*, one of the sons of *Phraates*, who was received with great joy, and immediately placed on the throne.

Tiberius The next year *Tiberius*, returning into *Germany*, pursued returns to his conquests there with great rapidity, and subdued the *Germany*. *Cauci* and the *Langobardi*, and brought under subjection all the countries between the *Rhine* and the *Elbe*, whilst his fleet struck terror into the nations bordering on the ocean. Whilst *Tiberius* was carrying on this war, the *Getuli*, in *Mauritania*, revolted, but were subdued by *Cornelius Cossus*. The following year *Rome* had three important wars to manage; one in *Germany*, another in *Pannonia*, and the third in *Dalmatia*. In *Germany*, *Marobodus*, king of the *Marcomanni*, who inhabited that country which lies between the *Rhine*, the *Danube*, the *Cochera*, and the *Necker*, threatened to invade the counties lately subdued by *Tibertus*, and even *Italy* itself. *Tiberius* was sent against them, but was in no hurry to join the enemy, against whom he detached *C. Sentius Saturninus* with a great part of his army, whilst he himself staid in *Ilyricum*. But the most dangerous war was that with the *Dalmatians* and *Pannonians*, who, joining with all their neighbouring nations, had raised an army of two hundred thousand foot and nine thousand horse, with which they threatened *Italy* and *Rome* itself. They were commanded by two chiefs, of the name of *Bato*. Great levies were made with all possible expedition; the veterans were ordered to return to their colours, and not only freed men, but numbers of slaves, were admitted into the legions. The command of this army was given to *Tiberius's* nephew *Germanicus*, a youth of extraordinary accomplishments; and, for the sake of greater convenience and dispatch during the campaign, *Augustus* left *Rome*, and went to reside at *Ariminum*. *Tiberius* no sooner heard that *Germanicus* was appointed to command in this expedition, than, jealous of the glory he might acquire by it, he left *Ilyricum*, and marched against these numerous enemies.

The *Dalmatians* and *Pannonians* revolt, of the name of *Bato*. Great levies were made with all possible expedition; the veterans were ordered to return to their colours, and not only freed men, but numbers of slaves, were admitted into the legions. The command of this army was given to *Tiberius's* nephew *Germanicus*, a youth of extraordinary accomplishments; and, for the sake of greater convenience and dispatch during the campaign, *Augustus* left *Rome*, and went to reside at *Ariminum*. *Tiberius* no sooner heard that *Germanicus* was appointed to command in this expedition, than, jealous of the glory he might acquire by it, he left *Ilyricum*, and marched against these numerous enemies. The war lasted near three years, with great dangers and difficulties: but at last, the *Dalmatian Bato*, pressed by *Germanicus*, and reduced to the utmost distress by famine, submitted; and, upon his being asked by *Tiberius*, *What had induced him to revolt*; he boldly answered, *You yourselves; who, instead of shepherds to defend us, send wives to devour us*. *Tiberius* treated him with great kindness; which made such an impression on him, that he was easily prevailed upon to turn his arms against his namesake and ally, whom he defeated, and afterwards murdered. *Germanicus* gained great honour in this war.

but are reduced by *Germanicus*. Upon

Upon the submission of one *Bato*, and the death of the *Augustus*.
 other, the emperor left *Ariminum*, and returned to *Rome*; where great complaints were made to him, particularly by the knights, against the law he had made some years before, concerning unmarried persons, and such as had no children. The looseness of their lives was what made them averse to marriage, and what now induced them to endeavour to get that law abolished. Upon this, the emperor summoned the *Augustus* whole body of the equestrian order, and commanded the married and the unmarried to be placed separately: then, observing rages mar- the former to be much inferior to the latter in number, after riage. highly applauding the married ones, he told the others, *That their behaviour had been so peculiar, that he knew not by what name to call them: not by that of men, for they had performed nothing that was manly; not by that of citizens, for the city might perish for them; nor by that of Romans, for they seemed determined to extirpate the Roman race: but by what name knights. sever be called them, their crime, he said, equalled all other crimes put together; for they were guilty of murder in not suffering those to be born who should proceed from them; of impiety, in abolishing the names and honours of their ancestors; of sacrilege, in destroying their species and human nature, which owed its origin to the gods, and was consecrated to them: that they dissolved the government, by disobeying its laws; betrayed their country, by making it barren and waste; and demolished their city, by depriving it of inhabitants.* He added, *That he was well apprised, their leading a single life did not proceed from any sentiments of virtue, but from a looseness and wantonness, which ought not to be suffered in any civil government.* Having finished his speech, he doubled the rewards of such as had children, and laid heavy fines on all unmarried persons, if they did not alter their condition within a year. This was called the *Papia-Pœan* law, because it was enacted in the consulship of *M. Papius Mutilus* and *Q. Popeus secundus*. It was also called the *Julian* law, *pœan*, or from its being published by *Augustus*, who was of the Julian family. At the same time, that he might not seem to dis- courage any thing that had the appearance of virtue, he bestowed upon such women as had vowed perpetual virginity the same rewards and privileges as upon mothers. This year the poet *Ovid* was banished to *Tomos* in *Pontus*, an inhospitable climate, from which all his intreaties, and those of his friends, could not prevail upon the emperor to remove him. The cause of his disgrace has been variously accounted for; but he himself gives us pretty plainly to understand, that it was owing to his having accidentally overseen a loose action of the emperor's, ill becoming his years; for his amorous disposition seems never to have quitted him *.

Augustus. Upon the finishing of the wars in *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia*, *Tiberius* and *Germanicus* returned to *Rome*, where they were decreed triumphal honours. The title of *Imperator* was conferred on *Augustus*, and *Germanicus* was allowed to stand for the consulship, though he was but twenty-four years of age. But this joy was soon changed into the deepest melancholy, by the dismal news of the entire defeat of *Quintilius Varus*, by the *Germans* under the conduct of *Arminius*, which was brought to *Rome* five days after the arrival of *Tiberius* and *Germanicus*. *Varus* had been governor of *Syria*; which province he found rich, and was himself poor; but when he left it, says *Velleius* he was rich, and the province poor. From *Syria* he was removed to *Germany*, where he still pursued the same method of filling his own coffers, and by his rapines and extortions roused the *Germans* from the peaceful temper they had lately been lulled into, and inspired them with an eager desire to shake off the *Roman* yoke. *Arminius*, a young nobleman of great parts and extraordinary valour, put himself at their head, and, after artfully drawing *Varus* from the borders of the *Rhine* farther up into their country, by suggesting to him the necessity of hewing himself to the inhabitants of the more distant provinces, he fell upon him unawares, at a time when he was surrounded on all sides with woods, steep hills, and marshy grounds, where, unable to escape, by whom and giving up all for lost, *Varus*, after being dangerously wounded, killed himself. Most of his chief officers followed his example. Three complete legions, and six cohorts, were almost intirely cut off in this fatal action; the greatest overthrow the *Romans* had ever received since the defeat of *Cras-sus* by the *Parthians*. The legions that perished upon this occasion, were the best of the whole empire for valour, discipline, and experience; so that the news of this los threw the whole city into the utmost consternation, there being few families that had not a share in the common misfortune. As for *Augustus*, he set no bounds to his grief, but tore his garment, let his beard and hair grow for several months, and, like one distracted, knocked his head against the wall, crying out, *Restore the legions, Varus!* He vowed the great games to *Jupiter*, as had formerly been done in the wars with the *Marci* and *Cimbri*; and ever after observed the day of this defeat as a day of mourning. The *Romans* were struck with apprehensions of the enemy's advancing, and attacking them even in the capital: but learning shortly after that the *Germans* had neither passed the *Rhine*, nor made the other advantages they might have done of their victory, their fears abated, and levies were raised, and dispatched as quick as possible under the command of *Tiberius*, who, with *Germanicus*, obliged the rebels to retire.

Several laws pub- The next year, *Augustus* published an edict, forbidding all augurs, astrologers, and fortunetellers, to utter, either in public

public or in private, predictions concerning the death of any *Augustus*. man: not that he was under any apprehensions himself, for he had caused his nativity to be calculated and publicly exposed; but on account of the disturbances which these impious ^{lished by} *Augustus*. *pastors* had occasioned in many families. He likewise revived the edict, forbidding any of the equestrian order to fight in the *arena*, threatening with infamy, and even death, such as should dare to transgress it. Extending his care to the distant provinces, he also commanded, *that no public honours should be bestowed on the governors of them, during the time of their administration, nor within sixty days after their departure; because those honours had often made them behave with an insolent haughtiness towards those over whom they were placed.* After this, he named *Germanicus* consul for the ensuing year; and, being now in his seventy-fourth year, and finding the whole burden of public affairs too much for him to bear alone, he shared the sovereign power with *Tiberius*, investing him *He makes with a far greater authority than he had ever granted to Tiberius Agrippa.* The decree which the senate passed on this occasion, at the emperor's request, was couched in the following terms: *At the request of the people of Rome, we grant to Caius the sovereign Julius Cæsar Tiberius the same authority over the provinces, and all the armies of the Roman state, which Augustus has held, which he still holds, and which we pray the gods he may long enjoy.* This decree put *Tiberius*, in a manner, upon a level with *Augustus*. The next year, *Augustus*, by a special edict, declared the authors of all lampoons and satirical writings, attacking or blackening the reputation of any person whatsoever, guilty of high-treason, and punishable with death. Towards the end of this year, he wrote two letters; one to the senate, recommending *Germanicus* to the conscript fathers; and the other to *Tiberius*, recommending the senate to him; which was generally looked upon as a plain declaration that he designed to leave *Tiberius* the same authority over the senate as he himself had enjoyed; but that he would have all others, those of his own family excepted, pay an entire obedience to that venerable body. He desired the senate no longer to take the trouble of waiting upon him at his house, as they had used to do, such attendance being inconvenient to him by reason of his age; and to excuse his not going to them as formerly; and that they would appoint his twenty counsellors out of their body, with whom he might advise in matters relating to the state. The senate readily granted his request: and moreover decreed, *that whatever he should resolve upon with the twenty senators assigned him, the consuls for the year, the consuls elect, and his adopted son and nephew, should have the same force as if voted and passed in the senate.*

The following year, *Augustus's* fourth term of five years being near expired, he accepted, *Dion Cassius* says unwillingly, ^{Augustus} renewing his the government for ten years longer. At the same time he decennial renewed the tribunitial power, in favour of *Tiberius*, for the power the like fifth time.

Augustus. like term of years, and impowered *Drusus* to stand for the ~~Year of~~ consulship at the end of two years, though he had not yet discharged the office of *prætor*. After this, he made his will, *Rome* 766. which he delivered to the vestal virgins.

Germanicus sent into Germany.

Augustus makes a 3d census.

He goes to Naples,

is taken ill there,

and dies at Nola.
Year of Rome 767. *of Christ*

15.

Augustus having thus settled matters at home, resolved once more to attempt the reduction of *Germany*, and the revenging of the death of *Varus*, and the loss of his legions. To this end, he raised two numerous armies, one of which was to be commanded by *Tiberius*, and the other by *Germanicus*. This last was ordered immediately to *Gaul*, from thence to invade the countries, which, at the instigation of *Arminius*, had withdrawn their obedience to *Rome*. *Tiberius* was appointed to lead his army into *Illyricum*, and penetrate on that side into the kingdom of *Marobodus*, which the *Romans* had not yet subdued. *Augustus*, taking *Tiberius* for his colleague in the censorship, now made a third *census* of the *Roman* people; by which it appeared, that their number amounted to four million, one hundred and thirty-seven thousand, including women and children, according to *Suetonius*. While the ceremony was performing in the field of *Mars*, an eagle was observed to fly several times round *Augustus*, and then alight on a neighbouring temple over the first letter of *Agrippa*'s name. This was looked upon, not only by the multitude but *Augustus* himself, as an omen of his approaching end.

Shortly after, *Tiberius* set out for *Illyricum*, and *Augustus* accompanied him as far as *Beneventum*, from whence he proceeded to *Naples*, partly to assist at the games which were to be exhibited there on his birth-day, but chiefly in hopes that the air of that city, to which the *Romans* used to resort, even in those days, for the recovery of their health, would be of service to him. He performed the journey with uncommon chearfulness, attended by *Livia*, who, as we may imagine, was very assiduous about him in so critical a juncture. After he had spent some time at *Naples*, he was seized with a diarrhœa; upon which he resolved to return to *Rome*: but in his way back, his disorder increasing, he was obliged to stop at *Nola* in *Campania*, and there take to his bed. He then sent for *Tiberius*, and some of his most intimate friends; and after conversing with them some time, and giving them many wise and useful instructions relating to the management of their own affairs, as well as those of the public, he called for a looking-glass; and, having caused his hair to be set in order, and his wrinkled cheeks to be smoothed up, as was customary among the stage-players, he asked his friends, *Whether he had acted his part well?* and, on their answering, *He had;* *Then clap me,* said he, *for I have ended it.* He then fixed his eyes on *Livia*, who held him in her arms, and, desiring her to remember their marriage, and the ties which had kept their hearts so long united, quietly expired.

Such was the end of the great *Augustus*, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. *Livia* was suspected of having hastened his death

death, for fear of his being reconciled to his grandson *Agrip-* *Augustus.*
pa Posthumus, whom he had banished some years before to the island of Planasia, and to whom he had lately made a private visit.

The body of the deceased emperor was carried to *Rome*. His body with great pomp and solemnity. *Tiberius*, in virtue of the conveyed tribunitial power with which he was invested, appointed the senate to meet the next day; when *Augustus's* will was brought by the vestal virgins, and read aloud by *Polybius*, one of his freed-men. It began thus: *Since the gods have been pleased to deprive me of my grandchildren, Caius and Lucius, I declare Tiberius my heir, &c.* A preamble which plainly shews, that he would never have adopted *Tiberius*, nor appointed him his successor, had those two young princes, or either of them, lived. *Tiberius* and *Livia* were appointed his first heirs; his grandchildren, and their children, his second; and the great men of *Rome* his third heirs. *Livia* was adopted into the *Julian* family, and honoured with the title of *Augusta*. To the *Roman* people he left four hundred thousand great sesterces; to the populace thirty-five thousand; to every common soldier of the prætorian guard, a thousand small sesterces; and to every soldier of the *Roman* legions, three hundred. The funeral honours, which were next considered, were performed with the greatest magnificence that had ever been seen in *Rome*. *Druſus* read a short elegium of the deceased emperor, and *Tiberius* pronounced his funeral oration. When fire was set to the pile, an eagle was let loose from the top of it, as if it were to carry his soul to heaven. *Livia* afterwards deposited his ashes, in an urn of gold, in the fine mausoleum he had long before built for himself in a grove between the *Tiber* and the *Flaminian* way. The men were ordered to mourn for him three weeks, according to custom; but the women a whole year; probably out of compliment to *Livia*. As soon as the funeral was over, divine worship was decreed him, with a temple and priests. The house in which he was born, that in which he died, and most of the houses in which he had lived, were converted into sanctuaries.

Augustus was a man of sound judgment, great penetration, singular sagacity in improving opportunities, and in applying the abilities of others to his own ends. In the times of the republic, when valour and eloquence were the only means of rising, he would have made but a middling figure; for he was quite destitute of the former; and the latter, tho' it was easy and flowing, was by no means fit to move and controul the spirit of republicans. He found his way to the throne already made by his great uncle *Julius*; or he would never have thought of attempting it. He had, it is true, powerful enemies to contend with, whom he overcame; but his victories were owing to others, and not to himself. By the bravery of *Anthony*, he conquered *Brutus* and *Cassius*; and by

Augustus. by the valour of *Agrippa*, he conquered *Anthony*. Nor did it require extraordinary abilities to hold the empire, when he had once acquired it; the *Roman* spirit being entirely broken, and all those cut off, either in the battles of *Philippi* and *Aetium*, or by bloody proscriptions, who had courage enough to stand up in defence of their liberties. He was naturally of a cruel and vindictive temper, and did many mean things to satisfy his revenge, which the great soul of *Cæsar* would have scorned. We meet with no instances of his so much boasted clemency and moderation, till he had sacrificed to his jealousy all those whom he either feared or suspected. When he had thoroughly mastered the state, utterly extinguished all notions of liberty, and inhumanly massacred such as he thought capable of thwarting his designs, or disturbing him in the possession of his usurped power, he then governed with great mildness, and discharged all the duties of an excellent prince: which gave rise to the saying, that *he should never have been born, or never have died*. When he had no longer any heirs of his own blood, whom he liked, he adopted the sons of his wife, and their sons; which plainly shews, that his former feints to resign the sovereignty were mere artifice, and that he was determined to intail slavery upon his country, and extend his usurpation even beyond the grave. Whether the mild laws he established, and the mildness with which he governed, after his sovereignty was thoroughly established, sufficiently atoned for his usurpation, and the many crimes attending it, we leave to our readers to determine.

T I B E R I U S.

Tiberius: THE first act of *Tiberius*'s reign was the murder of young *Agrippa*, whom he caused to be killed by a military tribune, in whose custody he then was, before he suffered *Augustus*'s death to be made public. He avoided mentioning this transaction in the senate; and gave out, that it was done by the particular command of *Augustus*, who had charged the centurion that guarded the youth, to dispatch him upon the first news of his death. The better to support this story, when the tribune acquainted *Tiberius* that he had executed his commands, he immediately answered, *That he had given no such command, and that he should be answerable to the senate for what he had done*. *Crispus Sallustius*, who was privy to all the secret counsels of *Tiberius*, and had sent the tribune the warrant for the death of *Agrippa*, alarmed at this, ran directly to *Livia*, and advised her, by no means to divulge the secrets

secrets of the palace, the counsels of the ministers, and the services of the soldiery; adding, *That Tiberius should beware of weakening the sovereign authority, by referring all things to the senate; the nature of absolute power being such as would not be preserved entire but in one person.* His advice was followed, and no farther mention was made of this cruel affair.

As soon as the death of *Augustus* was made known at *Rome*, the consuls, senators, and knights, ran headlong into slavery; as *Tacitus* expresses it: and that complaisance and esteem which they had for *Augustus*, degenerated into base fawnings *Tiberius's* and vile flatterings to *Tiberius*. All suits and petitions were feigned now made to him; and being offered the government in the modesty of the senate, though he had already secured it to himself, he, with much artifice, began to talk of the greatness of the *Roman empire*, his own insufficiency for such a charge, which he said he thought nothing less than the care and wisdom of *Augustus* capable of bearing: that, as to him, he had learned sufficiently, since *Augustus's* making him an associate and partner in the state, the difficulties and dangers inseparably annexed to rule and sovereignty; and that, as the city was filled with men of high rank and great abilities, it would be more advantageous, that many, by joining their cares and counsels, should undertake the charge, than to lay the whole burden upon one man. After this, he expressed himself in more ambiguous terms, till the whole body of the senate, in the lowest and most abject manner, begged of him to accept the government. Pretending then to yield to their importunities, he said he would undertake the government of any single part of the state that they might think fit to intrust him with, but that he was unequal to the weight of the whole. Upon this, *Afinius Gallus* asked him, *What part he was willing to accept of?* This unexpected demand startled *Tiberius*; but, soon recovering himself, he answered, *That it would ill become him to chuse or reject any one part of that from the whole of which he desired to be excused.* *Gallus*, perceiving him offended, as readily replied, *That he did not ask that question, as if he designed to divide what was in itself indivisible; but to convince him, by his own confession, that the commonwealth was but one body, and consequently could be actuated only by one soul.* Then, continuing his speech, he made a long descant upon the great merits and accomplishments of *Tiberius*, his many victories and conquests, and the several offices he had borne with distinguished honour. *Lucius Arruntius*, *Quintus Haterius*, *Marcus Scaurus*, and several other senators, spoke nearly in the same stile as *Gallus's* home question to *Tiberius*; and some went even farther, bidding him either accept if the empire, or declare in plain terms that he rejected it; and sarcastically telling him, *That other men were slow to perform what they promised readily; but that he was slow to promise what he had already performed.* None of these speeches were lost upon *Tiberius*, who took care to remember, and severely revenge them. At length,

Tiberius. length, pretending to be overcome by the importunities of the conscript fathers, and complaining of the heavy burden they laid upon him, he yielded by degrees to their request, and in the end accepted the government, telling them, that they might still have hopes he would one day resign it; *that he would accept and hold it till such time as they, in their great prudence, should think fit to give repose to his old age.* Thus was a crafty dissimulation on one side, and an abject flattery on the other, carried to a length destructive to the *Roman state* and people; and *Tiberius Claudus Drusus Nero*, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, was invested by the senate and people with the same unbounded power which *Augustus* had enjoyed.

He takes
upon him
the em-
pire with
feigned
reluctance

The senate, setting no bounds to their servile adulation, were for immediately heaping extraordinary honours on the mother of their new emperor: but *Tiberius* absolutely forbid any such thing, not suffering even a lictor to be decreed her, though every vestal enjoyed that mark of distinction. Such, from the very beginning of his reign, was his ingratitude to his mother, to whom he chiefly owed his elevation to the throne. He was a no less cruel husband, than an undutiful son; for he was no sooner declared emperor, than he stopped the small pension which *Augustus* had always allowed *Julia* for her support in her banishment; so that this unhappy princess, after a long series of miseries, died of want in the fifteenth year of her exile. At the same time *Sempronius Gracchus*, one of her chief favourites, was, by *Tiberius*'s order, put to death in the island of *Cercina*, to which he had been confined by *Augustus*. But his principal care in the beginning of his reign, was, to engage in his interest his nephew *Germanicus*, whose extraordinary parts and sweet temper made him be adored by the soldiery and people. In order to this, though he hated *Germanicus* in his heart, he asked, and obtained for him, the proconsular power, and immediately dispatched into *Germany* persons of the first rank to acquaint him therewith, and condole with him, in his name, for the death of *Augustus*. He then named twelve candidates for the praetorship; among whom were *Velleius Paterculus*, the historian, and his brother. The people had hitherto enjoyed the privilege of creating magistrates, or, at least, shared it with the emperor; one half of the magistrates being named by him, and the other by the tribes, assembled in the field of *Mars*; but *Tiberius*, in the first elections, deprived them of their antient rights, and transferred them to the senate. The people complained of this innovation, but no disturbances ensued; and the senators were pleased with it, because it freed them from the charge of buying votes, and the shame of begging them.

The pri-
vilege of
creating
magi-
strates in-
vested in
the senate.

The army *Tiberius* had scarce taken possession of the sovereign power, in *Pannonia*, when he was informed that the army in *Pannonia*, wanting to take advantage of the death of *Augustus* to procure themselves unreasonable indulgences, and being instigated by one

Percennius,

*Julia dies
of want.*

Percennius, a common soldier, had mutinied against their commander *Julius Blæsus*. *Julius* was immediately sent to pacify them, and *Tiberius* himself wrote them a letter, wherein he promised to speak to the senate in their favour. But promises would not satisfy them: their fury was worked up to such a pitch, that they were deaf to all reason, and would probably have proceeded to the greatest violences against *Drusus*, and several other of their chief officers, had not ignorance and superstition unexpectedly restored a calm, which no intreaties could effect. One night, which seemed to be but so terribly fixed upon by the mutineers for the execution of some horrid design, the moon, on a sudden began to darken in the an eclipse midst of a clear sky, and by degrees was totally eclipsed. The soldiery, ignorant of the natural causes of this phenomenon, turns to its and imputing it to the anger of the gods on account of their duty. revolt, were struck with such terror, that they quietly returned to their duty. *Percennius*, and the other ringleaders of the sedition were put to death.

Almost at the same time, and for the same cause, the legions in *Germany*, which were much more numerous, revolted with greater fury, in the absence of *Germanicus*. They many resolutely asserted, *That, as the principal grandeur of the Roman empire was owing to their arms, they had a right to dispose of it as they thought proper*: and accordingly, when *Germanicus*, who was adored by the troops, arrived at their camp, they unanimously resolved to chuse him emperor; but his unbounded greatness of mind and generosity would not suffer him to accept of any such offer, though his refusal endangered his life. At last, by giving money to some, and promises to others, by unexpectedly cutting off many of the chief mutineers, and immediately turning his forces against the rest, he quieted this dangerous disturbance, to the great joy of *Tiberius*, who, nevertheless, amidst all the praises he was forced to give *Germanicus* in the senate, for this, and other great successes against the *Germans*, could not help betraying a secret envy and jealousy of his prosperity.

These disorders among the troops, together with the great veneration which they and all the people had for *Germanicus*, were a severe restraint upon *Tiberius*, who now, with wonderful dissimulation, concealed those vices and enormities which afterwards displayed themselves so openly; and acted, in most things, like a truly generous and clement prince. Of the many extraordinary honours that were offered him, he accepted but few, and those of the lowest sort. He forbade any priests or temples to be decreed him, or statues gining of to be erected but by his own permission; which he granted sometimes, but upon condition that they shoud not be placed among images of the gods. He refused the title of *Father of his country*, and never took upon him the name of *Augustus*, tho' it was hereditary, except in his letters to foreign princes. He had an aversion to flattery, and never would hear any thing

Tiberius. thing that bordered upon it ; nor would he permit the senate to swear to the observation of his ordinances, saying, *That all mortal things were mutable and uncertain ; and, that the higher he was raised the more he was exposed to danger.* If any in the senate happened to differ from him in opinion, the opposition did not seem to give him the least offence. If libels, or slanderous reports, were thrown out against him, he bore them with extraordinary patience, saying, *That in a free city, the tongues of men ought also to be free.* His carriage towards the senate was very respectful, nothing of moment being transacted without their advice and approbation. He never entered into the senate-house with any attendants, but once, when he was brought in, on account of an indisposition, in a litter ; and then he immediately ordered those that were with him to withdraw. He allowed every senator to speak his mind freely ; and happening one day to differ in opinion from *Q. Haterius,* *Pardon me, I beseech you,* said he, *if, as a senator, I speak against you with more freedom than ordinary.* Then, turning to the whole assembly, he said, *Most venerable fathers, I but repeat what I have often said before ; that a good and moderate prince, to whom you have given so great and absolute power, ought to be serviceable not only to the senate, and the body of the city, but to every particular citizen ; nor do I repent of any thing I have said of this nature, having always accounted you, as I still do, my good, just, and gracious lords.* The senate, on their side, continually returned him the most extravagant praises and commendations, as did likewise many of the nobility ; so that no prince ever had more servile flatterers, or knew better how to use them, to enslave and weaken the state. Upon his first coming to the throne, the Romans seemed more disposed to serve than he to command ; and gave themselves up to slavery at a time when he could scarcely have hoped for their subjection. He shewed as much respect to the consuls, always rising up to them when they came into any place where he was, and giving way to them if he met them in the streets. The power he allowed them was so great, that certain ambassadors from *Africa* had recourse to them, desiring they would return them a speedy answer, since *Cæsar*, to whom they had been sent, put them off from day to day.

His respect for the senate and consuls. *He re-forms the manners of the people.* He applied himself, with great care, to the reformation of manners, and made many excellent regulations, by which he restrained the immoderate expences of plays and shews, the vast sums that were given for *Corinthian* vases and other rich furniture, and the luxury of entertainments, which was such, that thirty thousand festerces had been paid for three mullets. To put a stop to this, he ordered, that the prices of provisions in the markets should be annually regulated by the senate. All eating-houses and taverns, of which there were at this time prodigious numbers in *Rome*, were, by his order, suppressed, as places of extravagance, debauchery, and riot.

riot: and, that he might, by his own example, countenance *Tiberius*. frugality in others, he had, even in his greatest entertainments, meat served up which had been dressed and cut up the day before, saying, *That every part had the same taste as the whole*. To check the progress of vice, he drove out of *Rome* a great number of young people, of both sexes, who were noted for their debaucheries; and at the same time revived an ancient law, empowering all parents to punish their daughters, even after they were married, if, by their loose conduct, they brought disgrace upon their families. In this particular he was so strict, that he forbid the custom of kissing by way of salutation. He seemed intirely averse to loading the people with any new taxes; and when some governors of provinces shewed him by what means he might increase his revenues from thence, he answered, *That a good shepherd ought to shear, but not to flea, his flock*. Such was the behaviour of *Tiberius*, while his authority was yet wavering: but we shall soon see him throw off the mask, and abandon himself, without controul, to those vices, of which he now so artfully affected the appearance of the opposite virtues.

The following year, *Germanicus* pursued the war against the *Germans*, and defeated them in several battles; subduing the *Rome 769. Angrivarii*, the *Cherusci*, the *Catti*, with several other fierce *Germani*-nations beyond the *Rhine*, and recovering the ensigns lost by *Varus*, whose remains, and those of his unfortunate legions, were a-he buried with great solemnity. For these advantages he erected against the several trophies and monuments in honour of the *Roman state Germans*. and emperor; upon one of which he put this modest inscription: *The people between the Rhine and the Elbe being vanquished, Tiberius Cæsar's army dedicates this monument to Mars, Jupiter, and Augustus*; not so much as mentioning his own name, to avoid all envy, or because the memory of the action was a sufficient testimony of him, as *Tacitus* observes. But all his caution could not screen him from the jealousy of the *Tiberius* suspicious *Tiberius*, who, envying his successes, and hating jealous of him the more for them, used every artifice he could think of him, to draw him from the *German* legions, whose attachment to him he knew to be extreme. A domestic insurrection suspended for a while the execution of this design of *Tiberius*. One *Clemens*, a slave to that *Agrippa* who was killed immediately after the death of *Augustus*, being about the same age, and in his person very like his late lord, assumed his name, and caused it to be reported in all parts, *That Agrippa, by the peculiar providence of the gods, was still alive*. Numbers of loose and seditious people flocked to him from all parts of *Italy*, and he, at the head of this rabble, boldly pretended a right to the empire. He was soon defeated, taken, and brought before *Tiberius*, upon whose asking him, *How he came to be Agrippa?* he answered, *As you came to be Cæsar*. *Tiberius*, either through fear or policy, did not punish him publicly;

Tiberius. licly, but ordered him to be privately executed in his palace; and though many of his own household, and several people of consequence, were thought to have assisted him with their purses, no enquiry was made after them.

The quelling of this disturbance left *Tiberius* at liberty to indulge his dislike to *Germanicus*, whose noble exploits daily increased his jealous fears. The affairs of this year presented him with the fairest opportunity he could wish, to recall him; for the *Parthians*, having killed two of their kings, and refused their lawful successor, whom *Tiberius* had freed from being his hostage, broke the peace they had made with *Augustus*, and entered *Armenia*, whose king was a tributary of the *Romans*. *Tiberius*, that he might proceed more by policy than authority, caused a triumph to be decreed *Germanicus* for his exploits in *Germany*, and then wrote to him to return to *Rome*, and there enjoy the triumph he had so justly deserved; adding, *That he was truly sensible of the dangers and difficulties he had gone through, and that he had now reduced these barbarous nations low enough, to leave them to pursue their own domestic feuds and to destroy one another.* In answer to this, *Germanicus* begged for one year more, to complete his conquest. *Tiberius* was inflexible; and in order to entice him home, he offered him a second consulship, which he was to execute in person. Though *Germanicus* saw plainly that these were but specious pretences, suggested by envy, to rob him of the glory he was likely to acquire by another campaign; yet, finding it was in vain to persist any longer, he at length complied, and set out for *Rome* with his wife and children.

Germanicus recalled.

His arrival at
Rome,
and tri-
umph.

Tiberius received him with the greatest seeming friendship and affection, and, with the deepest dissimulation, commended him to the senate, as well deserving the highest honours they could possibly bestow upon him. His triumph was exceedingly magnificent; and what added to the beauty of the shew, and the satisfaction of the spectators, was the extraordinary gracefulness of *Germanicus*'s person, and his chariot filled with his three sons, *Nero*, *Druſus*, and *Caius*; and his two daughters, *Agrippina* and *Druſilla*. To render the solemnity still more complete, and the joy of the people more universal, *Tiberius* distributed among them, in the name of *Germanicus*, a large sum of money, and named himself his colleague in the consulship for the ensuing year. But, notwithstanding all these demonstrations of regard, the people still suspected his sincerity; and what confirmed their apprehensions, was, among several other proofs he now gave of his treacherous disposition, his behaviour to *Archelaus*, king of *Cappadocia*, who had incurred his displeasure many years before, by neglecting to pay his court to him during his retirement at *Rhodes*, and whom, after enticing him to *Rome* by means of letters from his mother *Livia*, promising him pardon,

pardon, provided he came in person to ask it, he caused to be accused as a criminal, and made him die miserably. At the same time *Antiochus*, king of *Commagene*, and *Philopator*, king of *Cilicia*, dying, and some disturbances arising in those countries, to the prejudice of the *Romans*; and *Syria* and *Judaea* likewise petitioning to be eased of part of their taxes; all these accidents, together with the *Parthian* and *Armenian* wars, seconded the wicked designs of *Tiberius*, who represented to the senate, *That the affairs of the East could not well be settled but by the presence of Germanicus in those parts*. Accordingly, all the provinces of *Asia* were readily decreed to him, with a greater power than had been given to any governor since the time of *Pompey the Great*. But to balance the East and restrain this extraordinary power, *Tiberius* removed from the government of *Syria* *C. Silanus*, who was *Germanicus's* friend, and put in his place *Cn. Piso*, a man of a most violent and untractable temper, and in every respect fit to execute the fatal purposes for which he was chiefly chosen. His wife, *Plancina*, who was still more imperious than himself, had likewise secret instructions from *Tiberius* and *Livia* to offer *Agrippina* all sorts of insults, and to assist her husband even in procuring the death of *Germanicus* if there should be occasion.

Germanicus set out for his eastern expedition, taking with him his children and his wife *Agrippina*, who, upon their arrival at *Lesbos*, was delivered of a third daughter, named *Julia*. In the mean time, *Piso*, in pursuance of his instructions, began to court the soldiers by bounties and carelessness, to form factions among them, to remove the ancient centurions and tribunes, and place creatures of his own in their room, and to abuse and vilify *Germanicus*. Though these proceedings, and the cause of them, were well known to the young prince, yet, overlooking them all, as foreign to the business he was going upon, he hastened into *Armenia*, where, with the approbation of the nobility of that country, he placed the diadem upon the head of *Zeno*, the son of *Polemen*, king of *Pontus*, a friend and ally of the *Romans*.

From *Armenia* he proceeded to *Capadoccia*, and from thence to *Commagene*, both which kingdoms, being vacant by the death of their sovereigns, he reduced to Roman provinces. Soon after this, he renewed the ancient alliance between the *Romans* and *Parthians*; and having thus put an end to the disturbances of the east, he took a journey into *Egypt*, to view the curiosities and antiquities of that famous country. His journey proved very beneficial to the inhabitants, whom he relieved from a great famine, by causing the granaries to be every where opened, and the price of corn to be abated. The jealous emperor, laying hold of this opportunity, wrote him a letter, wherein he censured him very severely for presuming to enter into that province, when *Augustus*, among other secrets of state, had strictly forbidden

Tiberius. all senators and *Roman* knights of any figure, to travel thither, without special licence.

Germanicus, having satisfied his curiosity in *Egypt*, returned to *Syria*, where he found all the regulations he had made utterly abolished, and the orders he had left with the legions wholly neglected. Unable to bear this insult he reproached *Piso* in very sharp and severe terms, which, notwithstanding his natural boldness, and his confidence in the protection of *Tiberius*, so frightened him, that he resolved to leave *Syria*, and abandon his government. While he was

Falls sick, preparing for his departure, *Germanicus* was taken ill, but soon recovered, to the great joy of the people of *Antioch*, where he then was, who testified their gladness with public vows and sacrifices. *Piso*, enraged at this, ordered his lictors to drive away the victims, throw down the altars, and disperse the people assembled to celebrate the festival; immediately after which, he withdrew to *Seleucia*. Soon after

and dies. his departure *Germanicus* relapsed, lingered some time, and died, firmly persuaded that *Piso* had poisoned him, at the instigation of *Tiberius* and *Livia*, the only two persons in the

Year of Rome 772. whole *Roman* empire, says *Dion Cassius*, who were not affected with so great a loss. When the news of his death arrived

of *Christ*, at *Rome*, the courts of justice, shops, and houses, were im-

mediately shut up, without any edict of the magistrates, or decree of the senate, and nothing but sighs and lamentations was heard in every street. The people, in a violent fury, murmured loudly, not only against *Piso*, but against the emperor himself, and his mother *Livia*. Their complaints increased shortly after, upon the arrival of *Germanicus*'s widow *Agrippina*, with the ashes of her husband. She was received at her landing, with tokens of the deepest sorrow, by infinite multitudes, who had flocked to *Brundusium* to condole with her on so melancholy an occasion. At some distance from *Rome* she was met by the senate, and the whole people of that city, all drowned in tears, and expressing the utmost grief. Neither *Tiberius* nor *Livia* appeared abroad; either because they thought it beneath their grandeur to lament publicly, or through fear of betraying in their countenances some marks of joy amidst the public lamentations. The remains of the deceased were deposited in the tomb of *Augustus*, the whole city attending them to the field of *Mars*, where that stately monument was erected.

Piso arrives at Rome, and is arraigned. Not long after, *Piso* and his wife *Plancina*, arriving at *Rome*, were arraigned before the senate. He, in particular, was accused of many crimes besides the death of *Germanicus*, such as, that he had corrupted the soldiery with licentiousness and debauchery; that he had done great injuries to the

Roman allies; that he had suffered himself to be called the *father of the legions* by the soldiers he had debauched; that he had been barbarous and cruel to all good men; and that he had borne arms against the state. His defence was poor

and

and weak : only the poisoning of *Germanicus* could not be *Tiberius*. proved so evidently as some other things. However, the anger and severity of the judges, the cries and threats of the people, and, above all, the artifices and dissimulations of *Tiberius*, drove him to such extremities, that, before his cause could be finally determined, he was found dead in his bed, with his throat cut, and his sword lying by him. His wife *Plancina*, who was supposed to have been more guilty than himself, found means to escape public punishment, thro' the intercession of *Livia*.

Tiberius, having now got free from all his troubles and *Tiberius* jealousies, began to throw off the mask, and to shew his begins to vicious inclinations and tyrannical disposition. Notwith- shew his standing his fine professions in the beginning of his reign, it wicked was evident to many, that he had already deviated greatly from dispo- the wife maxims of *Augustus*, all whose public actions tended tion, manifestly to the general happiness of the *Roman* people and empire : whereas this emperor made a false and mysterious interest of the prince, separate from that of the state, and almost always contrary to the public good. Judgment, ca- pacity, and the wife secrets of state, were now converted in- to slyness, artifice, and dangerous dissimulation.

A little before *Germanicus*'s departure for the east, he re- vived the law of lese-majesty, or high treason, to which num- bers of the nobility soon fell victims. The first of these was *Libo Drusus*, descended of the *Scribonian* family, one of the most illustrious in *Rome*, and no way inferior in nobility to the reigning house. His high quality rendered him ob-noxious to *Tiberius* : which a senator, by name *Firmius Cat- tus*, perceiving, resolved to gain the emperor's favour, by giving him a plausible pretence to deliver himself from the person he disliked. With this view, having insinuated him- self into the favour of the unwary youth, by flattering his hopes and ambition, and magnifying the nobility of his fa- mily, he prevailed upon him to consult the Chaldeans and magicians, whether he should not be one day invested with the sovereign power, to which he had as good a claim, said the treacherous *Firmius*, as the family that enjoyed it. This *Libo Drusus* was sufficient matter for a charge of high treason. *Libo* was *sus* con- tried and condemned, and his estate divided amongst his ac- cusers ; which, to use the expression of *Ammianus Marcelli* for high *nus*, was sounding the trumpet to informations and arraignments. *treason*. *Libo*, driven to despair, killed himself.

Apuleia Varilia, grand niece to *Augustus*, by his sister, was accused, by one of that infamous profession, of having re- viled the deified *Augustus*, *Tiberius*, and his mother *Livia*, accused of and of having dishonoured with adultery the blood of the *treason*. *Cæsars*, which was high treason. *Tiberius* admitted the ac- cusation, but shewed great moderation in the prosecution of the accused, pardoning her invectives, and mitigating her punishment for the adultery, of which she was found guil- ty.

Tiberius. ty, into exile two hundred miles from *Rome*; but *Manlius*, who had debauched her, was banished *Italy* and *Africa*.

*Trial of
Æmilia
Lepida.* *Emilia Lepida*, great grand-daughter to *Sylla* and *Pompey*, and once designed for the wife of *Lucius Cæsar*, and for the daughter in law of *Augustus*, was charged with imposing upon her husband *Publius Quirinus* a supposititious child, with adultery, and with consulting the Chaldaeans about the fate of the imperial family, which was a capital crime. Her brother *Manius Lepidus* undertook her defence; and *Tiberius* behaved on this occasion with such subtlety, that it was impossible to discover his real sentiments. At first, he begged the senators not to meddle with the article of treason, and soon after charged *M. Servilius* to produce those very proofs which he pretended to suppress. Nor would he suffer *Lepida's* slaves to be examined by torture, as to the articles of treason, nor his son *Drusus*, though consul elect, to vote first, lest the rest should think themselves obliged to follow his example. However, the slaves of *Lepida* confessing upon the rack, that she had imposed upon her husband a supposititious child, and even attempted to poison him, she was condemned to perpetual banishment; but her estate was not confiscated. After her condemnation, *Tiberius* told the senators, that he had likewise learnt from her husband's slaves, that she had attempted to poison him.

Germanicus's eldest son Nero favoured by Tiberius. Towards the latter end of this year, *Tiberius* recommended to the senate *Germanicus's* eldest son *Nero*, that he might stand for the quæstorship five years sooner than the law directed; which, with a place in the college of pontiffs, was readily granted. The first day he entered the *forum* in his virile robes, a donation of corn and money was distributed by *Tiberius* to the people, overjoyed to see a son of *Germanicus* now of age. Their joy was doubled by his marriage with *Julia*, the daughter of *Drusus*: but soon after they saw, with the utmost concern and indignation, the daughter of *Sejanus* betrothed to young *Drusus*, the nephew of *Germanicus*, and son of *Claudius*, who reigned after *Caligula*. By this match, the *Claudian* family seemed in a manner degraded, and *Sejanus*, whose power and credit with the emperor was already too great, raised still higher. Within a few days after, *Drusus* died at *Pompeii* by a very strange accident, being choaked by a pear, which stuck in his throat, as he threw it up in the air, in play, and caught it in his mouth.

*Death of
Germanicus's ne-
phew
Drusus.* This year died the poet *Ovid*, at *Tomas* in *Pontus*; and the famous historian *Livy*, at *Padua*, his native city. He was the last of those illustrious writers who once adorned the court of *Augustus*.

Tiberius goes into Campania. The following year *Tiberius* held his fourth consulship, in which his son *Drusus* was his colleague; but soon after he had assumed the fasces, he retired to *Campania*, under pretence of his health, but, in reality, either with a design to accustom

accustom himself to live out of *Rome*, or to leave *Drusus* the *Tiberius*, honour of discharging that office alone, and that his government might facilitate his settlement in the empire after his decease. The moderation and mildness with which *Drusus* governed during his father's absence, encouraged some senators to apply to him for redress to an evil which was by degrees grown insupportable. The statues of the emperor were become sanctuaries to profligates, who, laying hold of them, might with impunity threaten and insult whom they pleased; not even a master being allowed to punish a slave for the invectives he had uttered against him, while he held the emperor's statue. *Drusus* put a stop to this abuse, and thereby gained the affection of the people so much, that they overlooked his love of pleasure, and the luxury in which he lived.

The *Gauls*, no longer able to bear the heavy tributes with *The Gauls* which they were loaded, and the pride and cruelty of their revolt, governors, attempted this year to shake off the *Roman* yoke, being stirred up by *Julius Florus*, a native of *Treves*, and *Julius Sacrovir*, a leading man among the *Aeduans*, or people of *Autun*. They were both defeated by *Caius Silius*, and but are both of them killed themselves. The next year, *Tiberius* subdued *gave Drusus* the tribunitial power; and *Tacfarinas*, a great and powerful man in *Numidia*, who had rebelled, and been defeated by *L. Afronius* two years before, was now again overthrown by *Junius Blæsus*, who, in return for this service, was, with *Tiberius*'s consent, saluted *Imperator* by his troops, according to the ancient custom.

Towards the end of this year, *Drusus* falling sick, *C. Lu-Priscus* *tiorius Priscus*, a *Roman* knight, thinking the distemper would condemn prove mortal, wrote a poem bewailing his death, and, outed and ex- of vanity, read it to some of his acquaintance. As *Rome* ecuted for swarmed with informers, he was accused of this before the writing a senate; and *Haterius Agrippa*, who, as consul elect, voted poem. first, declared, that in his opinion he ought to be punished with death. The whole senate, except two, who were for condemning him to perpetual banishment, and confiscating his estate, agreed to this motion, and *Priscus* was carried back to prison, and immediately put to death. To so deplorable a state of slavery was *Rome* already reduced! But *Priscus*'s real crime, as we learn from *Tacitus*, was, his having composed a poem on the death of *Germanicus*, which had been so well received, that *Tiberius* could not help rewarding him for it. The emperor, who was still in *Campania*, behaved on this occasion with his usual ambiguity, commanding the senate, in a letter which he wrote them, for their zeal in thus punishing the slightest injuries done to the prince; but at the same time intreating them not to be so hasty in punishing words. His seeming to disapprove of this hasty execution gave rise to a new decree of the senate, viz. That their orders should not be carried to the

Tiberius. the treasury to be inrolled, (till which they had not the force of laws, and were called only the *orders* or *authority* of the senate), nor the condemned person executed, in less than ten days after sentence had been given. But no criminals reaped any benefit from this respite in *Tiberius's* reign; his cruel and revengeful temper being never softened by time. *Caligula* always observed it, even with respect to those whom he himself sentenced to death; and so did all the succeeding emperors down to *Theodosius the Great*, who granted twenty days more to all that were condemned.

The luxury of the *Romans*, notwithstanding their sumptuary laws, was grown to so monstrous an excess, in the expence of entertainments, number of domestics, quantity of gold and silver plate, jewels, furniture, &c. that the ædiles thought it necessary, the following year, to move for some further regulation in that respect. The senate referred the matter to *Tiberius*, who thereupon wrote them a letter, in which, after commending the zeal of the ædiles, he owned, that the excesses they complained of ought to be checked by the severest laws: *But*, added he, *if such laws were enacted, take upon even those who now censure this extravagance, would be the first to complain, that the state was utterly undone, that snares were laid for every noble and wealthy family, and that all men would become the prey of informers.* He ended his letter with telling them, *That if any of the magistrates would undertake to put a stop to so great an evil, he should have both his praises and thanks for easing him of part of his burthen; but that, as to himself, he would not take upon him that odious task.* The senate, upon reading his letter, ordered the ædiles to proceed no farther in that matter. *Tiberius*, by thus rejecting the proposal for reforming luxury, which would have proved an inexhaustible fund of impeachments and confiscations, gained the fame of moderation among the nobility, with whose wealth the informers would not have failed to enrich themselves, had he either enforced the old, or established new sumptuary laws.

Soon after, *Tiberius* wrote another letter to the senate, desiring the tribunitial power for *Drusus*, which was immediately granted, and statues were decreed both to the emperor and his son. *M. Silanus* moved, that, for the future, not the names of the consuls, but of those who exercised the tribunitial power, should be prefixed to all records; and *Ha-terius Agrippa*, that the decrees of that day should be written in letters of gold, and hung up in the senate. Thus were those once mighty senators, the arbiters of kings and emperors, now changed into mean slaves, and become, by their infamous flattery, an object of derision and contempt to all foreign nations, and to that very prince, whose favour they strove to gain by disgracing themselves; *Tiberius* being, more than once, overheard to say to himself, as he was going out of the senate, *O men prepared for bondage!* So much did he abhor flattery, though he was an enemy to public liberty.

Meanness
of the se-
nate.

berity. *Drusus*, who was then in *Campania*, wrote the *senate* a letter of thanks for their giving him the tribunitial power, but did not condescend to come to *Rome* to receive it.

Not long after this, *Livia* being taken dangerously ill, *Tiberius* hastened back to *Rome*, the mother and son still returns to living in perfect amity, or artfully disguising their mutual *Rome*, hatred, which last was generally believed to be the case. The senate, on this occasion, decreed supplications to the gods, with the celebration of the great games, for her recovery, and betrayed such a mean spirit of servitude, that even *Tiberius* himself was ashamed of their behaviour.

Though *Tiberius* had gained an absolute command over the persons of others, he himself was almost as much ruled by his favourite *Sejanus*, a *Roman* knight, bold and aspiring in his attempts, close and crafty in his designs, but modest in outward shew and appearance. By his insinuations and artifices he gained such an ascendant over the emperor, that he made him extremely reserved to others, but free and open to him. *Tiberius* made him captain of the prætorian guards, raised him to the highest dignities in the state, extolled him in the senate as the partner of his labours, and permitted his statues to be set up in the theatres and other public places. The ambitious *Sejanus*, thus lifted up above his condition, aimed at nothing less than the sovereign power, as a step towards which, he resolved to get rid of *Drusus*. In order to this, he addressed himself to *Drusus*'s wife *Livia*, sister to *Germanicus*, and having first, by pretending a violent passion for her, induced her to comply with his criminal desires; he afterwards, without much difficulty, prevailed upon her to concur with him in destroying her husband, by giving her hopes of marriage, and making her his partner in the empire; to confirm which, he divorced his wife *Apicata*, though he had three children by her. *Eudemus*, *Livia*'s physician, was made privy to the design, and, by their direction, prepared a slow-working poison, that the death of the young prince might be ascribed to a casual distemper. The fatal potion was administered to *Drusus* by the eunuch *Lygdus*, one of his freedmen, as was learnt eight years after, when *Sejanus*, being disgraced, and punished as he deserved, the whole scene of iniquity was discovered by his wife *Apicata*, and the confessions of *Eudemus* and *Lygdus* upon the rack. *Drusus* fell into a lingering distemper, pined away, and died.

Tiberius shewed but little concern during the illness, or after the death of his son; nor indeed did the people, whose hopes now were, that *Germanicus*'s children, whom they respected and esteemed for their father's sake, would succeed to the empire: whereas *Drusus* was in general disliked, and even hated, for his cruelty and debaucheries. The senate, however, decreed to his memory the same honours as

they

Rise of
Sejanus.

Tiberius. they had before given to that of *Germanicus*. *Tiberius* then presented *Nero* and *Drusus*, the sons of *Germanicus*, to the senate, with words to this effect. *Conscript fathers, These fatherless children I commended to their uncle, and besought him, tho' he had issue of his own, to bring them up and cherish them, as mends the sons of Germanicus to the senate.* if they were immediately descended from him. *Drusus being snatched from us, I address my prayers to you, and, in the presence of the gods and our country, conjure you to receive into your protection the great grandchildren of Augustus : fulfil your own duty towards them ; fulfil mine.* Then turning to the youths, To you, *Nero*, (said he) to you, *Drusus, these are in the stead of a father. Your condition is such, that whatever good or evil befalls you, must befall the commonwealth.* Had he stopped here, he would have left the senators full of compassion and admiration ; but his repeating anew what he had often said before, and what had been so often ridiculed, *that he designed to restore the republic*, made every one doubt the sincerity of what he had been saying.

Tacfarinas the *Numidian*, who was defeated and killed by *P. Dolabella*, proconsul of *Africa*, with the assistance of *Ptolemy*, who had succeeded his father *Juba* in the kingdom of *Mauritania*.

Rome was at this time witness to such an example of horror and unnatural cruelty, as might alone be sufficient to render the reign and memory of *Tiberius* execrable to the latest posterity. *Vibius Serenus*, proconsul of the Farther Spain, had, some time before, been condemned for mal-administration, and banished to the island of *Amorgos*. He was now dragged from that place of exile to a fresh trial, being accused by his own son of treasonable practices against the majesty of the emperor. The father appeared before the senate, bound in chains, with a dejected countenance, and in the dismal habit of a criminal, while his son, in the gayest attire, alledged a plot framed by his father against the emperor ; at the same time accusing him of having sent emissaries into *Gaul*, to stir up a rebellion there. He likewise charged *C. Cornutus*, formerly prætor, with having supplied the conspirators with money. *Cornutus*, though innocent, no sooner heard himself accused, than, looking on his accusation as a sure signal of destruction, he killed himself. But *Serenus*, turning full upon his son, and shaking his chains, begged of the gods that they would restore him to the place of his exile, where he might pass his days far from such objects of horror. He then urged that *Cornutus* was innocent, and only frightened with a false accusation, and challenged his son to produce other witnesses, and name other confederates, since it was not probable, that, with one accomplice only, he should have thought of murdering the prince, and changing the government. The accuser then named *C. Lentulus* and *S. Tuber*, both men of the first rank.

Vibius Serenus accused by his own son.

in *Rome*, and the emperor's intimate friends ; the former so *Tiberius*. old, and the latter so broken with infirmities, that *Tiberius* himself could not help blushing when he heard them named, and immediately acquitted them. The slaves of the pretended criminal were then examined, and their testimony proved favourable to their master. Upon this, the populace, provoked at such monstrous proceedings, began to threaten the unnatural son with the punishment inflicted by the laws on parricides, which so terrified him, that he fled privately to *Ravenna*. But *Tiberius*, still remembering some expressions a little too free, which *Serenus* had used in a letter written to him eight years before, obliged the son to return and pursue the prosecution against his father : and though nothing could be proved against him, he was, by a majority of votes, sentenced to death as a traitor. *Tiberius*, indeed, to mitigate the odium accruing to him from such a crying piece of injustice, afterwards granted him his life, and remanded him back to *Amorgos*.

So little notice had been taken of the death of *Drusus*, that *Sejanus*, emboldened in his villany, determined next to destroy the sons of *Germanicus*, the now apparent heirs to the empire. But as he could not compass his wicked designs by poison, on account of the great vigilance of their mother, and the incorruptible fidelity of those about them, he artfully rouzed in the breast of *Tiberius*'s mother *Livia* the hatred she had long borne to *Agrippina*, and by her means raised jealousies and suspicions against her and her children in the mind of the emperor, which, as we shall soon see, proved the ruin of that unhappy family. In the mean time, intoxicated with his excessive power, and urged on by the importunities of *Livia*, the widow of *Drusus*, who was continually reminding him of his promise ; he presented a *Sejanus* memorial to the emperor, begging, that if a husband was asked young thought of for *Livia*, he would remember his friend, to *Livia* in whom he had already given innumerable instances of his affection and benevolence. In answer to this, *Tiberius* commended the fidelity of *Sejanus*, cursorily recapitulated his own favours towards him, and said, *He would consider farther Tiberius's of his request* ; concluding, however, with telling him, *That answer there was nothing so high, but his abilities and zeal for him might justly claim ; that he was meditating within himself by what ties to bind him, and that he would take a proper occasion to declare his sentiments, either in the senate, or the assembly of the people.*

Sejanus, knowing the emperor's dark and distrustful temper, was alarmed at this answer ; upon which, laying aside all thoughts of marrying *Livia*, he earnestly intreated him not to give ear to the slanderous reports of his enemies, nor listen to the malicious insinuations of such as hated him only on account of his unshaken fidelity. The more he reflected on *Tiberius*'s answer, the more he was at a loss how to behave, for fear of giving him umbrage. To refuse admittance

*Tiberius.*mittance to the numerous crowds of persons of all ranks, who daily frequented his house, to court his favour, would be lessening his power ; and to suffer them to continue coming, might furnish a handle for criminal accusations. In

*He per-
suades the
emperor
to leave
Rome.* this perplexity he at length resolved to persuade the emperor to leave *Rome*, and retire to some pleasant place, remote from the noise and hurry of the city. His principal reasons for this were, that there could then be no access to the prince, but by him ; that all letters and expresses would pass through his hands ; and that *Tiberius*, declining in age, and growing slothful and effeminate through the solitude of

*Year of
Rome 779.
of Christ,* the place, would more easily transfer upon him the whole charge of the government. His persuasions prevailed ; and

27. *Tiberius left Rome*, in the twelfth year of his reign, under pretence of going into *Campania*, only to dedicate a temple to *Jupiter* at *Capua*, and another to *Augustus* at *Nola*, but, in reality, determined never to return to *Rome*. Some writers ascribe this resolution of his to the artful insinuations of *Sejanus* : but as he continued in his retirement six years after the disgrace and execution of that minister, *Tacitus* thinks, that a more powerful motive which influenced him was, that of concealing in the obscurity of a solitary place, his natural inclination to cruelty, lewdness and debauchery. Some too have thought, that he was ashamed of his person in his old age ; for he was very thin, tall, and stooped much ; his head was bald, his face full of ulcers, and generally besmeared with ointments. He departed with a small retinue, having with him but one senator, *Cocceius Nerva*, formerly consul, and well versed in the knowledge of the laws ; one Roman knight, besides *Sejanus*, by name *Curtius Atticus*, and some men of letters, chiefly Greeks, whose conversation pleased him. The astrologers gave out, that he left *Rome* under such a conjunction of the planets, that he would never return thither, and that his end was at hand. The former part of this prediction proved true, and indeed the latter was very near being fulfilled soon after his departure ; for, as he was supping in a cave, or grotto, belonging to one of his villas, its mouth fell suddenly in, and buried some of his attendants, which so frightened the rest, that they all fled, except *Sejanus*, who, covering the emperor's body with his own, and stooping upon his knees and hands, received all the stones that fell from above ; so that *Tiberius* escaped unhurt. From this time, the emperor, looking upon him as one quite regardless of his own safety, and only solicitous about his, reposed an intire confidence in him, and blindly followed all his counsels, however bloody and destructive.

*Exposees
his person
for him.*

*Brings
Nero into
disgrace.*

The wicked minister, taking advantage of this confidence to destroy the family of *Germanicus*, which alone could thwart his ambitious designs, first attacked *Germanicus*'s eldest son *Nero*, a young prince, no way ambitious, but heedless of that circumspection which his present situation required.

quired. *Sejanus* placed people about him, who, by continually telling him of his high birth, and that both the people and soldiers longed to see him share the government with his grandfather, drew from him some unguarded expressions, which were immediately caught up, and, with many aggravations, carried to the emperor, who would not so much as allow him the privilege of clearing himself. Even his wife betrayed him, by acquainting her mother *Livia*, the widow of *Drusus*, and by her means *Sejanus*, not only with the words, but even with the sighs and dreams of her husband ; and his brother *Drusus*, hoping to succeed *Tiberius*, if his eldest brother was quite set aside, was likewise drawn into the combination. *Sejanus*, having thus set *Tiberius* against *Nero*, began next to consider how he might inflame him, at the same time, against *Drusus* and *Agrippina*, that the whole family of *Germanicus* might be at once involved in the same ruin.

The same year that *Tiberius* left *Rome*, he appointed *Pontius Pilate* governor of *Judea*. The following year was introduced by a fatal accident at *Fidenæ*, not far from *Rome*, where fifty thousand persons were wounded or killed by the fall of an amphitheatre. This was succeeded by another public calamity, a fire, which broke out on *Mount Cælius*, and burnt with such violence, that it intirely consumed that part of *Rome*. *Tiberius* did, on this occasion, all that the best of princes could have done ; for, of his own accord, *Tiberius's* and at his own expence, he made good the loss of every generosity sufferer.

Though *Tiberius* had, by a public edict, forbid all persons to disturb him in *Campania*, and even posted soldiers on the roads to prevent the concourse of the people to the towns where he resided ; yet, wishing still for greater privacy and retirement, he at length went to *Capreæ*, a delightful island about three miles from the continent, over against *Naples*. There he spent the last ten years of his life, giving himself entirely up to the most infamous lewdness and debaucheries, and throwing off all concern for the commonwealth, but not his suspicious temper : on the contrary, it increased, if possible, and he gave more credit than ever to informers ; *Sejanus* artfully inflaming his jealousies, and fomenting his distrusts. Spies and informers were employed in every part of *Rome* ; which caused daily disturbances, and the ruin of many worthy families. If a person of merit expressed any concern for the glory of the empire, *Tiberius* immediately suspected it was from a secret design of gaining it. If another had an innocent remembrance of liberty, he was looked upon as a dangerous person, and one who aimed at the re-establishing the commonwealth. To praise any of the antient *Romans*, was a capital crime ; to bewail *Augustus* was complaining of *Tiberius* : in short, every action became liable to forced interpretations ; the most innocent discourses expressed evil designs ;

Tiberius. designs ; a discreet silence concealed mischievous intentions ; joy betrayed hopes of the prince's death ; melancholy, envy of his prosperity ; and fear, the just apprehensions of a guilty conscience : so that to speak, to be silent, to be glad, to be grieved, to be fearful, or assured, were all crimes frequently punished with death. But *Sejanus*'s wicked practices and contrivances were chiefly levelled against *Agrippina* and her son *Nero*. As there was now no access to *Tiberius*, but thro' him, he no longer made his attempts upon them a secret, but openly placed guards about them, to watch all their words and actions, and at the same time suborned some of their acquaintance to advise them, rather than suffer such treatment, either to fly to the armies in *Germany*, or publicly to implore the protection of the senate and *Roman* people. These counsels, though they rejected them, were laid to their charge, as if they had intended to put them in execution.

Titius Sabinus put to death. The next year *Titius Sabinus*, an illustrious *Roman* knight, was hurried to prison for no other crime but his faithful attachment to the family of *Germanicus*. He was immediately after sentenced to death, and executed the same day, without being allowed time to make his defence. The city was never seized with greater dread : one relation feared another ; a general distrust reigned among all ranks of men ; strangers and acquaintance were equally avoided ; nay, even dumb and inanimate things, the very roofs and walls, occasioned dread and circumspection. *Tiberius* no sooner heard of the execution of *Sabinus*, than he wrote to the senate, thanking them for having punished an enemy to the commonwealth. He added in his letter, *That he led a life full of fear and anxiety, and was under continual apprehensions of the snares of his enemies.* Though he named none, it was not doubted but he meant *Agrippina* and *Nero*, against whom *Sejanus* and his creatures were constantly endeavouring to incense him.

The Frisians defeat the Romans. This year, the *Frisians*, no longer able to bear the tyranny of their *Roman* governors, shook off the yoke, and defeated *L. Apronius*, who had been sent against them with a considerable force. But *Tiberius* chose rather to dissemble the loss the empire had sustained, than trust any able general with the command of the army.

Death of Livia. This year died *Julia*, grand-daughter to *Augustus*, in the twentieth year of her exile, in the island of *Trimetus* ; and in the following year died *Livia*, the mother of *Tiberius*, and widow of *Augustus*. In her were united the wisdom of her husband and the dissimulation of her son. Though she had sacrificed every sentiment of honour to raise *Tiberius* to the throne, his ingratitude to her was extreme. He avoided her conversation, especially in private, as much as possible ; never suffered her to meddle with state affairs, which, he said, were above the sphere of a woman ; saw her but once during the three years she lived after his retirement, and then

then only for a very short time, and never came near her in *Tiberius*.
 her last sickness. We are told, that he prosecuted all her friends, especially those to whom she had committed the care of her funeral ; that of the many honours decreed her, he allowed but very few ; and that he suppressed her last will, which was not executed till after his death, by his successor *Caligula*, who caused divine worship to be appointed her. She died in the eighty-sixth year of her age.

The death of *Livia* having delivered both the prince and his favourite from all restraints, a letter was immediately dispatched to the senate against *Agrippina* and *Nero*, couched in terms remarkably bitter, though they charged *Nero* with no crimes against the state, but only with unnatural lust, and other impure pleasures. *Agrippina's* known virtue screened her from any imputation of this nature ; but her haughty looks, and her violent and imperious temper, were alledged against her. The whole assembly was struck with terror at the reading of this letter ; but as the expressions in it, their bitterness excepted, were quite ambiguous, nothing was concluded then. *Tiberius* thereupon wrote a second letter to the senate, repeating his reproaches against his grandson and daughter in law, and complaining of the senators for making no account of his resentment. The senate hesitated no longer : *Agrippina* was banished to the island of *Pandataria*, and *Nero*, her eldest son, to the island of *Pontia*, where he died soon after of want. Her second son *Drusus* was declared an enemy to the state, and kept under close confinement in the lower part of the palace. We shall speak hereafter of the tragical end of *Agrippina* and *Drusus*, who lived four years in exile.

*Agrippina
and Nero
banished.*

The next year the senate decreed many extravagant honours to *Sejanus* ; among others, that his birth-day should be celebrated yearly ; that his statues should be adored, and that vows and sacrifices should be offered for his safety. In short, he was more respected and dreaded than *Tiberius* himself, who, at last, began now to suspect him. *Antonia*, the *Tiberius* widow of his brother *Drusus*, having received private intelligence of his deep designs, wrote a detail of them to the suspect *Sejanus*, and sent her letter to *Capreae* by one of her most trusty domestics. The emperor, thus warned of his danger, considered with himself what method he had best to take in so dangerous a situation, and found it more adviseable to employ address than force. The first step he took was to remove him from *Capreae* by naming him his colleague in the consulship for the next year ; an honour which *Sejanus* looked upon as the highest mark of his sovereign's affection ; and towards the end of the year he sent him to *Rome*, to take possession of his new dignity. The senate, thinking him in greater favour than ever, loaded him with new honours. After this, *Tiberius*, to found the senators and people, and try the strength of *Sejanus's* party, wrote frequent letters,

Tiberius.

letters, acquainting the fathers, at one time, that he was very ill ; at another, that he was perfectly recovered, and intended speedily to return to *Rome* ; sometimes commanding, and sometimes blaming *Sejanus*. This conduct surprised the minister, and his friends, who, seeing his credit with the prince somewhat diminished, began to forsake him. The senate, however, conferred on him the proconsular power, on his resigning the consulship ; and at the same time *Tiberius* honoured both him and his son with a place among the pontiffs, but could not, by any means whatever, be prevailed upon to let him return to *Capreae*.

Caius Caligula begins to be distinguished.

At the same time that *Tiberius* granted these marks of distinction to *Sejanus*, he began to heap honours upon *Caius*, surnamed *Caligula*, the only surviving son of *Germanicus* and *Agrippina*. He had accompanied his grandfather to *Capreae*, and artfully concealed, under an appearance of modesty, a temper so savage and inhuman, that not the least sigh or complaint escaped him, when his mother and both his brothers were condemned. *Tiberius* made him this year augur, and pontiff of *Augustus*, bestowing upon him the highest encomiums, as if he had designed to appoint him his successor. This awaked the jealousy of *Sejanus*, who now could not forgive himself the many opportunities he had neglected to secure the person of the prince, and seize the empire : but what mortified him most of all was, a letter from *Tiberius* to the senate, concerning the death of *Nero*, wherein he named *Sejanus*, without any of the epithets of praise which he had been used to give him. Neither did he doubt but the emperor had him in view, when he desired the senate to put in execution the decree forbidding divine worship to be paid to any mortal ; for vows were every where made, and victims slain, before the statues of *Sejanus* ; nay, he was arrived at such an height of arrogance, that he had the impudence to join his adorers, and offer sacrifices to himself.

Impudence of Sejanus.

His credit diminishes.

The crowds that had used constantly to attend *Sejanus*, perceiving that the emperor grew cool towards him, diminished daily ; few persons, and those not of the first quality, escorted him abroad, and no farther mention was made of him in the senate. *Tiberius*, who waited only for this, resolved now to strike the blow. To this end he gave out, that he designed to invest *Sejanus* with the tribunitial power ; but, in the mean time, he privately gave the command of the prætorian guards to *Nervius Sertorius Macro*, in whom he knew he could confide, and sent him to *Rome*, with a letter to the senate, after having communicated to him the contents of it, and instructed him how to behave. *Macro* entered the city late in the night, and immediately imparted his orders to the consul *Regulus*, the other consul being a friend to *Sejanus*. Early the next morning *Regulus* assembled the senate, and *Sejanus* attended, escorted, according to his custom, by a detachment of the prætorian guards. As soon

as he was entered, *Macro*, stepping out to the prætorians, shewed them his commission from the emperor, appointing him to command them, in the room of *Sejanus*; assuring them that *Tiberius* had ordered a considerable sum to be distributed among them, and ordered them back to their camp without the walls of the city. In their stead, *Gracinius Laco*, who was privy to the secret, and commanded the city guards, placed a strong detachment of his men at the gates of the senate-house. *Macro* then went into the assembly, with the emperor's letter in his hand, which he had no sooner presented to the consuls, than he hastened to the camp, to prevent any disturbances there. The letter was read aloud, and, in consequence of it, *Sejanus* was immediately secured, carried to prison, condemned rested by for high treason, and executed the same day. His body was exposed like those of other malefactors, on the *Scalæ Gemonæ*, and afterwards abandoned to the rage of the populace, condemned who dragged it for three days together through the streets of *Rome*, and mangled it to such a degree, that the executioner could scarce find a limb intire, to throw, according to custom, into the *Tiber*. The death of *Sejanus* was followed by a general slaughter of all his friends and relations, not excepting even two harmless infants, his children.

Every one hoped that *Tiberius* would prove more mild, now that *Sejanus* was dead, the many late executions being chiefly imputed to that ambitious minister. But they soon more cruel found themselves involved in greater calamities than ever, than ever. the emperor proving daily more cruel, and, which he had never been before, covetous and rapacious. No rank, age, or innocence, could screen his unhappy subjects from the dreadful effects of the very slightest suspicions; and, at last, even his friends and counsellors fell victims to his furious distrusts. He was so much afraid to trust any one with the least authority, that great provinces were, for several years, abandoned to the mercy of barbarous nations, whose insults he bore, rather than he would suffer their governors to go thither with the power of avenging the state, and repelling the public foe. *Apicana*, whom *Sejanus* had divorced in hopes of marrying *Livia*, the widow of *Drusus*, seeing her children put to death, and their bodies publicly exposed, now wrote *Tiberius* a letter, acquainting him with the manner of his son *Drusus*'s death, with no other intent but to torment him, and then laid violent hands on herself. *Tiberius* was so transported with rage, when he found that his son had been poisoned by a conspiracy of *Livia* and *Sejanus*, that he resolved to exterminate all that had ever shewn the least token of friendship to either: but before he would suffer them to be executed, he made them undergo the most exquisite torments cruelty itself could invent; for he looked upon death as so slight a punishment, that when he heard one of his prisoners, named *Carnilius*, had killed himself, he cried

A GENERAL HISTORY

Tiberius. out, *Cornelius has escaped me.* Another of his prisoners begging him to hasten his execution, he answered, *You and I are not yet so good friends.* *Livia* was starved to death.

Death of
Afinius Gallus.

Death of
Drusus,
and of *A-*
grippina.

Plancina
kills her-
self.

Year of
Rome 785.
of Christ
33.

Death of
Vibulenus
Agrippa,
and others

Among the numbers of people of great distinction who perished by *Tiberius's* cruelties, were three of the most illustrious persons of the empire, *Afinius Gallus*, *Drusus* the son of *Germanicus*, and his widow *Agrippina*. *Afinius Gallus* was allied to the family of the *Cæsars*. *Tiberius* had long hated him, on account of his marrying *Vipsania*, whom he had divorced, but, with his usual dissimulation, concealed it till this year, when *Gallus* being sent to him by the senate, he received him with the utmost seeming cordiality, but, at the same time, wrote to the senate, requiring his condemnation; so that the very day he was entertained as a friend at the emperor's table at *Capreae*, he was condemned as a traitor at *Rome*, and a *prætor* was sent to see the sentence put in execution. Even this last mercy, of a speedy death, was denied him; the tyrant keeping him three years longer under close confinement, and making him die at last of famine. *Drusus*, whom he condemned to be starved, protracted his life nine days, by feeding on the flocks of his bed. *Agrippina*, disappointed in her hope that *Tiberius* would prove less inhuman to her and her son, after the death of *Sejanus*, put an end to her miseries by abstaining from all food. Whilst *Agrippina* lived, *Tiberius*, out of spite to her, protected the infamous *Plancina*, who being now tried and condemned, executed with her own hand that vengeance which was rather too late, than too severe.

This year the *Saviour of the World* was crucified. Though it was now three years since the death of *Sejanus*; *Tiberius*, no way appeased, either by time, or the innumerable victims he had already sacrificed to his jealousy, still pursued, with fresh rage, old, trifling and dubious imputations, punishing them as recent, heinous, and proved crimes. Executions, even of the greatest men, were now become so frequent and familiar, that they were hardly taken notice of: but that of *Vibulenus Agrippa*, a *Roman knight*, struck all with terror and amazement. After his accusers had finished their pleading against him, he pulled out poison, which he had concealed under his gown, and swallowed it in the presence of the senate. It was so potent, that he dropped down immediately; but nevertheless, the lictors dragged him to a dungeon, where, though he was expiring, he was strangled by the common executioner. *Caius Galba*, a consular brother to the emperor of that name, and the two *Blaſii*, fell by their own hands. *Tigranes*, grandson to *Herod king of Judea*, by his father *Alexander*, and to *Archelaus king of Cappadocia*, by his mother *Glaphyra*, and who had himself reigned some time in *Armenia*, was accused like a private man, and, without any regard to the royal dignity, condemned and executed with the other pretended criminals. His confin-

cousin-german *Agrippa* was dragged to prison, loaded with *Tiberius*. chains, and kept there in close confinement till the death of *Tiberius*.

Tiberius was now in the 78th year of his age, without *Tiberius* having been ever once indisposed since he came to the em- is taken pire ; but at length he was taken ill at *Astura*, between *Axi-* ill. *tium* and *Circeii*, as he was returning to *Capreae* from the neighbourhood of *Rome*, whither he often went, without entering the city. Dissembling his indisposition, he went on to *Misenum*, where, finding his strength begin to fail him, he staid in a villa near the promontory, which once belonged to the celebrated *Lucullus*. The course of executions was not interrupted by his illness : numbers of illustrious persons still continued to be sacrificed to his rage ; and on his reading in the journal of the senate, that some prisoners had been discharged, because he had only written, that informa- tions were lodged against them, without mentioning wit- nesses ; transported with fury, he resolved to return to *Ca- prea*, and there revenge the affront that had been offered him. But the bad weather, and his distemper, prevented the execution of this design, and kept him at *Misenum*, where he His death died a few days after, having reigned twenty-two years, se- Year of seven months, and seven days. Some say, that *Caligula* and *Rome* 790. *Marco* either smothered or poisoned him ; but of that there of Christ seems to be no certainty.

38.

Though *Tiberius* had highly obliged the city by a generous donation towards the damages occasioned by a fire the preceding year, yet the news of his death was received at *Rome* with the greatest demonstrations of joy, the populace running up and down the streets, crying *Throw the tyrant into the Tiber* ; or beseeching their mother earth and the infernal gods to grant him no place but among the impious ; whilst others threatened to drag his vile carcase to the *Gemoniae*, and there expose it to the rage and fury of the multitude. However, the body was carried by the soldiery from *Misenum* to *Rome*, and burnt with the usual solemnity ; *Caligula*, who came all the way with it, pronouncing the funeral oration, in which he spoke little of *Tiberius*, but much of *Augustus*, *Germanicus*, and himself. His character is thus summed up by *Tacitus*. *Tiberius*, says he, was deservedly esteemed by all, while he was a private man, or commanded under *Augustus* : with great cunning and address he feigned virtue, while *Germanicus* and *Drusus* lived : he bore a mixt character of good and evil till the death of his mother : he did not disguise his execrable cruelty, but concealed his lewdness, whilst he loved and feared *Sejanus* ; and at last he abandoned himself to all wickedness, being no longer restrained by shame or fear, but following the bent of his own disposition.

His char-
acter.

Velleius Paterculus, *Valerius Maximus*, *Strabo*, *Phædrus*, and several other eminent writers flourished in the reign of *Tiberius*.

C A L I G U L A.

Caligula. THE death of *Tiberius* proved a double satisfaction to the *Romans*, by freeing them from a merciless tyrant, and by making way for *Caius Caligula*, who was greatly beloved and respected, on account of the extraordinary merit of his father *Germanicus*, and the injuries done to him and his family. The news of his advancing from *Misenum* with the corps of the deceased emperor, was no sooner brought to *Rome*, than persons of all ranks and ages crowded out to meet him. The senate immediately assembled, and the people thronging into the hall with the senators, he was unanimously declared emperor, with full power, contrary to the express will of *Tiberius*, who had left him only co-heir with his grandson *Tiberius*, then under age. The joy for this new emperor was not confined to *Rome* and *Italy* alone, but extended over the whole empire, insomuch that 160,000 victims were sacrificed on that occasion within the space of three months.

Caius Caligula declared emperor.

As soon as the funeral solemnities of *Tiberius* were over, he hastened to the islands of *Pandatoria* and *Pontia*, to remove the ashes of his mother and brother, which he brought to *Rome*, and deposited in the *mausoleum* of *Augustus*. He then ordered all the decrees made against them and his other brother *Drusus*, who died at *Rome*, to be annulled, and instituted public sacrifices in honour of their memory. After this, by an act of the senate, he conferred upon his grandmother *Antonia* the name of *Augusta*, and all the honours which *Livia* had enjoyed. To his sisters *Agrippina*, *Druilla*, and *Livilla*, or *Julia*, were granted all the privileges of the vestals; and it was ordained, that their names should be added to his in all solemn oaths, with these words: *Neither am I dearer to myself, nor are my children dearer to me, than Caius Cæsar and his sisters:* and to all the public acts the following form was ordered to be prefixed. *May it prove fortunate and happy to Caius Cæsar and his sisters!* To remove all fears in those who had been the occasion of the misfortunes of his mother and brothers, he ordered all the records and papers relating to those masters to be brought publicly into the *forum*, and there burnt in his presence, after solemnly calling the gods to witness, that he had never read them. But as they were all afterwards, to a man, cut off, it was generally believed, that he had burnt only the copies, and preserved the originals. As a farther discouragement to informers, he declared that he would not suffer any one to be accused of treason; and of this he gave soon after a remarkable instance, when a note being offered him, tending to the discovery of a conspiracy against his life, he rejected

rejected it, saying, *He was not conscious of any action that Caligula could deserve the hatred of any man, and therefore had no ears for informers*: and, a few days after his entry into *Rome*, he set at liberty *Agrippa*, the grandson of *Herod*, and all the He sets at other state prisoners, and recalled all those who had been liberty all banished by *Tiberius*. He also paid all the legacies left by state pri-Tiberius and *Livia*, and added to them large sums of his soners. own, to be divided among the people and soldiery.

Caius was not much above twenty-five years of age when Promising he came to the empire. In his first speech to the senate he beginning promised to govern with justice and moderation, and to do of his nothing without their advice. In consequence of this, he reign. gave free jurisdiction to all the magistrates, without reserv-ing any appeal to himself, and even attempted to restore the ancient method of elections by the suffrages of the people. He reformed several abuses in the state, punished severely many corrupt governors, and gave back to some princes, who had been unjustly dispossessed by *Tiberius*, their king-doms, and all the arrears of their revenues. The senate, in return for these worthy actions, among other expressions of their gratitude, ordered a shield of gold, bearing his image, to be carried annually to the capitol by the college of priests, followed by all the senate, with the children of the nobility singing his praises.

Thus did *Caligula* reign for about eight months, when He is ta-he was seized with a violent fit of illness, which plun-ken ill. ged the whole empire into as much grief, as his reco-very filled every one with joy. But whether his distemper affected his brain, and altered his nature, or whether he had hitherto artfully disguised his real temper, and now gave an intire loose to it ; he, who had so lately been looked upon as the author of all the happiness of his subjects, from this time to the hour of his death, became such a tyrant, that the rest of his reign was an uninterrupted series of the most execrable vices and monstrous extravagancies.

On his accession to the throne, he would not take any ti-tles of honour; but now he assumed them all in one day, all the ti-with the addition of several new ones, and particularly that tles of ho-of Lord, which *Augustus* and *Tiberius* had constantly refused. nour. *Tiberius*, the son of *Drusus*, having now completed his eighteenth year, took the virile robe; on which occasion *Caligula* adopted him, and declared him prince of the Roman Adoptyouth: but immediately after, he sent some tribunes of the young Ti-guards to tell him, *That he must, with his own hand, put an end berius, and to his life; thinking it unlawful for any inferior person to shed the ordershim blood of one of the imperial family.* The young prince, whose mildness of temper had never suffered him to see an execu-himself. tion, nor even a fight of gladiators, presented his throat, first to the officer who stood next to him, and then to all the rest, begging of them to execute the cruel order they had brought him; but as they all declined it, he desired they would at least

Caligula, shew him where to stab himself so that the wound might prove mortal, and put a speedy end to his life and misery. They did so, and the unfortunate youth expired in their presence. Thus he rid himself of the only prince to whom those could apply who might, at any time after, be dissatisfied with his government; for, as to his uncle *Claudius*, he looked upon him as a person utterly unfit for any office in the empire, or even in private life, as he really was, and therefore saved him for a laughing stock, as he openly declared.

Becomes - Being thus freed from all restraints, he gave a full loose a monster to his furious passions, and became, as *Suetonius* calls him, a most outrageous monster. His grandmother *Antonia*, venerable for her age, and highly reputable for her quality, (for she was the daughter of *Mark Anthony*, the niece of *Augustus*, sister-in-law of *Tiberius*, and mother of *Drusus*), having taken upon her to admonish him, he resented that freedom to such a degreee, that he reduced her to the necessity of laying

Some instances of *fus* and *Suetonius* give us of his cruelties in the second year it. violent hands on herself. The accounts which *Dion Ca-*

tius and *Suetonius* give us of his cruelties in the second year of his reign, are almost incredible. Among the rest, they tell us, that one day, finding there were no criminals condemned to fight with the wild beasts, according to the barbarous custom of those days, he condemned such of the people as were already come to see the shews, to be thrown to them, having first ordered their tongues to be cut out, that their cries might not disturb his horrid diversion. At other times, finding the keeping of these wild beasts very expensive, he would visit the prisons, order the prisoners to be ranged before him, and at once command numbers of them to be thrown to the beasts, without minding whether they were innocent or guilty. A great many old, infirm, and poor people, met with the same fate, the inhuman tyrant saying, *That he thereby delivered the state from so many burdens to it.* He always caused the mouths of those who suffered in public to be stopped, that they might not be able to upbraid him with his wickedness: and he seldom suffered them to be dispatched at once, but would have them, as he usually said, *feel themselves die.* He would frequently have criminals, and sometimes innocent persons, racked, or beheaded, while he was at table; and being once mistaken in the name of a person, whom he caused to be executed instead of another, when he found his error, he only said, *'Tis no matter; he deserved it as well as the other.*

Macro, to whom he owed his empire and his life, and to whom he had promised the government of *Egypt*, the highest post to which a *Roman* knight could aspire, instead of receiving that reward, was, with his wife, ordered by him to put themselves to death with their own hands; and with them were killed all their children, and even their slaves; so that not one of the whole family was left alive. The cause of this inhuman cruelty, if we may credit *Philo*, was, his

availing

availing himself of his past services more than the tyrant could endure. *M. Silanus*, a person universally esteemed for his great experience, prudence, and probity, and whose daughter *Caligula* had married in *Tiberius*'s reign; for daring to disapprove his wild measures, and to suggest others to him by which he would have answered the expectations of the public, was compelled to cut his own throat. *Julius Græcinus*, father of the famous *Agricola*, had, some time before, been ordered by *Caligula* to accuse *Silanus*, and was put to death for declining that infamous office. A recital of the cruelties of this monster would be endless: but the intrepid behaviour of one of his victims deserves particular notice. *Caninius Julius* having, in a private conyversation, very freely advised *Caligula* to alter his conduct, as he was departing, *That you may not fatter yourself*, *Caninius, with vain hopes*, said the emperor to him, *I have already signed the warrant for your death*. *Caninius*, without shewing the least concern, turning about, replied, *I return you thanks, most gracious prince, for this favour*. During the ten days respite which the law allowed, and which *Caligula* observed in this instance, *Caninius* never betrayed the least uneasiness; and when that time was expired, the centurions who came to see the sentence put in execution, found him playing with his usual calmness at chess. The executioner appearing immediately after, *Caninius* embraced his friends, telling them, *he should soon know whether the soul was immortal; that he would particularly be mindful in what manner it abandoned the body, and return to let them know the state of souls after their separation*. He then offered his neck to the executioner without the least symptom of fear.

Towards the middle of the second year of *Caligula*'s reign, died his sister *Druilla*, whom he had taken from her husband, *Druilla* and lived with publicly, as if she had been his own wife. He dies, had maintained, if *Suetonius* is to be credited, a criminal conversation not only with her, before her marriage, but also with his other sisters. *Druilla* was immediately deified. *Caligula's*

Caligula had now been a widower some time; but *C. Piso* marriages marrying one *Livia Orestilla*, and inviting him to his wed- and di- ing, as soon as the solemnity was over, he commanded the *vorces*. bride to be carried to his palace, and there married her: but he divorced her in a few days, and soon after married *Lollia Paulina*, whom he likewise forced from her husband *Memmius Regulus*, governor of *Macedon*, and also put away in a short time, threatening her with death if she returned to her former husband, or married any other man. *Orestilla* and *Piso* were banished, under pretence that they lived together. Some time after this, he banished his two sisters, *Agrippina* and *Livilla*, to the island of *Pontia*, for having been privy, said he, to a conspiracy against his life; and then he married *Milonia Cæfonia*, who was neither handsome nor young, but who preserved his affections by her monstrous lewdness.

The

Caligula. The bloody monster, finding that no one dared to oppose his will, began now to look upon himself as more than man. A dispute arising between some kings who came to pay him homage, about rank and precedence, *Caligula*, starting up, repeated a line of *Homer* in the person of *Ulysses*; *Be there one king alone, one lord, below*; and was for assuming immediately the diadem, and changing the government into a monarchy: but being told that he was already above all the kings of the earth, he from that time began to claim the honours paid to He claims the demi-gods, and assumed the dress in which they were divine hours. represented; appearing sometimes with a lion's skin about his shoulders, and a club in his hand, to personate *Hercules*; and at other times with wings at his feet, and a caduceus in his hand, like *Mercury*. Soon after, thinking it beneath him to be honoured only as a demi-god, he claimed the same worship that was paid to *Apollo*, *Mars*, and *Jupiter* himself; and even caused the heads to be taken off their statues and his own to be put in their stead. He often placed himself in the temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*, between the statues of those brothers, to be worshipped by all who came to offer their vows to them; and he joined one of the wings of his palace to that temple, *that the gods, said he, might be his porters*. He frequently changed his godhead, and was one day a male deity, and another a female: but, above all, he liked to be called *Jupiter*; had inventions to imitate thunder and lightning, and, when the thunder was supposed to fall, he used to throw a stone against heaven, with the impious defiance in *Homer*, *Do thou take me from hence, or I'll take thee*. He often went to the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, and sometimes whispered his statue, then laid his ear close to it, as if to receive an answer. At another time, he seemed very angry with *Jupiter*, and was once heard to threaten him, *That he would send him back into Greece*. At length, his pride, folly, and impiety, carried him so far as to build and dedicate a temple to his own divinity, and to place in it his statue of gold, cloathed in the same manner as he was. He likewise instituted priests and priestesses for his temple; the richest men in *Rome*, so great was their debasement, purchasing his priesthood with vast sums; for he sold it at so great a price, that his uncle *Claudius*, not having wherewith to discharge the debt contracted on that occasion, was obliged to surrender all his effects to his creditors, who sold them by public auction. The sacrifices daily offered to him, were peacocks, pheasants, *Numidian* hens, and other, the most scarce and beautiful, birds: and, as if his follies were not yet sufficiently extravagant, he at last made himself, his wife *Cæsaria*, and his horse, priests to his own deity. Besides the temple which he built himself, the senate decreed him another. This favourite horse and priest of his, distinguished by the name of *Incitatus*, had a marble stable, a manger

Builds a
temple,
and institu-
tes
priests and
sacrifices
in honour
of his own
divinity.

manger of ivory, a collar of pearls, and coverings of rich purple. *Caligula* frequently invited him to his table, fed him with gilt oats, and presented him with the finest wines in cups of gold ; nay, we are told that he designed to make him consul.

On the other hand, this wretch, who pretended to make himself a god, could not help envying the honours of mortal men, defacing the images and statues of many illustrious persons, and hating the memory of his grandfather *Agrippa* to such a degree, that, rather than be thought of his extraction, he gave out, that his mother was the incestuous offspring of *Augustus* and his daughter *Julia* ; and, not satisfied with this unjust aspersion upon *Augustus*, he forbid the celebration of the festivals in commemoration of his victories in Sicily and at *Aetiam*, as prejudicial, said he, to the commonwealth. He also took from several of the patricians and nobles, the ancient ornaments and distinguishing marks of their families. His hatred to the people was such, that he wished all the *Romans* had but one neck, that he might dispatch them at one blow.

Caligula was as lewd as he was cruel ; even the lowest prostitutes not escaping his notice. His prodigality was as vagrant boundless as his other vices ; and, at the same time, his vanity was insatiable. In luxury and riotous expences, he exceeded the inventions of all the prodigals of that age ; as using baths of the richest oils and most costly perfumes, and thinking no dish expensive enough for his table. He ordered large pillars and towers to be built in the bottom of the sea ; cut ways through rocks of prodigious bulk : levelled mountains, and raised plains and vallies ; and all this for no sort of use. But the most notorious instance of his prodigality and vanity, was the famous work he undertook at a bridge *Puteoli*, in the third year of his reign ; a work, in which it would be difficult to determine, whether the folly or the extravagancy of the attempt was the greatest. To shew his power and greatness, and that he was able to walk upon the sea as well as the land, he ordered an infinite number of ships to be collected from all parts, and a great many new ones to be built ; which were all brought into the bay of *Baiæ* and *Puteoli* in *Campania*, and there moored, in two rows, in the form of a crescent, from the point of *Baiæ* to the opposite shore. Over these were laid vast quantities of large planks and boards, covered with so much earth that the whole looked like firm ground : and, to make this stupendous work still more magnificent and surprising, he set an infinite number of artificers to work, to build houses and inns upon this bridge for himself and his retinue ; fresh water being conveyed into them from the land. When the work was completed, as it was in a very short time, the least delay in any of the workmen being punished with immediate death, he and all his court repaired to it, with immense crowds of people,

Caligula. people, who flocked from every quarter to behold this sight, *Caligula* then, after offering sacrifices to the gods, and particularly to *Envy*, lest the other deities should be jealous of his thus eclipsing their glory, proudly adorned with magnificent robes of gold, a civic crown, and *Alexander's* breast-plate, and accompanied with all the officers of his army and all the nobility of *Rome*, rode over the bridge from *Baiæ* to *Puteoli*, where he staid that night; during which, the whole building was illuminated with such numbers of torches, lanterns, and other lights, that the sea, and all the neighbouring shore, were so much enlightened, that he boasted he had turned the night into day, as well as the sea into land. The next day he rode back in the habit peculiar to the charioteers of the circus, and in a triumphal chariot, attended by young *Darius*, the *Parthian* hostage, a squadron of his guards in bright armour, and a prodigious train of his friends in their chariots. About the middle of the bridge he halted, and, ascending a magnificent throne, made a solemn oration in praise of his own exploit in riding so many miles upon the sea, and of the pains and care of his soldiers and workmen, among whom he distributed large rewards. Then, that he might perform some memorable action before he left his bridge, he caused great numbers of people to be thrown into the sea, without distinction of age or quality; and when they endeavoured to save themselves by laying hold of any part of the vessels, he ordered them to be thrust off, so that very many perished. He spent two days in these riots; during which, the sea proving very smooth and calm, he said, *Neptune took care of that out of fear and reverence to him.*

His rapaciousness.

Having by these and many other extravagancies exhausted his exchequer, in which *Tiberius* had left about eighteen millions of our money, he betook himself to all manner of rapine and extortion; inventing penalties, confiscations, and imposts, which had never before been heard of; and practising every kind of fraud. He obliged most of the *Roman* citizens to purchase their freedom anew; declared void the wills of all from the beginning of the reign of *Tiberius*, who had not named either that prince or himself among their heirs; and poisoned, or put to death under false pretences, numbers of others who, he knew, had named him in their wills: nay, he even said one day, *That it was a great presumption in them to live and keep him out of his inheritance.* All sorts of things, even the necessaries of life, were heavily taxed; all labourers and artificers were obliged to pay into the exchequer the eighth part of their daily gains; and every prostitute a certain portion of what she earned: nay, he was not ashamed to convert his own palace into a brothel, maintaining in it great numbers of prostitutes, and receiving himself the money of such as came, whose names were entered in a book as friends to *Cæsar*. He likewise made his palace a common gaming-house, and himself the chief gamester,

Turns his own pa-

ster. One day, in the midst of his play, seeing two rich Caligula.
 knights passing by, he immediately went down, caused them both to be apprehended, and their estates to be confiscated ; and returning to his game, boasted, *That he had never had a lace into better throw.* Another time, wanting money for his stake, he went down, and caused several noblemen to be put to death ; then returning, told the company, *That, whilst they set playing there for trifles, he had won six hundred thousand sesterces at one cast.* He used frequently to expose to sale the effects of condemned persons, and obliged the rich to buy them at whatever price he pleased to set upon them, which was so high, that many noble families were thereby reduced to poverty. Among these, he forced a wealthy citizen to pay nine millions of sesterces for thirteen gladiators, whom he exposed to sale with all the furniture of the amphitheatre. In like manner, he sold all the jewels and effects of his sisters, jewels and and the royal robes and ornaments of *Anthony, Augustus, Fulvia, Antonia*, and others of the imperial family : and a daughter being born to him about this time, he complained publicly of his poverty, not only as an emperor, but as a father ; and therefore issued an edict for a voluntary contribution, which he himself received standing in the portico of his palace ; and after rolling himself upon the vast heaps of money collected by this means, he squandered away the whole in idle extravagancies.

He revived the law of lese-majesty, which proved an inexhaustible fund for increasing his revenues. Revives Numbers of worthy citizens were put to death for no other crime but their great majesty. wealth. Among these was a prætor named *Junius Priscus*, whose estate proving but small, after he had been condemned and executed, under colour of some crime or other ; *Caligula* cried out, *I have been imposed upon* ; *Junius* was not guilty. We are told that *Seneca* in about this time was in imminent danger of losing his life, for no other crime than having pleaded a cause in the senate with great eloquence and applause. This, *Caligula*, who was present, and pretended to be the best orator of the age, (and indeed was not a bad one,) though he at other times despised the eloquence of *Seneca*, calling his writings *sand without lime*, could not bear now, and would therefore have put him to death, had he not been assured by one of his courtesans, that *Seneca* was infected with a distemper which would soon corrupt his body, and put an end to his life. An eminent citizen, who had obtained leave to go to the island of *Anticyra*, for the benefit of his health, desiring to have his stay prolonged, was so far from obtaining his petition, that *Caligula* ordered him to be killed, saying, *Bleeding must certainly do him good, who had taken hellebore so long without success.* He invited to his court *Ptolomey*, king of *Mauritania*, and cousin-german to his father *Germanicus* ; of *Caligula*, and, after receiving him with the greatest demonstrations of *kindness*,

Caligula, kindness, banished him, and privately ordered him to be massacred on his journey, only because the lustre of his purple had been taken notice of at one of the theatres. The *Mauritanians*, stirred up by *Edemon*, one of the deceased princes freedmen, revolted for this piece of cruelty. It was a frequent thing for him to put senators to death, then cite them to appear as if they had been alive, and at last pretend that they had died by their own hands. Numbers of persons of the highest quality were condemned to dig in the mines, and repair the high-ways, for not shewing sufficient respect to his gifts and public games. Parents were forced to be present at the execution of their children, and if they shewed the least sign of grief or sorrow, were often put to death with them. All the prisoners whom he had released upon his first accession to the throne, were now ordered to be killed, whether innocent or guilty; and, asking one day a person whom he had recalled from a former banishment, *How he had employed himself in his exile?* upon his answering, *That he had often prayed for the death of Tiberius, and that he might be emperor;* he immediately concluded, that all whom he had banished, likewise prayed for his death; and therefore commanded every one of them to be killed.

His shocking sayings.

Caligula was not less cruel in his words, than barbarous in his actions; often saying, *That he esteemed nothing so commendable in his nature as his adiatripian, or unrelenting temper, at the sight of executions.* Being blamed by his grandmother for his numerous cruelties, he bid her consider, *That he could do what he pleased, and to whom he pleased.* When he kissed his wife, or mistress, he generally laid his hand upon their necks, saying, *Fair and lovely as this is, I can take it off when I please:* and to *Cæsaria* he many times protested, *That he would rack her, to discover what made him love her so much.* All his sayings had the genuine marks of tyranny and despotism. He declared, *That he would establish the state on such a footing, that the lawyers should have nothing to plead but what he thought just and equitable:* and, to shew how much he was a moniter, he used frequently to complain, *That his reign was not distinguished by some remarkable calamity; such as a plague, or a general famine, or an event like the defeat of Varus in the time of Augustus, or the fall of the great amphitheatre at Fidenæ in that of Tiberius, or an opening of the earth to swallow up his subjects.*

His mock expediti- The monstrous proceedings of this execrable tyrant, made many resolve his death: but the execution of their designs on against was suspended for a while by his famous expedition against the Germans and Britons, in the third year of his reign. His

the *Germans* and *Britons*, in the third year of his reign. His pretext for the former, was, that the *Germans* had committed some acts of hostility: but the truth was, that he wanted to plunder *Spain*, after having quite exhausted *Italy*. To this end, he caused vast numbers of men to be railed in all parts, with the utmost expedition, and prodigi-

ous quantities of provisions to be got ready. He then set *Caligula*.
 out, marching sometimes with such haste, that the prætorian cohorts were obliged to have their standards brought after them on their sumpter-horses ; and at other times he went as slowly, being carried in a litter on the shoulders of eight men, and sending messengers before, to order the ways to be well swept and watered. He was attended in this expedition by a long train of gladiators, comedians, buffoons, loose women, and other such people, with whom he spent his time ; and, after passing the *Rhine*, and not seeing a single enemy, or doing one military act, he ordered some of his *German* guards to hide themselves in a neighbouring forest, and word to be brought him of it, while he was at table : which being accordingly done, he started up from his dinner, put himself at the head of some of the prætorian horse, hastened to oppose the enemy ; and, advancing to the forest, there spent the remainder of the day in cutting down trees to erect trophies for his victory. Upon his return, he reproached with cowardice those who had not followed him, and rewarded his fellow-adventurers with a new sort of crowns, to which he gave the name of *exploratoria*. Glorious and successful as this expedition was, it did not yet satisfy his martial ardor. He therefore ordered some children, whom he kept as hostages, to be privately conveyed away, and word to be brought him that they had made their escape ; upon which he immediately mounted on horseback, pursued the supposed fugitives with a detachment of cavalry, and brought them back loaded with chains. After these noble achievements, he wrote a letter to the senate, complaining, *That, while they and the people were indulging themselves in pleasure ; Cæsar was fighting, and exposed, for their safety, to many perils and hazards.* But the most glorious of all his exploits was, his receiving under his protection *Admintus*, who, being banished by his father *Cinobelinus*, one of the kings of Britain, fled to him with a small retinue. As proud of this as if he had subdued the whole island, he wrote boasting letters to the senate, and strictly commanded the messengers who carried them, to ride directly through the *forum* to the palace, and not deliver them to the consuls, but in the temple of *Mars*, and in full senate.

The *Gauls* would have reckoned themselves happy, had he His razed them no more harm than he did the *Germans* ; but he pine and harrassed that unhappy nation with such extortions, as reduced even the most wealthy to beggary ; and having one in *Gaul*. day lost an immense sum at gaming, he ordered the registers, which served for the census, to be brought him, and drawing out a list of the richest people in the province, ordered them to be immediately put to death, and seized all their effects.

Before he left *Gaul*, he gave out, that he designed to invade *Britain* ; accordingly, he ordered all his troops to the sea-

Caligula. sea-shore ; drew them up along the coast ; ordered the war-like engines to be properly disposed ; went a little way out to sea in a galley, and immediately returning, commanded the trumpets to sound, and the signal of battle to be given. Then, on a sudden, he ordered all his men to gather up the cockle-shells on the shore, and fill their helmets with them, saying, *These are spoils of the conquered ocean, due to the palace and the capitol.* After this, calling his army together, in the manner that generals usually did after a victory, he made a pompous oration to them, highly extolling their renowned exploits ; and distributed a very trifling sum of money among them, bidding them *Rejoyce and be rich.* In memory of this great victory, he caused a lofty tower to be erected by the sea-side. Some think it the tower which now stands at the entrance of the port of *Boulogne.*

He orders himself a triumph. He immediately sent orders to his officers at *Rome*, to get every thing ready for the most magnificent triumph that had ever been seen ; at the same time warning them not to put him to any extraordinary expence, since every man's estate was at their disposal : and to grace this triumph, he chose some of the tallest *Gauls* he could find, without regarding their rank or condition, gave them *German* names, made them learn somewhat of that language, and obliged them to let their hair grow, and to colour it red, that they might pass for *Germans.*

His bloody design.

He sets out for Rome.

But before he left *Gaul*, he formed the horrid design of extirminating those legions which had formerly mutinied under his father *Germanicus*, when he was an infant in the camp ; and after all that could be said to dissuade him from this inhuman deed, the most that could be obtained of him was, only to decimate them. This he was absolutely bent upon ; and accordingly he ordered them to assemble without arms, to receive his commands. The legionaries, not suspecting his design, readily obeyed ; and in the mean time the cavalry began to surround them. This gave them some umbrage, and many of them slipped away to fetch their arms ; which he no sooner perceived, than he fled towards *Rome* as fast as he could, to vent his rage upon the senate for not having decreed him a triumph ; though he had lately forbid them, upon pain of death, ever to presume to concern themselves with any of his honours. Being met on the way by deputies from the conscript fathers, with their humble request to him to come and partake of the honours designed for him, he laid his hand upon his sword, saying, *I will come, and bring this with me.* And also, by an edict, he declared, *That he would return ; but it should only be to the gentry and commons ; for that, as to the senate, he would be no more either prince or citizen to them.* He would not, however, enter the city in triumph, but contented himself with an ovation, making his entry on the last of *August*, which was his birth-day. From this time, he resolved utterly to extirpate the senate, and would have put his wicked design in execu-

tion

tion had he not been prevented by death, about four months after. But, in the mean time, he caused several senators of distinction to be inhumanly murdered; in particular one, for no other crime than begging leave to shut his eyes, when commanded to assist at the execution of his son. However, Farther he was somewhat reconciled to the senate, before his death, cruelties by means of *Protagenes*, one of his bloodiest executioners, of his, who, coming into the senate-house, was saluted and fawned upon by all the senators, and particularly by *Scribonius Proculus*: upon which, *Protagenes*, looking sternly at him, said, with an angry tone, *How dare you salute me; you, who hate my emperor, my master.* At these words, the rest of the senators directly fell upon *Proculus*, stabbed him in several places, and delivered him over, as a public enemy, to the mob, who tore him to pieces, and dragged his mangled limbs about the streets; *Caligula* beholding, with great pleasure, this dismal spectacle, and declaring, *That the senate had now regained his favour.*

Rome had now groaned almost four years under the oppression of this most inhuman tyrant; when, at length, *Cassius Chærea*, tribune of a prætorian cohort, undertook to deliver the world from this furious monster. He had imparted his design to a few of his intimate friends, and only wished for an opportunity to put it in execution; when an senator of great distinction, named *Propediūs*, was accused of having spoken disrespectfully of the emperor. The only witness produced against him was one *Quintilia*, a celebrated comedian: but she declaring, that she had heard no such speeches, the accuser insisted on her being examined by torture, and *Caligula* ordered *Chærea* to see her put to the rack. His perplexity on this occasion was extreme; for he knew that *Quintilia* was privy to the conspiracy, and therefore feared she might discover it if tortured too much; and, on the other hand, to shew her the least mercy might cost him his life. But *Quintilia* herself delivered him from this uneasiness; for meeting, as she was led to the torture, one of the conspirators, she trod upon his foot; giving him thereby to understand, that she would not reveal the secret. Accordingly, not a single word escaped her, in prejudice either of *Propediūs* or stancy of the conspirators, though she was reduced to so miserable a condition, that *Caligula* himself, when she was taken off the rack, and brought to him, was moved with pity. *Chærea* then divulged his design to *Papirius* and *Clemens*; the former, like himself, a tribune of one of the prætorian cohorts; and the latter the commander of their whole body. They both approved of the design: but *Clemens* desired to be excused from any share in the execution of it, on account of his great age. *Cornelius Salinus*, likewise tribune of a prætorian cohort, had himself formed the like design, and therefore readily joined *Chærea*. The number of the conspirators increased daily; but several accidents prevented, for a while,

Caligula. the execution of their design. At length, a favourable opportunity offering, as *Caligula* was passing through one of the galleries of his palace, preceeded by his uncle *Claudius*, and some other persons of great distinction, *Chærea* struck at him, and wounded him in the neck; and *Cornelius Sabinus* having pushed him down upon his knees, *Chærea*, with another blow, broke his jaw-bone; and the rest of the conspirators rushing in, dispatched him with thirty wounds; he, for some time, crying out, *That he was still alive*; and the conspirators, *Repeat the blow.*

*Caligula
assassinated.*

Year of
Rome 794.
of Christ

42.

Such was the end of *Caius Cæsar Caligula*; a prince so monstrously wicked, *That Nature, says Seneca, seemed to have brought him forth, to shew what mischiefs could be effected by the greatest vices, supported by the greatest power.* His body was taken away in the night, and carried privately to the *Lamian* gardens, where, after being half burnt upon a pile erected in haste, it was, without any ceremony committed to the earth. *Chærea*, to extirpate the whole race of the tyrant, sent the next night an officer, who stabbed *Cæsonia*, and dashed her child's brains out against a wall. The senate would have decreed him infamous; but *Claudius*, who was raised to the empire, would not allow of that. However, all his statues were ordered to be pulled down and broken, most of his acts were annulled, and his money was melted down, that, if it were possible, both his name and features might be unknown to future ages.

C L A U D I U S.

Confusion
occasion-
ed by the
death of
Caligula.

AS soon as the death of *Caligula* was published in the city, it occasioned a general confusion. The conspirators took shelter in the houses of their friends, and there lay concealed: but as the act was committed in so private a place, many, imagining it an artifice to discover the affections of the people, suspended their belief of it till the *German* guards, by whom *Caligula* was greatly beloved on account of his prodigality, removed all doubts, by the murders they committed in the palace; venting their rage on all they met, without distinction. The senate was immediately assembled; and *Saturninus*, one of the consuls, after displaying the benefits of liberty, and the miseries of tyranny, strongly exhorted the fathers to resume their antient authority, and begin the exercise of that power, to which they alone had a just claim, by conferring such rewards on *Chærea* as his eminent service to the public well deserved. The senators, animated by this speech, resolved directly

to

to restore *Rome* to her ancient liberty, and utterly to extinguish the name of the *Cæsars*. While they were deliberating how this change might best be brought about, some of the soldiers, running about the palace in quest of plunder, discovered *Caligula's* uncle, *Claudius*, behind the hangings in a dark corner, where he had hid himself out of fear; and, carrying him upon their shoulders to the camp, proclaimed him emperor. The people immediately joined the army; but the senate, still persisting in their resolution, sent a deputation to *Claudius*, conjuring him not to disturb the public peace, and likewise assuring him, *That they were determined, at all events, to attempt the recovery of their ancient privileges*. This message had such an effect upon *Claudius*, who was naturally very timid, that he was on the point of giving up his pretensions. But *Herod Agrippa*, king of *Judæa*, who was then with him, exhorted him to lay hold of the present opportunity, and return the deputies an answer becoming an emperor. He did so; and such confusion immediately ensued, that the senate, fearing a civil-war, yielded, and declared him emperor. *Claudius* then distributed fifteen great *Claudius* sesterces to each of the soldiers in the camp who swore allegiance to him; which, as *Suetonius* observes, was the first emperor. time that any of the emperors gave money to the soldiers to bribe them to their duty.

Claudius was now fifty years of age, and till this time had led a retired life, employing himself chiefly in studying and scription writing, particularly history, with which he was tolerably well acquainted. But, whether from his bodily infirmities, or the gross stupidity of his nature, which rendered him unfit for public employments, he had never been able to rise to any dignity in the state, excepting a few months consulship with *Caligula*. His mother *Antonia* used to call him, *a human monster, just begun by Nature, but never finished*: and, when she upbraided any one with dulness and stupidity, her common expression was, *You are as stupid as my son Claudio*. His grandmother *Livia*, *Augustus*, his sister, and all his family, held him in great contempt; and, in short, he was the object of the mirth and ridicule of the whole court. He pretended, after he came to the throne, that he had counterfeited folly during the reign of *Tiberius* and *Caligula*, to escape their cruelty: but his conduct plainly shewed, that it was not assumed, but real. *Suetonius* taxes him with being naturally cruel: but others ascribe to his wives and freedmen the many executions we shall meet with in his reign.

The first thing he did, after being declared emperor, was, to pass an act of oblivion with respect to the deliberations of the senate concerning the intended change of the government, and in behalf of all the conspirators, except *Chærea*, *Chærea* and *Lupus* who had killed *Cæfonia* and her child. These put to two, though in his heart he approved of *Chærea's* action, he death.

Claudius. thought it necessary to condemn, for the sake of example, They were both beheaded. *Chærea* met death with the constancy of a true hero, only desiring to die by the same sword he had used against *Caligula*; but *Lupus* betrayed a great deal of fear. The senate immediately decreed *Claudius* all the honours which they had conferred on other emperors; but he modestly refused most of them, and expressly forbid paying him any divine worship, or styling him a god. He suppressed the law of lese-majesty; recalled all the exiles; eased the people of many of their taxes; forbade such as had any relations of their own, however distant, to name him among their heirs; and restored the estates which had been unjustly seized by *Tiberius* and *Caligula*, to the owners of them or their heirs. He was frequently present at the hearing of causes, and often administered justice in person; moderating the letter of the law, where he thought it too severe; and, on the contrary, enforcing it where the crime deserved a greater punishment. By these, and many other acts of clemency and justice, he soon won the hearts of the people: but still it was a long time before he could be prevailed on to excuse those who were admitted to his presence, even women and children not excepted, from being narrowly searched, lest they should have some weapon concealed; such was his natural timorousness: nor would he be persuaded to appear once in the senate during the first month of his reign, because *Cæsar* the dictator had been murdered there.

His timorousness. *His great works.* He was very careful to have *Rome* constantly supplied with all sorts of provisions, and undertook several great and useful works; among which were three equal to any the world could shew. The first of these was an aqueduct, called after his own name, far superior to any other in *Rome*, both for the magnificence of the workmanship, and the quantity of water it conveyed, which was brought from 40 miles off. The second was a haven of vast extent, dug into the main land at *Ostia*, near the mouth of the *Tiber*: a work of such charge, that his successors were not able to maintain it. And the third was, the draining of the lake *Fucinus*, the largest in *Italy*, in the country of the *Marfi*, and conveying all its water into the *Tiber*, to strengthen the current of that river. We are told that thirty thousand men were employed for eleven years in this great undertaking.

He was not less careful of the provinces than of the city. To the kingdom of *Agrippa*, who had greatly contributed to his advancement, he added *Judea* and *Camaria*, and gave his brother *Herod* the principality of *Lachis*, at the foot of Mount *Libanus*. He also restored *Mithridates*, the *Iberian*, to his kingdom; *Mithridates*, the *Cilician*, to the kingdom of *Bosporus*; and *Antiochus* to that of *Comagene*; they having been unjustly deprived of their dominions by *Caligula*. But he deprived the *Licians* and *Rhodians* of their liberty: the former,

for raising a sedition, and killing several *Romans*; and the latter, for crucifying some of that nation. *Claudius.*

Soon after his accession to the empire, he recalled his two nieces, *Agrippina* and *Julia*, from their banishment; but soon after, through the persuasion of his wife *Messalina*, who governed him with an absolute sway, *Julia* was sent back again; and at the same time *Seneca* was banished to *Corfica*, under *Seneca* b
pretence of a criminal commerce between them. *b*
nished.

About the beginning of this emperor's reign, some of the Britons, harrassed with civil-wars, sought the protection of *Claudius's* the *Romans*. *A. Plantius* was thereupon ordered to pass expediti-
over from *Gaul*: but his soldiers first mutinied, saying, *They on to Bri-
would not make war beyond the limits of the world: for so they tain.*
judged *Britain* to lie. However, they were soon appeased by the assistance of the emperor's favourite freedman *Narcissus*; and *Plantius*, and his lieutenant *Flavius Vespasian*, performed such exploits, as not only procured *Claudius* a triumph, but determined him soon after to pass over into that island in person. He soon subdued part of the country, and, among other places, *Camulodunum*, now *Maldon* in *Esf-
sex*, the royal seat of *Cynobelinus*: but whether he fought any battle, authors are not agreed. Among other ornaments of his triumph for this expedition, he placed a naval crown of gold, just by the civic crown, over the gate of the imperial palace, in token of his victory over the *British* sea when he crossed it: and for the same reason he gave his son *Germanicus*, whom he had by *Messalina*, the surname of *Britannicus*. *Plantius* remained in *Britain*, where he carried on the war with great success: and *Vespasian*, who also continued there, fought thirty battles with the enemy, according to *Suetonius*, and subdued two of their nations, together with upwards of twenty towns, and the *isle of Wight*, then called *Vectis*. *Titus* served under *Vespasian* in quality of tribune,

Messalina, and *Claudius's* freedmen *Narcissus* and *Pallas*, *Messalina* soon began to abuse the prince's weakness, and the too renders great power he had allowed them, to the destruction of such *Claudius* of the nobility as gave them the least displeasure. By their cruel, advice, which he blindly followed, he committed the greatest follies and injustice; pardoning the most heinous offences, and frequently, without any cause, exercising so many cruelties as would be too tedious to relate. Those against his own blood will be sufficient. The first that fell by their treachery was *Appius Silanus*, a person of great distinction and known integrity, who had been governor of *Spain*, and married to *Claudius's* mother-in-law. The cause of his death, was his rejecting the infamous passion of *Messalina*. After him, he put to death both his sons in law, *Silanus* and *Pompey*; and his nieces, the two *Livias*; one the daughter of *Drusus*, and the other of *Germanicus*; and all without allowing them to make any defence; nor could any one tell for what cause.

Claudius cause. What was still more dangerous, was, that *Messalina* and the emperor's freedmen bore so great a sway in the state, that they sold offices, governments, dignities, pardons and punishments, without his knowing any thing of it; so great was their power and authority, and so gross his ignorance and stupidity. These proceedings rendered *Claudius* so odious to many, and especially to the nobility, that several of them entered into a conspiracy against him; particularly *Statius Corvinus* and *Gallus Asinius*: but their designs being discovered, they and all their associates were put to death.

But a still more dangerous conspiracy was that of *Furius Camillus Scribonianus*, governor of *Dalmatia*, who, incited by rebellion of many of the greatest men of *Rome*, and backed by a powerful army, openly rebelled against *Claudius*, and threatened him a cruel death, if he did not immediately resign the empire, and betake himself to a private and retired life. *Claudius* was so terrified with this letter, that he assembled his friends, to deliberate, whether, or not, he should resign the sovereign power to *Camillus*. But he was soon delivered from his fear, for *Camillus*'s soldiers, altering their minds, and repenting whose soldiers repented, and found means to escape to the island of *Iffa*, on the coast of *Dalmatia*, where he was stabb'd, in the arms of his wife, by a common soldier. Most of the conspirators laid violent hands on themselves: some were seized and executed; and others by bribing *Messalina* and the emperor's freedmen, were never more inquired after; whilst numbers of innocent persons were, under colour of being concerned in the plot, stripped of their estates by the rapacious *Messalina* and *Narcissus*, and either banished or put to death.

Heroic death of Arria. The heroic death of *Arria*, which happened on this occasion, is greatly celebrated by most of the ancient writers. She was wife to *Cæcina Pætus*, a consular man, who, having joined *Camillus*, was taken in *Dalmatia*, and sent to *Rome* to be tried. Being denied the satisfaction of attending her husband in the same ship, she followed him in another; and, arriving at *Rome*, publicly reproached *Junia*, the wife of *Camillus*, with want of courage, and conjugal affection, in living after her husband had been murdered in her arms. Her friends, concluding from this that she was resolv'd not to outlive her husband, watched her day and night: but she, to shew them that all their precautions were useless, beat her head against the wall with such violence that she was thought dead for some time. However, she recovered; and, finding that all her interest, though she was in great favour with *Messalina*, could not save her husband, and that he had not the courage to fall by his own hand, she took a dagger, plu ged it into her own breast, and, pulling it out again, presented it to him, saying, *It is not painful, Pætus.*

In the seventh year of *Claudius's* reign, the great secular *Claudius*. games were celebrated: so called, because they were exhibited but once in a century. *L. Vitellius*, a most abject flat-terer, and *Claudius's* colleague this year, first in the consulship, and afterwards in the office of censor, paying his compliments to him on this occasion, wished he might many times exhibit of *Christ* those games. Not only the weak prince, but his wife and freedmen, were so pleased with this fulsome adulation, that they raised him and his two sons, (the eldest of whom was afterwards emperor) to the highest employments in the state. Such was his servile meanness, that, another time, he begged of *Messalina*, as the greatest of favours, *That she would permit him the honour of pulling off her shoes*; one of which he carried away, wore it constantly in his bosom, and often took it out in public and kissed it. The golden images of *Pallas* and *Narcissus*, the emperor's favourite freedmen, he worshipped among his household gods. *Claudius* made some good regulations during his censorship: such as, forbidding any new *censor*, to be set up in *Rome*, without the consent of the senate; and ordering all governors of provinces to return to some very *Rome* as soon as their command was expired, to answer there good, and the complaints that might be brought against them for any some very misbehaviour during their administration. But, on the other hand, several of his edicts, of which he once published above twenty in one day, were very trifling and ridiculous. Of this kind was, his warning the senate and people to take care that their wine vessels were well pitched, because there was plenty of grapes that year; and his acquainting them, that the juice of the yew-tree was the best remedy for the bite of a viper.

Messalina had now thrown off all sense of shame, and gave The un-bounded loose to her lewd inclinations. *Claudius's* bounded brother-in-law, *M. Vinicius*, a man of a quiet temper and lust and retired life, was poisoned by her, for refusing to listen to cruelty of her criminal passion. *Cn. Pompeius Magnus*, who had married the emperor's eldest daughter *Antonia*, having the mis-fortune to displease her, was put to death, without so much as knowing that he was accused; as were likewise, at the same time, his father *Craffus* and his mother *Scribonia*, together with numbers of knights and senators of great distinc-tion. *Valerius Asiaticus*, a native of *Gaul*, and very powerful in that province, by reason of his wealth and numerous dependents, was prosecuted without mercy, for no other crime but because he possessed the fine gardens of *Lucullus*, which *Messalina* coveted. *Sofibius*, instigated by her, charged him with a design to stir up his countrymen to revolt; and easily The trial prevailed upon the weak and timorous *Claudius* to secure his of *Valerius* life and empire by the destruction of his pretended rival. He was tried, not in the senate, but in the emperor's chamber, *as Asiaticus*. in the presence of *Messalina*; and pleaded his cause with such eloquence and energy, that he forced tears both from her and

Claudius. *Claudius*: upon which, she, fearing lest a sentiment of tenderness should get the better of her other passions, left the room; and, as she was going out, whispered *Vitellius* not to let him escape. As *Valerius* declared, *That he had never before seen any of the witnesses produced against him, Soflius* at last brought in one who, he said, was well acquainted with him. He had before instructed him what to say, and told him that *Valerius* was bald; and therefore, upon his entering the room, he desired him, in the first place, to tell them which was *Valerius Asiaticus*. *I have been long acquainted with him*, said the witness, *and that is he*; pointing at another bald person who happened to be present. This convinced *Claudius* that *Valerius* was innocent: but whilst he was thinking about clearing him, *Vitellius*, throwing himself at his feet, intreated him, with many tears, to remember the prisoner's good services to the commonwealth; his steadfast attachment to *Antonia*, and his many gallant actions; and therefore to display his mercy, by granting so worthy a citizen the free choice of his death. *Claudius* was so stupid, that, without farther consideration, he complied with this request; which was, in effect, condemning *Valerius*; who thereupon opened his veins and bled to death.

*Messalina's
intrigue
with Silius*

At length, *Claudius* was acquainted with the disorders of his wife. Her chief favourite now was *Caius Silius*, the handsomest man in *Rome*, whom she obliged to divorce his wife, that he might be wholly her's; and, far from endeavouring to conceal her crime, she visited him publicly every day, with a numerous train; accompanied him abroad, and loaded him with wealth and honours. After some time, *Silius*, sensible of the dangers that hung over him, told her, without disguise, that desperate attempts were the only security for glaring guilt; that they had gone too far to wait for the emperor's death; and that he was ready to marry her and adopt her son *Germanicus*. This proposal, bold beyond all example, and almost all belief, she readily agreed to; and a few days after, *Claudius* being gone to *Ostia* to assist at a sacrifice, she married *Silius*, with all the usual solemnities, in the face of the whole city. The tendency of this marriage was plain, and made all the prince's family and friends tremble for him: but no one dared to inform him of it, for fear of *Messalina's* fury. At last, however, *Narcissus* and *Pallas* discovered to him this infamous act. *Claudius* was so amazed and terrified, that he often asked, *Whether he was still emperor*.

*whom she
publicly
marries.*

*The em-
peror is
informed
of it,*

Messalina, not imagining that any one would dare to disclose her disorders to the emperor, was indulging herself in revels with her new husband, he personating *Bacchus*, and she, with several others, the priests and priestesses of that god; when, in the midst of their jollity, news was brought to them, that *Claudius* was coming, apprised of all, and fully

fully bent on vengeance. Upon this, the company immediately dispersed in the utmost consternation. *Messalina* fled to *Lucullus's* gardens, from whence she sent for her son and daughter *Britannicus* and *Octavia*, to meet the emperor and implore his mercy. She likewise besought *Vibidia*, the oldest of the vestals, of whom *Claudius* had an high opinion, to do the same: whilst she herself passed through the city on foot, attended only by three persons, all others having already forsaken her; and was glad to get into a gardener's cart, in which she took the road to *Ostia*. *Narcissus*, to whom *Claudius*, distrusting the chief officer of his guards, had transferred the command of the prætorian cohorts for that day, and who, in consequence thereof, was in the same coach with the emperor, no sooner perceived her endeavouring to approach *Claudius*, crying aloud, with many tears, *That he would hear the mother of Octavia and Britannicus*; than, to drown her cries, he began to exclaim and storm against the audaciousness of *Silius*, and the abomination of *Narcissus* *Messalina*: and, at the same time, to divert the prince from seeing her, he delivered him a writing, containing a detail of her prostitutions. As he was entering *Rome*, some attempted to present him his children by her; but *Narcissus* prevented it. He could not, however, keep off *Vibidia*, who insisted, *That the emperor's wife ought not to be condemned without being heard*. He was therefore obliged to promise her, *That Messalina should be heard, and have full liberty to clear herself*. *Claudius* was all this while stupified and silent. The first place *Narcissus* carried him to was the house of the adulterer, where he shewed him quantities of the richest furniture of the imperial palace, monuments of his wife's prostitution and his disgrace. From thence he led him to the camp, where the soldiery, with loud cries, demanded the immediate death of the criminals: upon which, *Silius*, and several others, whom *Silius* and *Narcissus* had caused to be arrested, were brought before the several imperial tribunal, convicted of being accomplices of *Messa-* others ex-
ecuted.

Claudius then went to the palace, where he spent the greatest part of the night in carousing with his freedmen; and being warm with wine, of which he generally drank very plentifully, he ordered one of his attendants to go and acquaint *Messalina*, that he would hear her the next day. *Narcissus*, alarmed at this, immediately stepped out, and ordered the tribune and centurions then upon duty, to put *Messalina* to death directly, telling them it was the emperor's express command. They found her in the gardens she had fled to, lying upon the ground, and her mother sitting by her, who, upon their acquainting her with her doom, exhorted her not to wait death from the hands of the executioner. *Messalina*, trembling, took up a dagger, and *Messalina* pointed it first at her throat, and then at her breast, but had put to not courage enough to plunge it in; upon which, the tri- death.
bune

Claudius. bune ran her through with his fword. Such was the end of one of the lewdest women recorded in history.

Claudius was still at table, when word was brought him, *Claudius's* that *Messalina* was dead. He neither asked how she died, insensibility. nor shewed the least mark of sensibility ; but, calling for his bowl of wine, continued his banquet with the same gaiety as before : nor did the triumph of her enemies, or the tears of his children bewailing their mother, excite in him, either then, or in the following days, any symptom of hatred, joy, anger, sorrow, or any other human passion or affection. Nay, *Suetonius* assures us, that, but a few days after, as he was supping with some of his friends, he asked why *Messalina* did not come to supper. Such was his incredible forgetfulness, or rather stupidity.

He declares he will not marry again.

But marries his niece *Agrippina*.

Her character.

Seneca recalled.

He now publicly declared, that since he had been so unfortunate in his marriages, he would live a single life for the future ; and that he gave his subjects leave to kill him, if he continued not in that resolution. However, he soon forgot it, falling in love with his niece *Julia Agrippina*, the daughter of *Germanicus*, whose caresses, allurements, and frequent visits to him, under colour of consanguinity, backed by the solicitations of his freedman *Pallas*, who employed all his interest in her behalf, made such an impression on him, that he determined to marry her. But as there had not yet been an instance among the *Romans* of a marriage between an uncle and a niece, and some scruples arose on that account, though they then lived publicly together; the sycophant *Vitellius*, whom we have already spoken of, proposed this match in the senate, and got a decree passed, declaring marriages between uncles and brothers daughters for ever lawful. The nuptials were celebrated the very next day.

From this time *Agrippina* governed without control, rendering the whole state subservient, not only to her wanton and lewd amours, but to her insatiable avarice, unbounded ambition, and unparalleled cruelty. She appeared with the emperor in the senate ; placed herself by him on the same tribunal in all public ceremonies ; gave audience with him to foreign princes and ambassadors, and even accompanied him in the courts of justice, which, to the *Romans*, was a sight altogether new. To signalize the beginning, we may say, of her reign, with some plausible action, she prevailed upon *Claudius* to recall from exile, and honour with the praetorship, *L. Annaeus Seneca*. But in this also she had her private views, which were, the education of her son *Domitius*, afterwards *Nero*, under such a master, and the use of his counsels in the pursuit of her ambitious designs. Soon after, *Domitius* was betrothed to *Claudius's* daughter *Ostavia*, and by that means raised almost to an equality with his son *Britannicus*. The next year he adopted him,

him, and this adoption was confirmed by a decree of the *senate*, which at the same time gave *Agrippina* the title of *Augusta*. The ambitious empress, not satisfied with thus advancing her own son, to the prejudice of *Britannicus*, carried her cruelty towards this unfortunate prince so far, as, under pretence of tenderness for him, to keep him locked up in a nursery, though he was now nine years old ; and, by degrees, removed from him all his former attendants, and put in their places others entirely at her devotion. The next year *Nero*, though not yet fourteen, took the manly robe, which qualified him for honours and employments ; and, at the same time, the senate, with *Claudius's* approbation, decreed, that he should discharge the consulship in his twentieth year, and, in the mean while, as consul designed, be invested with proconsular power out of *Rome*, and be styled *Prince of the Roman youth*. Many of the tribunes and centurions could not help pitying *Britannicus* ; but they were all soon removed from the palace ; and even those of his freedmen who were thought to be too much attached to him, were partly discharged, and partly put to death, under various pretences : so that he was now intirely under the government of people of *Agrippina's* chusing. To rivet her authority, her next step was, to make the emperor give the command of the prætorian guards to *Burrhus Afranius*, an officer highly esteemed by the soldiery, but well apprized to whom he owed his preferment.

This year, the tenth of *Claudius's* reign, *Agrippina* caused a colony of veterans to be sent to the capital of the *Ubii*, where she was born, and to which she gave the name of *Colonia Agrippinensis*, now *Cologne*. About the same time, the *Catti* made incursions into the *Roman* territories, but were repelled by *Pomponius Secundus*, to whom the senate decreed the ornaments of triumph ; and, shortly after, *Otiorius Scapula* gained great advantages over several of the people of *Britain*.

The following year, the senate passed a decree against women of free condition who married slaves, ordaining, that against she who thus debased herself, without the consent of the master of the slave, should herself become a slave ; but if he who married her consented, she should be deemed a manumitted slave. The freed slave emperor's freedman *Pallas* was the author of this regulation, as *Claudius* informed the senate, who thereupon decreed him the ornaments of prætor, a present of about an hundred thousand pounds of our money, and public thanks ; for that, though descended from the ancient kings of *Acadia*, he deigned to be reckoned among the emperor's ministers, and waved his great nobility for the service of the state. The haughty slave accepted the ornaments of the prætorship, and the privilege of wearing a gold ring ; but despised the present, and prevailed with *Claudius* to acquaint the

Claudius. the senate, in his name, that he was satisfied with the honours, and chose to remain in his ancient poverty. Upon this, a decree passed, was engraved in brass, and publicly hung up, in which this franchised slave, lately redeemed from the infamy of whips and fetters, but now worth near seven millions, was extolled for observing the venerable parsimony of the primitive ages. So mean and contemptible was that once great and respectable senate now grown.

Exploits of the Romans in Germany. The *Mauritanians*, who had taken up arms to revenge the death of their king *Ptolemy*, murdered by *Caligula's* order, were chastised by the *Romans* in the reign of this prince, whose lieutenants likewise overcame the *Catti, Mars,* and *Cauci*, three *German* nations, and recovered one of the eagles which *Varus* had lost. *Corbulo*, the greatest commander of his age, pursued the *Cauci* into their own country, and would have reduced them intirely, had not *Claudius*, jealous of his glory, ordered him to repass the *Rhine*. *Corbulo* obeyed, only saying, *How happy were the Roman commanders in former times!* He had taken great pains to discipline his troops, whom he found utter strangers to military toils; and that they might not relapse into an habit of idleness, he employed them in digging a canal, three and twenty miles long, between the *Mense* and the *Rhine*, to receive the high tides, and prevent inundations. Some take this to be the canal now called *Fliet*, which extends from *Sluys* to *Leyden*.

The fees of pleaders limited The exorbitant fees which the pleaders at this time exacted from their clients, became a matter of such grievance, that the senate thought proper to take cognizance of it. *Caius Silius*, then consul elect, was strongly against allowing orators to take fees, which, said he, put them upon a level with mechanics, and debased eloquence, the most honourable of all accomplishments, to sordid lucre. Many others of the senators were of his opinion, and with him proposed reviving the *Cincian* law, which forbid the taking of any gift or payment for pleading a cause. To this the pleaders opposed, That as their studies were attended with great expence, it was but reasonable that they should reap some advantage from them. It was therefore settled, that they should be at liberty to take fees, but never more than two hundred and fifty crowns for one pleading; and that whoever exceeded that sum, should be liable to be sued for extortion.

Nero marries Octavia.

As soon as *Nero* had entered into his sixteenth year, he was married to *Claudius's* daughter *Octavia*; soon after which, he pleaded the cause of the *Ilians* before the senate, and obtained for them, as the ancestors of the *Romans*, an intire exemption from all taxes and tributes. He likewise made an oration in favour of the *Rhodians*, by which he prevailed on *Claudius* to restore them to their liberty; and by a third

third oration he procured the *Bononians* a great relief for the *Claudius*. losses they had lately sustained by a dreadful fire. The *Coans*, *Apameans*, and *Byzantines* also obtained signal favours by his mediation. The policy of *Agrippina*, who set him upon all this, was, to make him be thought a good and compassionate prince, whilst, at the same time, she pushed *Claudius* on to the most shocking acts of cruelty.

Weak as he was, he now began to see the bad choice he had made of a wife; and, one day, could not help saying in his wine, *That he had ever been unfortunate in his wives, but that none of them had escaped punishment.* He likewise grew fonder of *Britannicus* than he had ever been before, and said he would soon give him the manly robe, *that the Romans might at last have a true Cæsar.* Every word and action of the emperor was immediately carried to *Agrippina*, who now resolved to be beforehand with him. The surest way, she thought, was to poison him; but she was at a loss what sort of poison to use. If it were too powerful and sudden in its operation, that might betray her; and if slow, there was danger of his finding out her practices, and setting aside the adoption of her son. At length, she resolved upon a poison which would disorder his senses, and not hastily kill him. *Locusta*, a woman who had been lately condemned for poisoning, was applied to, and prepared the deadly dose, poisons which was administered to *Claudius* in a dish of mushrooms, *Claudius* of which he was extremely fond. But it only making him sick, she sent for his physician *Xenophon*, who, under pretence of making him vomit, thrust down his throat a feather dipt *Rome 807.* in such potent poison, as soon put an end to his life, in the *of Christ,* sixty-fourth year of his age, after a reign of thirteen years, 55. eight months, and twenty days. He was a weak prince, almost a changeling, and was wholly governed by his wives His cha- and freedmen. *Suetonius* reproaches him with cruelty; and racter. *Seneca* says, *He no more scrupled the killing of a man, than the killing of a fly.* But the hatred of this last to *Claudius*, by whom he had been banished to *Corsica*, and kept there eight years, seems to have prompted him to lay to the charge of the prince, crimes which other writers impute to those who governed him. The grandeur of the *Roman* state was not much impaired in this reign; but the city and the nobility were severely oppressed, and barbarously treated.

N E R O.

Nero pro-
claimed
emperor.

THE death of *Claudius* was kept secret, till *Agrrippina* had taken all the necessary steps for securing the empire to *Nero*. With this view, affecting inconsolable grief, she clasped *Britannicus* fast in her arms, called him the dear image of his father, and artfully kept him and his two sisters in her chamber, whilst guards posted at all the avenues of the palace gave out, from time to time, that the prince was recovering. At last, the palace gates were thrown open on a sudden, and *Nero*, accompanied by *Burrhus*, captain of the prætorian guards, walked up to the cohort then upon duty, who, at *Burrhus's* command, received him with shouts of joy, and immediately carried him to the camp, where, after a speech suitable to the occasion, and a promise of a largess equal to that of the late prince, he was declared emperor. Some indeed, at first, asked for *Britannicus*; but as he neither appeared, nor any one proposed him, they soon joined the others, and embraced the choice that was offered them, which was likewise approved of by the senate and people. A pompous funeral was ordered for *Claudius*; but his last will was not read in public, lest his preferring there the son of his wife to his own son should provoke the resentment of the people. *Nero* himself pronounced his funeral oration, in which he displayed the antiquity of his family, and the many consulships and triumphs of his ancestors; likewise touching upon his personal merit, especially his eloquence, and knowledge of the Greek tongue. But when he began to extol his wisdom and prudence, the whole assembly burst into a loud laugh, though the speech was composed by *Seneca*, whose style, says *Tacitus*, was well adapted to the taste of those times. It was likewise observed, on this occasion, that *Nero* was the first Roman emperor who stood in need of another's eloquence.

The be-
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The beginning of his reign gave the public great hopes of happiness under his government; for, in his first speech to the senate, after acknowledging himself indebted for the empire to their authority, and the concurrence of the soldiers, he declared, *That he intended to govern his people according to the wise rules and institutions of Augustus; that every magistrate should have his proper jurisdiction, in which he would not interfere; and that the senate should enjoy its ancient prerogatives.* In return for this, the fathers decreed him every title of honour, and he accepted them all, except that of *father of his country*, which he declined on account of his youth. His actions seemed to confirm these fine promises, and to speak him truly just, liberal, and merciful. He distributed large sums of money to the people and prætorian soldiers;

soldiers ; assigned pensions to the poor senators ; moderated the taxes and tributes of the provinces ; restrained the profuse luxury of the *Roman* tables ; and reformed several abuses in the city. A warrant being brought to him to sign for the death of a condemned person, he cried, *Would to heaven that I knew not how to write !* and upon the senate's returning him thanks for the wisdom and moderation of his government, he said, *Pray defer your thanks till I deserve them.* He bestowed territories on several princes. To *Ariobulus*, son of *Herod* king of *Chalcis*, he gave the *Lesser Armenia* ; to *Schemus* the title of king, and the country of *Sophene*, lying between *Armenia*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Cimogene* : and to the territories of *Agrippa* he added some towns of *Galilee*.

Before the first year of *Nero*'s reign was expired, *Agrippina Agrippina* began to shew her ambition, in a manner which shocked na's inor every one. While the emperor, seated on the imperial dinate throne, was giving audience to some ambassadors from *Armenia*, she, on a sudden, appeared in the room, and was advancing to take her seat with him. The whole assembly was astonished ; but no one daring to restrain her, *Seneca* suggested to the prince, to descend, and meet his mother ; and thereby, under colour of filial respect, prevented what the *Romans* would have thought a public disgrace. As her son was but a youth, and indebted to her for the sovereignty, she claimed an equal share in it with him, and pretended to answer foreign ambassadors jointly with him, to write letters to princes and kings, dispatch orders to the governors of provinces and commanders of armies, and, in short, to be called and acknowledged a partner in the empire which her ancestors had acquired, and she had conferred on him. Her revengeful spirit had appeared the very moment after her son was saluted emperor ; when, much against *Nero*'s will, she caused *Narcissus* to be arrested and dragged to prison, and forced him to lay violent hands on himself, for having, said she, spoken disrespectfully of her ; but, in reality, because she thought him too much attached to *Britannicus*. *Junius Silanus*, proconsul of *Asia*, a man of vast wealth, and equal quality, being the great grandson of *Augustus*, had likewise fallen a victim to her fury, about the same time, without her son's having been so much as acquainted with it. Her lust of absolute sway, in which she was encouraged and supported by *Pallas*, would, even then, have made her sacrifice all that gave her the least umbrage, had not *Burrhus* and *Seneca* unanimously laboured to restrain her rage, and keep her within bounds.

Nero greatly disliked these proceedings of his mother, and *Nero* falls soon began to slight her authority. He had already con- in love ceived an utter aversion to his wife *Ostavia*, and as violent with *Acte*. a passion for a franchised slave, called *Acte*, in which amour *Ostavia*, who was afterwards emperor, and *Claudius Senecio*, the son

Nero.

son of one of his freedmen, both youths of graceful persons, but abandoned to all manner of lewdness and debauchery, were his confidants. *Seneca* and *Burrhus* were not unacquainted with their pupil's intrigue, but thought it more adviseable to wink at his satisfying his youthful inclinations, with a person of low condition, by which no injury was done to any man; than, by thwarting him, to set him, perhaps, upon attacking women of the greatest distinction. But *Agrippina*, dreading the extravagant power of a concubine, tried every means to check his growing passion. Her opposition served only to increase it; till at length he lost all respect for her. Finding that she had taken a wrong method, she changed her arts, and endeavoured to regain the confidence of her son by flattering his passion, even offering him her own chamber to indulge it in, and making him a tender of all her wealth, which almost equalled the imperial treasures. This sudden change did not deceive *Nero*; and his friends, dreading it, besought him to be upon his guard against the artful snares of an implacable and deceitful woman.

Shortly after, as *Nero* was surveying the rich ornaments in which the emperors wives and mothers used to appear on solemn days, he chose some of the finest, and sent them as a present to his mother, to shew her, that though he would not be controuled by her, he bore her no rancour or ill-will. But *Agrippina*, flying into a rage, complained bitterly of her son, and said *She did not know what he meant by sending her such trifles, when she had a right to the whole.* These words, with aggravations, were immediately carried

Pallas dis-
graced. *Agrippina* was upheld in her ambitious designs, from the management of the finances. This incensed her to such a degree, that, shaking her fist at *Nero*, and loading him with curses, she threatened to lay open to the world all the crimes she had committed to procure him the empire, and to take *Britannicus* to the camp, and there leave to the decision of the soldiery which of them ought to have the sovereign rule.

Nero, who had already conceived an irreconcileable hatred to the young prince, being alarmed at these threats of his mother, resolved to rid himself of one whom he now looked upon as a dangerous rival. To this end, a dose of poison, prepared by the famous *Locusta*, who had poisoned *Claudius*, was secretly administered to him; but not having the intended effect, a second potion was prepared, so strong, that *Britannicus* dropped down dead the moment he had drank it, which was at dinner with the emperor. Every one present was struck with terror and amazement: but *Nero*, without betraying the least concern, assured the company, that it was only a fit of the falling sickness, to which he had been subject from his infancy, and that he would soon recover; whereupon they all affected to resume their former gaiety.

Britanni-
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sioned.

The

The corpse of the deceased prince was conveyed that same evening to a funeral pile, which had been prepared beforehand, and his remains were interred in the field of Mars, without any pomp, or even a funeral oration; though he was the last of the *Claudian* family, which had flourished in splendor at *Rome* upwards of eight hundred years. Nero.

Agrippina, though almost driven to despair by this fatal blow, still kept up her furious spirit, had frequently private meetings with her confidants, paid great court to the tribunes, centurions, and nobility of *Rome*, and amassed all the riches she possibly could, as if she had been meditating some great design. *Nero*, being informed of this, ordered her guard to be taken from her, and commanded her to quit the *Agrippina* palace, and retire to the house formerly her grandmother ordered *Antonia's*. From this time his visits to her were very seldom, to leave and short; and she was always surrounded with a croud of the palace officers. The throng of courtiers who attended her before, now disappeared; and no one pretended to comfort her in disgrace, except a few, who were set about her as spies. The chief of these was *Junia Silana*, who, to be revenged of her for a former pique, now falsely accused her of a design to marry *Rubellius Plautus*, great grandson to *Augustus*, in order to transfer the empire to him. *Nero* was so terrified at this account, that he would have put both *Agrippina* and *Plautus* instantly to death, had not *Burrhus* represented to him, that every one, and much more a mother, ought to be heard before condemnation; and that, if she were guilty, he would see her executed. The charge being examined into, and found destitute of all foundation, *Agrippina* was acquitted with honour, and her accuser banished. The lightness of this punishment encouraged one *Petus*, shortly after, to accuse *Pallas* and *Burrhus* of a design to raise to the empire *Cornelius Sylla*, who had married the late emperor's daughter *Antonia*: but the charge appearing evidently forged, they were both declared innocent, and *Petus* condemned to banishment. The arrogance of *Pallas*, on this occasion, was extreme; for the accuser naming to him some of his freedmen, whom he pretended to have been his accomplices, *Pallas* answered, *That he never condescended to speak to any of his domestics, but always signified his pleasure to them by a nod, a motion of his hand, or, if his commands consisted of many particulars, in writing, that they might learn to keep their distance.*

The next year, *Nero*, slighting the grave admonitions of his governors *Burrhus* and *Seneca*, gave a greater loose than he had ever done before to his youthful inclinations, and, with his debauched companions, particularly *Otho* and *Senecio*, frequently ran about the city by night, disguised in the habit of a slave, assaulting whosoever they met, and committing a thousand riotous disorders. These frolics were not without their dangers; and he was once so wounded in

*Nero.*Players
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*Nero.*Invectives
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*neca.**Poppaea*
Sabina,

the face, that the scar remained ever after. He likewise took great delight in stirring up the factions in the play-house, and setting them a quarrelling ; and when they were hotly engaged, he would throw stones and pieces of broken benches among them, with which he once dangerously wounded a prætor in the head. These riots went at length so far, the whole city being divided into factions, some for one player, and some for another, that, to prevent still greater mischiefs, it was found necessary to drive all players out of Italy.

The two following years of Nero's reign were distinguished by several acts of generosity and good-nature. Among other things, he remitted the duty upon the sale of slaves; distributed to the people a largess of four hundred sesterces a man ; and forbade the governors of provinces to exhibit any public shews ; knowing that they were only designed to stop the mouths of the people, who, at the same time, paid dearly for them. He likewise consented to a decree of the senate, enacting, that if any one was killed by his slaves, those who had been manumitted, if they continued under the same roof, should be executed with his other slaves. He referred *Pomponia Græcina*, a lady of great distinction, who was accused, says *Tacitus*, of having embraced a foreign superstition, meaning probably the Christian religion, to the judgment of her husband *Aulus Plautius*, who, after assembling her relations, and, with them, inquiring into the behaviour of his wife, declared her innocent. *Cossutianus Capito* was banished for his extortions in *Cilicia*. But *Eprius Marcellus*, accused of the same crime by the *Lycians*, was not only acquitted, though evidently guilty, but his accusers were punished with exile ; so powerful was the faction in his favour. *P. Suilius*, whose venal eloquence had procured the ruin of many illustrious citizens in the reign of *Claudius*, was now arraigned for the death of *Poppaea Sabina*, of *Julia* the daughter of *Drusus*, of *Valerius Asiaticus*, and of whole bands of Roman knights condemned at his instigation. *Seneca* seems to have been the most fanguine promoter of this prosecution : for against him chiefly *Suilius* inveighed, reproaching him with contaminating the beds of princesses, meaning *Germanicus*'s daughter *Julia* ; with hunting after inheritances ; with exhausting all *Italy* and the provinces by his excessive usury ; and with amassing, by what precepts of wisdom, by what principles of philosophy, he said, he knew not, a treasure of more than seven millions in the short space of four years. These reproaches, says *Tacitus*, did not a little tarnish the reputation and character of *Seneca* ; but *Suilius* was condemned, and banished to the *Balearic islands* on the coast of *Spain*.

In the fifth year of Nero's reign began his passion for the celebrated *Poppaea Sabina*; a passion which proved the source of heavy calamities to the Roman state. She was the daughter

ter of another *Poppaea Sabina*, who was put to death by *Nero*. *Messalina's* orders, and of *T. Ollius*, a senator. She possessed every ornament of her sex, except that of virtue. Her beauty, wit, address, and conversation, charmed all who her conversed with her ; but her lewdness knew no bounds. She rafter had left her husband *Rufus Crispinus*, a Roman knight, by whom she had a son, and lived for some time publickly with the emperor's favourite *Otho*, who afterwards married her, on *Crispinus's* consenting to a divorce. *Otho* was continually extolling the charms of his wife to *Nero*, who, young, and easily inflamed, desired to see her. An interview was appointed, in which the emperor was so delighted with her, that he carried her to the palace, and kept her there. After a night or two, when she had wrought his passions up to the greatest height, she artfully pretended an extreme affection for her husband, and begged to be sent back to him. The consequence of this was, that *Otho* was forbid the palace, and sent to *Lusitania*, as governor of that province ; an office which he administered for ten years with great integrity and honour. From this time, till her fall, *Nero* was intirely governed by the pernicious counsels of *Poppaea*.

The people complaining loudly of the arbitrary exactions of the publicans, *Nero* was for suppressing intirely all taxes good regulations and duties, as the greatest act of benevolence he could do to mankind : but the senate, after many high encomiums on his magnanimity, represented to him, that it was impossible for the state to subsist without some taxes. He therefore contented himself with ordering all the regulations relating to the revenues, which till then had been kept secret, to be hung up in public, that every one might know exactly what he was to pay. He also forbade the publicans to exact any claims of above a year's standing ; and ordered, that all causes against them should be immediately heard and determined by the prætor at *Rome*, and, in the provinces, by the pro-prætors and pro-consuls for the time being. He suppressed the tax of the fortieth penny, and likewise that of the fiftieth, together with some other imposts, and intirely abolished the duty on corn imported from the provinces beyond sea.

The military exploits of the *Romans* this year were, *Dubius Auctus's* driving the *Frisians* from certain waste lands belonging to the *Romans*, of which they had possessed themselves; his expelling afterwards the *Anfibari* from the same lands, and totally extirpating that people ; and the reduction of *Armenia* by *Corbulo*. But for the particulars of these events, we refer to the histories of those countries, only observing here, that, for the success of *Corbulo's* arms, *Nero* was saluted *Imperator*, and innumerable statues, triumphal arches, and processions were decreed him.

Hitherto *Nero* is generally extolled by historians, and even *Year of Trajan* has been made to say, that the first five years of his *Rome 813.*

Nero. reign were a perfect model of a good government. This, if true, must certainly be understood with several restrictions. But from that time he became quite a different man; and the sixth year of his reign affords an instance of such a crime, as one would scarcely believe human nature capable of; the murder of his own mother.

61. Great change in Nero. *Agrippina* had, in some measure, regained the favour of her son, and began to resume a sway at court, when *Poppaea* was introduced there. But that ambitious prostitute, aiming at nothing less than marrying the emperor, and knowing that could never be whilst *Agrippina* lived, made it her whole study to inflame him against her. *Agrippina*, on her side, left nothing unattempted to retain her power. Nay, authors who lived in those times, and to whose authority *Tacitus* pays great deference, tell us, that the lust of ruling transported her to such lengths, that, while *Nero* was heated with wine and banqueting, she accosted him, gaily attired, and prompted him to a crime no less repugnant to nature, than that which he soon after committed. *Seneca*, who was present, observing him inclined to yield, prevented that abomination by introducing *Aete*. From this time *Nero* avoided all private conferences with his mother, which gave *Poppaea* a favourable opportunity of incensing him more and more against her, till she at last made him resolve to deliver himself by a parricide from one whom he called his dread and torment. How to dispatch her was the only difficulty remaining. To poison her at his own table would be suspected, *Britannicus* having perished that way; and to apply to her own domestic, seemed dangerous. To kill her with the sword would be too glaring; nor was it thought any one could be found sufficiently hardened for such a deed.

In this perplexity, *Anicetus*, a franchised slave, who had been tutor to *Nero* in his infancy, and was now commander of the fleet at *Misenum*, undertook so to contrive a ship, that it should suddenly burst open in the sea, and drown her; which, said he, could not be imputed to malice or design. The feast of *Minerva*, then celebrating at *Baiae*, offered a favourable opportunity to put this plot in execution; and *Nero*, the better to intice his mother on board this ship, after pretending a great desire to be reconciled to her, which she credited, invited her, in a most affectionate manner to pass the festival with him at *Baiae*. She, not suspecting any treachery, consented to it, and *Nero* conducted her to the shore, where he took leave of her with the greatest demonstrations of tenderness and affection.

Agrippina designedly shipwrecked. The sea was smooth and calm, the night clear, and the stars shone in full lustre, as if, says *Tacitus*, the gods had ordered it so on purpose that so black a murder might not remain undiscovered, by being imputed to the winds or waves. *Agrippina* was attended only by two persons, *Crepercius*

percius Gallus, who stood in the steerage, and *Aceronia Polla*, Nero.
 who lay at her feet, and was entertaining her with the
 pleasing subject of the return of her son's love, when, upon
 a signal given, the deck over that quarter was loosened, and
 sunk suddenly down with such violence, that it crushed *Cre-
 perius* to death. *Agrippina* and *Aceronia* were defended by
 the posts of the bed where they lay, which happened to be
 too strong to yield to the weight, tho' the deck was purposely
 loaded with a great quantity of lead : neither did the vessel
 open, but, by some misunderstanding among the mariners,
 sunk slowly ; so that *Agrippina* and *Aceronia* fell gently into
 the sea. The latter, thinking to save herself by crying out
 that she was *Agrippina*, was knocked on the head. *Agrippi-
 na* escaped, with only one wound on her shoulder, and, by the timely help of some fishing-boats, which rowed out capes.
 to her assistance, reached the shore, and was conveyed to a
 house of her own hard by. There, reflecting upon what
 had passed, and the fate of *Aceronia*, mistaken for herself,
 she plainly saw the drift of the whole scheme, but determined to dissemble her thoughts, and act as if she did not
 suspect any thing. Accordingly, she dispatched *Agerinus*,
 her freedman, to the emperor, to acquaint him with the
 danger she had escaped, by the providence of the gods, and
 his imperial fortune, and to desire him, alarmed as she knew
 he would be at the danger which threatened his mother, to
 postpone the trouble of visiting her, rest being the only
 thing she wanted.

Whilst *Nero* hourly expected the news of his mother's
 death, an account was brought him that she had escaped. Terrified at this, he immediately sent for *Burrhus* and *Seneca*, who, says *Tacitus*, had, perhaps, not been acquainted before with the conspiracy, and desired their advice how to proceed. They both were silent for some time. At length, *Seneca*, who used always to speak first, looked at *Burrhus*, as if he asked him, *Whether orders for the dispatching of Agrippina might not be trusted to the soldiery under his command?* *Burrhus* understood him, and answered, *That the prætorian guards were so zealously attached to the name of the Cæsars, and so fond of the family and memory of Germanicus, that they would never engage in any bloody attempt against their descendants.* He added, *That Anicetus ought to finish what he had begun.* *Anicetus* readily undertook it. In the mean time, *Agerinus* arriving from *Agrippina*, was admitted to the emperor, by whose order, a dagger was dropped between his legs, as he was delivering his message, and he was immediately loaded with irons, and dragged to prison. *Anicetus* then taking with him a band of desperate men, surrounded *Agrippina's* house, and, accompanied by *Herculeus*, captain of a galley, and *Oloaritus*, a centurion of the navy, forced open her chamber-door. *Herculeus* first discharged a blow upon her head with

Nero.

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a great club, and *Olearitus* immediately drew his sword to dispatch her : but she, notwithstanding the blow she had received, starting up, presented her belly, crying, *Strike me here : this carried and brought forth the monster Nero.* In uttering these words, she was pierced with a multitude of wounds, and expired. Thus died the celebrated *Agrippina*, daughter to *Germanicus*, grand-daughter to *Agrrippa*, and great grand-daughter to *Augustus*; sister to one emperor, wife to another, and mother of a third.

This scene of horror was no sooner over, than *Nero* began to feel the enormity of his guilt; and, not able to bear the place where the parricide had been perpetrated, he withdrew to *Naples*, from whence he wrote to the senate, telling them, *That Agerinus, a freedman of Agrippina, had been sent to assassinate him, but had been timely prevented, upon which she laid violent hands on herself.* To this he added a detail of her crimes traced a long way back, ascribing to her all the iniquities of the reign of *Claudius*, and concluded with saying, *That her death ought to be looked upon as a public blessing.* Tho' no one believed the pretended conspiracy, yet the senators strove to surpass each other in complimenting *Nero*, and decreeing him new honours, on this occasion. *Thrasea Pætus* was the only man who had been honest enough to shew his dislike of the emperor's proceedings, by walking out of the senate as soon as his letter was read.

To blacken the memory of *Agrippina* still more, *Nero* pardoned and recalled from exile, several persons of distinction who had been condemned by her means; giving out, *That he would have done it sooner, if she had not checked his natural inclination to mercy.* But still he could not prevail upon himself to return to *Rome*, and appear before the senate and people, till the abandoned profligates of his court, (and no court upon earth, says *Tacitus*, ever abounded with more,) assured him, that the very name of *Agrippina* was generally abhorred. He then proceeded to *Rome*, where he was received with a more forward and officious zeal, than even his flattering courtiers had promised him. Elated with this, he repaired, like a triumphant victor, to the capitol, and there paid his vows and oblations. But all these tokens of joy and approbation could not silence the reproaches of his own conscience; the horrors of his guilt never forsook him; but his dread was sometimes so great that every joint of him trembled. No one attempting to advise him, but, on the contrary, every one commanding his most enormous excesses, he abandoned himself, without controul, to all kinds of extravagant passions. Of these, chariot-driving, singing, and acting upon the stage, were the most prevailing. For the former, he had a piece of ground inclosed on purpose with a wall, that he might there exert his dexterity in driving, without being exposed to public view: but this was only at first, for he afterwards

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grew

grew desirous of being feen, and even invited the populace to the fight. Thinking his own infamy would be lessened by making others do the same, he gave large sums of money to several noble *Romans*, whose families were reduced to poverty, to appear as actors on the stage; and though he did not debase himself in the common theatre, he instituted a kind of plays called *juvenals*, which were exhibited in private houses or gardens, and in which persons of the first quality prided themselves on imitating the most obscene gesticulations of the *Greek* and *Roman* mimics. Even the ladies of the greatest distinction, in imitation of the prince and his court, had their assemblies and representations too, in a grove, where booths were built, and all manner of incentives to sensuality and wantonness were sold. But, shortly after, his passion for singing and playing on the public stage rose to such an height, that, not daring to begin at *Rome*, he went to *Naples*, and there exhibited, for several days together, to immense multitudes, who had flocked from all parts to see so extraordinary a spectacle. At length, unable to forbear any longer, he took his harp, and mounted the public stage of *Rome*, where, after rehearsing a poem of his own composition, he entered the lists with the common harpers and minstrels, and contended with them for the prize with such eagerness and anxiety, that he never ventured to sit down, that being contrary to the rules of the harp, nor to spit, nor to wipe the sweat from his face, otherwise than with his arm: and when he had ended his performance, with his knee bent, and his hands lifted up, according to the custom of the common players, he waited with awe and trembling the decision of the judges. The common people of *Rome*, insensible of the disgrace he thus brought upon their country, applauded him with loud shouts; but the inhabitants of the municipal towns of *Italy*, who still retained the severe manners of the ancients, and others from the remote provinces, shocked at the sight, could not join in this applause; for which they were frequently beaten by the soldiers who were dispersed among the crowd on purpose for them to observe the looks of the spectators. On these occasions, he often kept the audience not only the whole day, but the night too; never giving over, nor suffering any to depart, upon any occasion whatever, till he himself was tired.

In the seventh year of Nero's reign, the *Romans* suffered a dreadful slaughter in *Britain*: but their affairs there were soon retrieved by Suetonius Paulinus; as the reader will see in our history of that country. The same year was remarkable for the death of Pedanius Secundus, governor of *Rome*, who was murdered by one of his own slaves; for which all the slaves who lived under the same roof, to the number of four hundred, were, according to an ancient law of the *Romans*, put to death, without regard to sex or age. In the following year,

Year of

Rome 814.

of Christ

62.

A GENERAL HISTORY

Nero. the prætor *Antistius* was banished for writing a satire against *Nero*. The poet *Perseus* flourished in this reign.

The death of *Burrhus*. The next year died the prætorian-præfect *Burrhus*, not without suspicion of poison by *Nero's* order. The loss of so worthy a man was long regretted in *Rome*, as well from the memory of his own virtues, as from the different character of his joint-successors; which were, *Fenius Rufus*, a man of some character, but extremely indolent; and *Sesonius Tigellinus*, infamous for his lewdness, cruelty and avarice, and for that very reason in high favour with *Nero*. *Seneca*, in particular, had great reason to lament the loss of his valuable friend; for now, the wicked counsellors, of which the court was full, attacked him with the utmost virulence, imputing to him, as crimes, his great wealth, and the magnificence of his house and gardens; adding, *That he ridiculed the emperor's singing, disparaged his skill in managing horses, and arrogated to himself alone the praise and perfection of eloquence*.

Seneca accused. Upon this, *Seneca* finding also that the prince grew more and more reserved towards him, besought the emperor to give him leave to retire; and at the same time begged of him to accept all his wealth and other possessions, which, he said, were too great rewards for his small services. *Nero* replied, *That he still stood in need of the wise counsels with which he had cherished his youth, and therefore could not, by any means, grant him his request*; that, as to his riches, *he was sorry they were not greater, and more adequate to his deserts*; and concluded, with protesting, *That he would rather perish himself a thousand times, than suffer any one to do him the least injury*. *Seneca* returned him thanks for his kindness and generosity, but from that time altered his course of life, receiving few visits, seldom appearing abroad, and, at last, confining himself to his chamber, under pretence of ill health.

He avoids the court. The retreat of *Seneca* doubled the authority of *Tigellinus*, who, diving curiously into the secret fears of his prince, and finding that he chiefly dreaded *Plautus* and *Sylla*, the former lately removed into the East, and the other into Gaul, persuaded him to put them both to death; hoping to bear a still greater sway with the emperor, by thus seeming to consult his security. *Sylla* was murdered at *Marseilles*, while he was at table, not dreaming of any danger; and *Plautus*, though he had received timely notice of his danger, by a letter from his father-in-law, chose rather to die, than to preserve his life by kindling a civil-war, which he might easily have done, being of the *Julian* family and very highly esteemed. *Nero*, immediately after, wrote to the senate, inveighing bitterly against *Sylla* and *Plautus*, but taking no notice of their death. However, the senate, knowing what had happened, decreed processions and solemn thanks to the gods, and degraded *Sylla* and *Plautus* from the dignity of senators. Upon this, *Nero*, finding that even his most flagrant iniquities were called commendable

Sylla and Plautus murdered.

Nero.

commendable actions, divorced *Octavia*, alledging that she was barren, and married *Poppaea*, who, to prevent his ever being reconciled to his former wife, suborned one of *Octavia's* domestics to accuse her of a criminal amour with a slave. *Nero* married All her maids were examined upon the rack, and, though ties *Poppaea's* some of them, overcome by the exquisite pain of the torture, favoured the forgery, yet most of them, with great firmness, vindicated the unspotted character of their lady, who was first removed from her palace, and then banished into *Campania*, where a guard of soldiers was placed over her. This banished treatment incensed the populace to such a degree, that *Nero* was soon forced to recall her. But *Poppaea*, resolved upon her ruin, determined to find out some one who should own himself guilty with her, and against whom a plausible charge of meditating a revolution in the state might also be feigned. *Anicetus*, who had murdered *Agrippina*, was judged a proper man for this purpose. To him therefore *Nero* and she addressed themselves, and, partly by promises, partly by menaces, induced him to acknowledge, that he had carried on a criminal correspondence with *Octavia*: which he had no sooner done, than the unfortunate princess was banished to the island of *Pandataria*, and there put to death. Her head was cut off and carried to *Rome*, that *Poppaea* might see it and enjoy her triumph; and the senate, a set of wretches entirely devoted to corruption and servitude, infamously decreed oblations to the gods for this inhuman massacre. *Anicetus*, as one convicted by his own confession, was banished to *Sardinia*, where he ended his days in great plenty. This year died *Doryphorus*, *Pallas*, and *Romanus*, all three imperial freedmen of great note, and believed to have been poisoned by *Nero's* orders: *Doryphorus*, for having endeavoured to thwart the marriage of *Poppaea*; *Pallas*, because he lived too long, and prevented the prince from enjoying his immense wealth; and *Romanus*, by having a charge of treason which he had brought against *Seneca* retorted upon himself.

The next year *Poppaea* was delivered of a daughter, to whom and her mother the title of *Augusta* was given. The delivered senate had before made public vows for her happy delivery, of a and now many more were added; days for solemn processions were appointed, and a temple was decreed to *Fecundity*. But who dies these joys were short lived, the infant dying within four months. This again gave occasion to new flatteries; for she was placed among the gods, and divine worship, a priest, altars, and sacrifices, were appointed for her. As *Nero* had before rejoiced, so now he grieved, beyond all measure. To allay his grief, he exhibited various shews; among the rest, a combat of gladiators, in which four hundred senators, six hundred knights, and, which was quite new, many ladies of great distinction, entered the lists, and, to use *Tacitus's* expression, *infamously contaminated themselves and their families*, by appearing among the common gladiators.

In

Nero:

In the eleventh year of Nero's reign, almost the whole city of *Rome* was destroyed by fire; but whether it was owing to accident, or to the contrivance of the prince, is not quite determined. *Suetonius* and *Dion Cassius* are positive that this last was the case. The former of these authors tell us, that somebody, in discourse with the emperor, happening one day to say in Greek, *When I am dead let the world be burnt;* he replied, *Nay, let it be whilst I am living:* and, not long after, being displeased with the old buildings and narrow irregular streets of the city, he caused it to be set on fire so publicly, that several of his officers being found in the houses of the great men, with fire and flax in their hands, were dismissed, on their declaring openly that they had orders for what they did. The fire raged with extreme violence six whole days and nights, when it was stopped at the foot of Mount *Esquiline* by beating down an infinite numbers of buildings: but immediately after it broke out again with fresh fury in several places at the same time, and raged for three days more. Of the fourteen quarters into which *Rome* was divided, only four remained intire; three were laid in ashes, and, in the seven others, there remained only here and there a few houses, miserably shattered, and half consumed. All the stately monuments of antiquity, the trophies of many victories, the finest works of the best painters and sculptors of *Greece*; and, what is still more to be lamented, the writings of many celebrated ancient writers, till then preserved perfectly intire, perished in this dreadful conflagration; which *Nero* was so far from being concerned for, that he beheld it the whole time from the tower of *Macenas*, and, pleased with the sight, chanted a poem on the destruction of *Troy*, in the same habit which he wore when he sung on the stage. To clear himself from the odium of this action, which he was universally believed to have been the au-

Nero lays *thor* of, he laid it to the *Christians*, who were already the blame very numerous in *Rome*; and, under that pretence, raised of it on the the first general persecution. The cruelties he exercised upon *Christians* them exceed all description. Their death and tortures were made a sport by the inhuman monster; some of them being covered with skins of wild beasts, and torn in pieces by dogs; others crucified; and others wrapped up in combustible garments, and burnt by way of torches. He set apart his own garden for this scene of horror; to which he added the public diversions of the circus; sometimes driving a chariot in person, and sometimes standing as a spectator among the populace in the habit of a charioteer.

Nero's
golden
palace.

Upon the ruins of the demolished city, *Nero* founded a palace, which he called his *golden house*, of such vast extent, that it reached from Mount *Palatine* to Mount *Esquiline*, and contained large lakes, fields, wildernesSES, gardens, orchards, hills, groves, and woods stocked with all manner of wild beasts,

The entrance of this immense building was spacious enough to receive a colossal statue of the emperor an hundred and twenty feet high. The galleries were a full mile in length, and consisted of three rows of stately pillars. The whole building was covered with gold, enriched with all sorts of precious stones, and mother of pearl, which in those days was valued above gold. The roof of one of the banqueting-rooms resembled the firmament, both in figure and motion, turning incessantly about night and day, and showering down all sorts of sweet waters. When this magnificent structure was finished, *Nero* approved of it only so far as to say, *That, at length, he began to be lodged like a man.* The ground which was not taken up by this palace, was assigned for houses, and the streets were laid out regularly, wide and strait; so that in a short time a new city rose up, more beautiful than ever. Rome re-built,

Nero's immense expence in building his palace, embellishing the city, and madly undertaking at the same time to cut a canal, through hard rocks and high mountains, from the lake *Avernus* to the mouth of the *Tiber*, an enterprize which he was at last obliged to drop; having quite exhausted his exchequer; he betook himself to all manner of rapine and *Nero* ~~takes him~~ extortion to supply his prodigality. Not only *Italy*, but the provinces too, were pillaged and laid waste; and the temples self to all of the gods were stript of all their riches, and their statues carried to *Rome*, and melted down. *Greece* and *Asia* were rapine and plundered as much as any other places, for nothing now escaped his rapaciousness: and *Suetonius* assures us, That from this time forward he never raised any man to an office, without telling him, *You know what I want: let us manage so that no man may have any thing which he can call his own.* *Seneca*, fearing lest these iniquities might be imputed to him, again begged leave to retire, but was again refused.

Towards the end of this year, the people talked much of prodigies, which were said to have been seen, and were always looked upon as the fore-runners of some dreadful calamity. A comet too appeared; an omen ever supposed to portend misfortunes to some sovereign power. *Nero* was and ~~re-~~ greatly alarmed at it: but one *Babilus*, an astrologer, having solves told him, *That it was usual for monarchs, on such occasions, to extermi-nate those omens from themselves by some extraordinary massacre;* nate the he resolved to exterminate the whole senatorial order, and whole se-commit the government of the provinces, and the command natorial of the armies, to the knights and his freedmen.

A conspiracy which was discovered the following year afforded him a plausible pretence for putting his horrid design *Piso's con-* in execution. Almost all the nobility of *Rome*, and great spiracy. numbers of senators, knights, soldiers, and even women, were concerned in this conspiracy, partly from their detesta-tion of *Nero*, and partly from their zeal for *Caius Piso*, who was at the head of it, and whom they designed to raise to the empire. He was allied to most of the great families in *Rome*, and,

Nero.

and for his virtues, or qualities (as *Tacitus* observes) resembling virtues, highly favoured by the people: for, besides his being a great orator, and employing his eloquence in defence of his fellow-citizens, he was generous, affable, complaisant, graceful in his person, and extremely popular in his language and address; but, which indeed the *Romans* now had no dislike to, he was luxurious and debauched. Among the first who entered into this conspiracy, were, *Plautius Lateranus*, consul elect, (from whom the famous *Basilic*, now called the palace of *Lateran*, took its name); *Fenius Rufus*, captain of the guards, *Subrius Flavius*, and *Sulpicius Asper*, together with several other tribunes and centurions, a great many senators, *Roman* knights, and the celebrated poet *Lucan*. What provoked this last was, *Nero's* having forbid the publication of his poems, from a ridiculous desire of excelling every one in that art. These soon drew into the combination numbers of others of all ranks: but how one *Epicharis*, a freed-woman, became acquainted with the plot, was never known. The conspirators putting off the execution of their design from day to day, she, who had never before shewn the least regard to honour, virtue, or honesty, impatient of their delays, went to *Misenum*, and there tampered with the chief officers of the fleet, who, if brought into the plot, might easily find means to kill the emperor, as he frequently diverted himself with sailing along the coasts of *Misenum* and *Puteoli*. Among these officers was one *Volusius Proculus*, who had been employed by *Nero* to murder his mother, and had now the command of a thousand marines; but, not thinking himself sufficiently rewarded, complained bitterly of the emperor's neglect of him. *Epicharis* laying hold of this, acquainted him with the conspiracy, but prudently concealed the names of the conspirators.

She is accused to Nero, but thing; for, when *Epicharis* was confronted with him, as his baffle her charge against her was not supported by any witnesses, she denied it, pretending to be greatly astonished at the impudence of the accuser. However, she was ordered back to prison. The conspirators, apprehensive of a discovery, tho' *Epicharis* had not confessed any thing, came to a resolution to hasten the execution of their design; but could not fix upon a place for it. Some proposed a country-house of *Piso's*, to which *Nero* used frequently to go to bathe and banquet with few attendants. To this *Piso* objected, *That, wicked as the prince was, it would be looked upon as a violation of the sacred laws of hospitality; and that it would be much better to kill him at Rome, either in the palace which he had reared upon the ruins of the unhappy city, or in the face of the public, for whose sake the deed was undertaken.* This was what he said: but, in reality, what made him hesitate, was a secret jealousy of *Lucius Silanus*, a man of extraordinary accomplishments,

ments, who, he feared, might seize the empire for himself; and of the consul *Vestinus*, whose known character made him suspect, that he might either attempt to restore the ancient government, or bestow the empire on some other as a gift of his own. At length, the conspirators unanimously agreed to execute their design at *Rome*, on the anniversary of the festival of *Ceres*, when there were always games at which *Nero* never failed to assist. *Lateranus* was to fall at the prince's feet, under pretence of craving some favour, and to pull him down, and keep him to the ground, while the other conspirators were to rush in and dispatch him.

The day before that which was appointed for the execution of the design, *Scevinus*, one of the principal conspirators, made his will, and unsheathing a dagger, which he had formerly taken out of a temple, and always carried about him, as consecrated to some great deed, he complained that it was blunt and rusty, and ordered *Milichus*, one of his freedmen, to have it ground and sharpened; after which, he ordered a more sumptuous repast than usual, and gave all his favourite slaves their liberty, and to others money; and lastly, he directed *Milichus* to prepare several bandages for wounds. Though he affected cheerfulness all the time he was at table, a more than common thoughtfulness, intermixed with great anxiety, was often visible. *Milichus* observing this, and reflecting on the orders he had received, concluded that a conspiracy was certainly carrying on, in which his master was concerned, and, early the next morning, went to *Nero*, told him what had passed, shewed him the dagger, and desired the criminal might be immediately sent for. *Scevinus* was accordingly dragged before the emperor, and defended himself with such intrepidity, that the informer had been baffled, had not his wife reminded him of *Scevinus*'s having had the day before a long conference with *Antonius Natalis*, and that both of them lived in close confidence with *Piso*. *Natalis* was immediately sent for, and both he and *Scevinus* being examined separately concerning that conference, and their answers not agreeing, they were threatened with the rack, and thereupon discovered the whole of the conspiracy. *Natalis*, in the course of his confession, named *Seneca*; but whether he had really any concern in the plot, or whether *Natalis* named him only to please *Nero*, who was daily seeking some specious pretence to destroy him, is uncertain. *Lucan*, *Quintianus*, and *Senecio*, persisted long in denying the charge against them, but at length were decoyed by a promise of impunity; and then, to atone for their backwardness, they informed against their dearest friends; *Lucan*, against *Attilia*, his own mother; *Quintianus*, against *Glicius Gallus*; and *Senecio* against *Annius Pollio*, and such numbers of other accomplices, that *Nero* was so terrified, that he not only doubled his guards, but posted bands of soldiers upon the walls, and all round the city,

Nero. city, and lined the sea-coasts, and the banks of the *Tiber*, with numerous detachments of horse and foot.

The fortitude of Epicharis. *Epicharis* was now put to the rack; but all the tortures the executioner could invent, did not extort the least confession from her; and the next day, as they were carrying her in a chair to suffer the same torments again (for all her limbs were so mangled and disjointed that she could not support herself) she found means to form a noose round her neck, with the girdle that bound her breasts, and fastening it to the top of the chair, put an end to her poor remains of life. And now the accused were dragged in whole droves to *Nero's* tribunal, where he, *Tigellinus*, and *Fenius Rufus*, sat as judges. If they had ever been seen smiling with any of the conspirators, had ever spoken with them, met them, though but by chance, accidentally dined with them at the same table, or sat by them at any public shew, it was sufficient to condemn them. *Tigellinus*, who had not yet been detected, was the severest judge of the three; and, had it not been for him, *Nero* would have been killed during the examination of the prisoners; for the brave tribune, *Subrius Flavius*, who attended, and was not yet impeached or suspected, having demanded, by signs, Whether he should draw his sword and dispatch the tyrant, was, by contrary signs, forbid, after he had already grasped the hilt.

Piso kills himself.

Plautius Lateranus dies most bravely.

Death of Seneca.

When the conspiracy was first discovered, many of *Piso's* friends advised him to proceed directly to the camp, or mount the rostrum, and try the affections of the soldiery and people: but instead of that, he retired to his own house, where, upon the arrival of a band of soldiers to seize him, he opened the veins of both his arms, and bled to death; leaving, out of tenderness to his wife, a will full of fulsome flattery towards *Nero*. *Plautius Lateranus*, consul elect, was next put to death, without being allowed even to embrace his children. When the emperor's freedman and secretary, *Epa-phroditus*, asked him some questions concerning the conspiracy, he bravely answered, *That if he were mean enough to make any discoveries, it would be to his master, not to him.*

Nero had too long desired the death of *Seneca*, to neglect it now. *Natalis's* having named him, was sufficient for the tyrant to command him to die. When the fatal orders arrived, *Seneca* was at table with his wife *Paulina*, and two friends. He heard the sentence without seeming in the least concerned, and calmly called for his will: but that being denied him, he told his friends, *That, since he was prevented from gratefully acknowledging their favours, he bequeathed them that which alone was now left him, the pattern of his life.* He then embraced his wife, and besought her to moderate her sorrow, by the contemplation of his life, spent in a steady course of virtue: but she resolutely declared, *That she was determined to die with him:* and accordingly both of them had the veins of their arms opened

opened at the same time. As *Seneca* was aged, and his body quite extenuated by his abstentious way of living, his blood influed but slowly; whereupon he caused the veins of his legs, and those about the joints of his knees, to be likewise cut; and, finding his agonies increase, he desired *Paulina* to retire to another chamber, lest his torments should shake her resolution, or her pangs make him betray an unbecoming weakness. His secretaries stood by him all this time, and he dictated to them many things which were published after his death; to hasten which, he now took a dose of poison, but in vain, his juices being quite stagnated: he then had recourse to a hot-bath, to hasten by that means the operation of the poison, or make his blood flow more freely: but that too not having the desired effect, and the soldiers growing impatient, he was at last carried into a stove, and there suffocated with the steam. His body was burnt without any funeral solemnity, pursuant to a will which he had made even while he was in high favour with his prince. *Tacitus* gives him a far better character than *Dion Cassius*; and, indeed, we cannot help saying, that his actions seem to have been quite inconsistent with his precepts. As to *Paulina*, Nero, sensible that her death would only render him still more odious, sent immediate orders to bind up her arms, and stop the blood: by which means she outlived her husband a few years, but was ever after pale and languishing.

The brave tribune *Subrius Flavius* met death with such noble behaviour as proved to *Nero* the most galling circumstance in haviour of the whole of this conspiracy. His defence was very short; *Subrius* and upon the tyrant's asking him, *What had induced him to Flavius, break his military oath?* he boldly replied, *Because I abhorred thee; though there was not in the whole army any one more zealously attached to thee than I, so long as thou didst merit affection: but I began to hate thee when thou becameſt the murderer of thy mother, thy brother, and thy wife; a charioteer, a comedian, and an and of incendiary.* *Sulpicius Asper*, being asked in like manner by *Sulpicius Nero*, *Why he had conspired against him?* answered, *Because Asper. there was no other relief against thy abominable enormities.*

Fenius Rufus had hitherto escaped discovery; but, upon his pressing the senator *Scevinus*, with many menaces, to make a full confession, *Scevinus*, with a smile, told him, *That no man was better acquainted with the particulars of the plot than himself.* *Fenius* attempted to reply, but gave such manifest tokens of his guilt, that *Nero* ordered him to be seized; and when he was put to death he behaved with the meanest cowardice, even filling his last will with unmanly lamentations.

Nero hoped to find the consul *Vestinus*, whom he feared and hated, concerned in the conspiracy: but no one accusing death of him, the tyrant dispatched a tribune, at the head of five the consul hundred men, to prevent his stirring. He was just returned *Vestinus*, from discharging the functions of consul and was entertaining himself

Nero. himself at home with a few friends, when the soldiers entering, told him, *That the tribune waited for him.* *Vestinus* immediately rose from table, stept into his chamber, had his veins cut, and, without uttering a syllable that argued either grief or compassion for himself, was carried into a hot-bath and suffocated by the steam.

Of the poet Lucan, who was sentenced next, had his veins opened, and died rehearsing some lines of his own, in which he had described a wounded soldier dying in the same manner*. The death of *C. Petronius*, the most polite, though and of *C. Petronius*, not the chaffest writer of those times, and once a great favorite with *Nero*, for his exquisite art of refining voluptuousness, was, like the whole of his life, void of the least perplexing thought: for, after his veins were opened, sometimes closing them, and sometimes letting the blood run, he entertained his friends to the last moment, with soft verses, delicate love-songs, and other such like subjects; so that it might justly enough be said, that with him *dying was ceasing to live*. Few of the other conspirators either said or did any thing worth notice. But *Suetonius* tells us, that *Nero*, not satisfied with the punishment of the conspirators themselves, drove their innocent children out of *Rome*, and caused them, together with their tutors, governors, and domestics, to be either poisoned or starved to death. Whole families were cut off at one stroke; and, during this dreadful carnage, not one durst shew the least symptom of sorrow for their murdered friends or relations. *Natalis* and *Proculus* were pardoned, in consideration of their early confession; and the prosecution against *Lucan's* mother was dropt. *Milichus*, the freedman, was amply rewarded, and honoured with a Greek name, signifying *protector*. All the friends of *Seneca* were banished.

Death of Poppaea.

Shortly after this conspiracy was over, *Nero's* wife *Poppaea*, whose lewdness and cruelty made her be as much detested as her husband, died of a kick on the belly, which she received from him while she was big with child, for finding fault with his coming home late from one of his chariot-races. The emperor himself pronounced her panegyric; and *Pliny* assures us, that more perfumes were burnt at her funeral than *Arabia Felix* produced in a year. *Dion Cassius* tells us, that five hundred asses were always carried about

Nero marries Statilia Messalina. with her, and that she bathed every day in their milk, to preserve her beauty. Divine honours were decreed her. Soon after, *Nero* married *Statilia Messalina*, widow of the late consul *Vestinus*; and she too was honoured with the title of *Augusta*.

Cassius Longinus Not long after the death of *Poppaea*, *Nero* doomed to destruction two of the greatest men in *Rome*, *C. Cassius Longi-*

nus, a learned civilian, and *L. Junius Silanus Torquatus*; the former for his great wealth, and the exemplary gravity of his manners; the latter, because he was related to the *Cæsars*, and judged worthy of the empire, by the *Roman* people, and *Julius* on account of his modesty and eminent qualities. The crime *Silanus* laid to the charge of *Cassius*, who was old, blind, and lived a very retired life, was, his keeping among the images of his ancestors that of *Caius Cassius*, one of the conspirators against *Julius Cæsar*; and that of which *Silanus* was accused, was, an imputation, forged by *Nero's* order, of incest with his aunt *Lepida*, the wife of *Cassius*, and of their having practised together magical rites of a mischievous tendency. *Cassius* was banished to *Sardinia*, and his life spared, on account of his great age: but *Silanus*, under colour of carrying him to the island of *Naxos*, was murdered by the way. *Ostorius*, *Anteius*, *Mella*, *Anicius*, and several others, to avoid the cruelty of the tyrant, killed themselves: as did also *Lucius Vetus*, his mother-in-law *Sextia*, and his daughter *Pollutia*; all three of them opening their veins in the same chamber, with the same instrument, and dying at the same time.

Nero, not satisfied with the slaughter of so many illustrious men, at length attempted, says *Tacitus*, to extirpate virtue itself, in the persons of *Bareas Soranus* and *Thrasea Pætus*, who had long been the objects of his hatred. *Thrasea*, as we observed before, had left the senate when that servile assembly was going to decree thanksgivings for the murder of *Agrippina*. He had also opposed the condemnation of the prætor *Antistius*, who had incurred *Nero's* displeasure by writing a satyr against him; had absented himself when divine honours were decreed to *Poppaea*; and, though invested with the priesthood, had not only never made oblations for the safety of the prince, and the preservation of his heavenly voice, but had even disapproved of the emperor's singing and acting upon the stage. These were the crimes laid to his charge by *Capito Cossutianus*, and *Eprius Marcellus*, two most infamous informers. Those of which *Soranus* was accused by *Ostorius Sabinus*, a *Roman* knight, were, his attachment to *Plautus*, murdered by *Nero's* order in *Asia*; and pretended intrigues with the *Asiatics*, to induce them to revolt. But his real crimes were, his having hindered one of *Nero's* freedmen from plundering the city of *Pergamus*. Both *Thrasea* and *Soranus* were condemned, but left at liberty to and confused their own death. The former ordered the veins of both his arms to be cut. As the blood flowed, he ordered the quæstor who had brought the order to approach, and sprinkling the floor with it, *Let us*, said he to him, *make this libation to Jupiter the Deliver*. *Behold, young man; may the gods avert the omen!* but you are born in such times, as require you to fortify your mind with examples of constancy.---A chasm in the writings of *Tacitus* deprives us of the farther particulars

Nero.

lars of the death of this great man, and of that of *Seranus*. *Thræsa's* wife *Arria* was very earnest to follow the example of her mother, who bore the same name, and was wife to *Cæcina Pætus*, with whom she died ; but *Thræsa* would not let her.

Tiridates
crowned
king of
Armenia.

The pompous shews by which *Nero* endeavoured to divert the attention of the people from their infinite calamities, by crowning *Tiridates*, in one of the great squares of *Rome*, king of *Armenia*, being described in our history of the *Greater Armenia*, we shall not repeat that detail here ; but only add, that *Tiridates* was loaded with immense presents, for having flattered the vain emperor, and pretended to be ravished with his harmonious voice, and skill in chariot-driving ; and that *Nero* then shut up the temple of *Janus*, which had been open about 64 years.

Neropass'd
into Greece
and ap-
pears on
the public
stage.

Shortly after the departure of *Tiridates*, *Nero* pass'd over into *Greece*, on purpose to exert his skill at the olympic games, where, to the eternal ignominy of the *Roman* name, he was not ashamed to appear as a competitor among the common harpers, players, and charioeteers. He won the prize of music, by corrupting, as was commonly believed, with large presents, either the judges, or his competitors, or both. The prize of chariot-driving he evidently forfeited, being thrown off, and so hurt, that he was not able to finish his career : but as he insisted with the judges, that all casual events and misfortunes were to be excepted, the prize was decreed him, to his inexpressible satisfaction : and he, in return, not only rewarded the judges with the rights of *Roman* citizens, and rich presents, but restored the whole province of *Achaia* to its ancient liberty, and exempted it from all sorts of taxes. *Vespasian* revoked this act ; and *Galba* made the judges refund the money they had received. After this, *Nero* travelled all over *Greece*, challenging every where the best harpers, and, as we may imagine, being always victor ; of which he never failed to send a particular account to the senate, injoining them to acknowledge the favours of the gods towards him, with victims, oblations, and public processions, and to take care, that the same devotions were practised throughout the whole empire. He is said to have gained above eighteen hundred prizes in this expedition.

Under-
takes to
cut thro'
the isth-
mus of
Corinth.

As *Nero* was always ready to attempt what was generally deemed impossible, before he left *Greece*, he undertook to cut through the isthmus of *Corinth*, in order to join the *Ionian* and *Aegean* seas. But after a great deal of parade, breaking the first ground himself with a golden pick-ax, and carrying away a handful of the earth to *Corinth*, with as much pride as if he had atchieved the labours of *Hercules* ; and after setting to work not only his prætorian guards, but all the prisoners in the empire, whom he ordered to be transported into *Greece*, he dropped this enterprize.

His

His finances being again exhausted, he plundered the Greeks without mercy, putting to death such of them as were thought rich, and seizing their estates. He then extended his rapines to *Italy* and *Rome*, from whence he had taken with him into *Greece* numbers of the most wealthy and ders noble of the *Romans*, that he might have an opportunity of dispatching them at a distance from *Rome*, with more safety *Italy*. *Nero.*
 to himself, and less noise; whilst the freedman *Helius*, whom he had left governor of *Rome*, seized their estates: for *Nero* had this year published an edict, whereby, contrary to the custom which had hitherto obtained, the estates even of those who anticipated their sentence by a voluntary death, were declared confiscated to the emperor. The brave *Corbulo*, equal, says *Tacitus*, in courage, prudence, and experience to the most renowned commanders of ancient *Rome*, and, at the same time, a true pattern of the modesty, virtue, and integrity of the primitive *Romans*, was, for his virtue, of all crimes the greatest in *Nero*'s eyes, doomed this year to die. The tyrant, under pretence of desiring to see him, as one for whom he had the greatest regard, having inticed him into *Greece*, commanded him to be killed as soon as he arrived. This order was no sooner notified to *Corbulo*, than, drawing his sword, he plunged it into his breast, saying, *Death or Corbulo*. *He well deserved to die*; meaning, no doubt, on account of his credulity, and inviolable attachment to so vile a monster. For *Corbulo* was so unanimously beloved, and had so great an army intirely at his devotion, that he might certainly have made himself emperor, if he would.

The governor of *Rome*, *Helius*, assisted by *Polycletus*, another freedman, made no less havoc of the nobility at *Rome*, Cruelties than his master did in *Greece*; *Nero* having invested him with exercised an absolute power over all persons, senators not excepted, in *Rome*. whom he was allowed to condemn, banish, or execute, without so much as acquainting the emperor with the crimes laid to their charge, or waiting for his consent. Few noble families escaped the cruelty of the emperor, or of the imperial freedman. The latter, more cruel, if possible, than *Nero* himself, cut off the children and relations of those he condemned; which alarmed the city to such a degree that a general insurrection was apprehended. *Helius* thereupon sent messenger after messenger to the emperor, pressing him to return with all possible expedition: and as *Nero* sent him no other answer, than, *That if he truly loved him, he would not envy him the glory he was daily acquiring in *Greece**; the freedman left *Rome* unexpectedly, and arriving in seven days in *Greece*, so terrified the emperor, with the exaggerated account he gave him of the general discontent of the city, that he immediately left *Greece*, where he had staid upwards of a year, and embarked for *Italy*. In his passage, his fleet *Nero* was dispersed by a violent storm, the ships laden with the turns to wealth of *Greece* were cast away, and he himself in great danger *Italy*.

Nero.

of being lost with them. Upon his landing, many of his retinue were immediately put to death, for having imprudently betrayed joy whilst he was in danger of perishing.

He entered *Rome* through a breach in the wall, according to the custom of the victors in the olympic games, in the triumphal chariot of *Augustus*, pompously attired, with an olympic crown on his head, and a Pythic crown in his hand, and preceded by eighteen hundred persons, each of whom carried a crown in his hand, with an inscription under it, signifying where, from whom, and for what song it had been won. In this manner, and followed by all the rabble of *Rome*, he proceeded to the temple of *Apollo*, where, after displaying all his crowns, he ordered them to be carried to his golden house, and hung up round his bed, upon the many statues which he had erected to himself, in the habit and attire of an harper.

The Jews, grievously oppressed by their governors, especially *Florus*, had taken up arms, and lately defeated *Cestius Gallus*, governor of *Syria*, after having obliged him to raise the siege of *Jerusalem*: upon which, *Nero*, in the twelfth year of his reign, appointed *Mucian* governor of *Syria*, and named *Vespasian* to the command of the troops in that province, though he had not long before forbade him his presence, and threatened him with destruction, for having nodded whilst he was performing on the stage.

Nero, after his return from *Greece*, spent the remainder of that year, which was the thirteenth of his reign, in playing on the harp, singing, and acting upon the stage; no one of the nobility daring, upon any pretence whatever, to be absent from his theatrical performances, though they often lasted the whole night, as well as day. To preserve his voice, he used to lie constantly on his back, with a thin plate of lead upon his stomach, often took vomiting and purging potions, and abstained from all sorts of fruit and meats thought prejudicial to his voice: nay, at length, through fear of hurting it, he left off making speeches to the soldiery or senate, and signified his pleasure to them in writing, or by the mouth of some other person. He would never speak now but in the presence of his *Phonacis*, as he called him, an officer, whose sole business was to take care of his voice, first to admonish him if he talked too loud, or strained his lungs; and afterwards, if he did not heed that, to stop his mouth with a napkin. Amidst all this shameful trifling, he still pursued his acts of extravagance, cruelty, and blood, which nothing could equal but his infamous lewdness.

His excessive prodigality,

In his journeys, which were very frequent, besides a numberless train of followers and attendants, he never had less than a thousand waggons for his wardrobe, drawn by mules richly caparisoned, and shod with silver, and the drivers of them clad with cloth of gold or silver. *Suetonius* tells us,

us, that he bestowed upon the funeral of his monkey, the whole estate of a rich usurper called *Paneros*. His donations to the people were still more extravagant : for instead of the trifles which former emperors used to toss out to them to scramble for, *Nero* threw among them vast quantities of rich apparel, gold, silver, and precious stones ; and for things which could not be thrown in kind, he caused tickets to be cast among the people, on which was written what the persons should have into whose hands they fell, such as corn, herds, slaves, fields, houses, islands, and things of great value. The consequence of these immense prodigalities was, his plundering the provinces to such a degree, as rendered them quite desolate, and reduced their wretched inhabitants to the utmost misery. At the same time these profuse gifts preserved him the love of the populace of *Rome*. His banquets were expensive almost beyond belief, and no less infamous for the monstrous scenes of lewdness practised at them ; for he was generally attended at such entertainments, whether given by himself or his friends, by the most debauched women of the whole city. We may judge of the rest, by one which *Tigellinus* gave him a little before the burning of *Rome*. In the lake of *Agrippina* was built a large ship, which carried the banquet, and was towed by other ships, embellished with rich ornaments of gold and ivory, which were rowed by professed catamites, ranged according to their different age, and skill in their abominable profession. On the banks of the lake, on one side, were brothels filled with ladies of great rank ; and, on the other, common harlots, quite naked. When night came on, the neighbouring groves and houses resounded with songs and music, and were illuminated so as to equal the light of day. A few days after this memorable banquet, *Nero*, who, as *Tacitus* observes, had already surpassed all men in every kind of abomination, carried his lewdness to such monstrous excesses, as would seem altogether incredible, were they not attested by historians who lived near those times, and whose veracity cannot be questioned. He dressed himself in the habit of a woman, and, as such, was publicly married, with the usual forms and solemnity, to one of his contaminated crew, named *Pythagoras* : and not satisfied with this, he became the husband of another, named *Sporus*, whom he married with the same solemnity, kept in his palace, and carried about with him all over *Italy* and *Greece*, in the same litter, and in the attire of an empress : on which occasion it was said, *That it would have been happy for the world, had Nero's father had such a wife.*

The world had now groaned upwards of thirteen years under the yoke of this abominable monster, and the patience of all mankind was quite worn out. Both *Romans* and *foreigners* were equally disposed to a general revolution, *man* and *woman* wanted a proper person to head them. The first prie.

Nero. who had courage enough openly to declare himself, was *Julius Vindex*, descended from the ancient kings of *Aquitain*, and at this time governor of *Celtic Gaul*. He was a true lover of his country, had given several proofs of his courage and skill, and ardently wished to transmit his name to posterity by some commendable action. The first person he declared his design to was *Sergius Galba*, governor of part of *Spain*, who neither countenanced nor discouraged it then : but upon *Vindex's* informing him, shortly after, that all the *Gauls* had approved of his undertaking, that he was at the head of an hundred thousand armed men, and could raise a greater force if wanted, and that he begged of him to espouse the common cause of mankind, and take the command of these troops, *Galba* assembled the *Spaniards*, and began to harangue them ; when they, interrupting him with loud shouts, unanimously saluted him *Emperor* and *Augustus*. He commend-ed their zeal, but declined these titles ; declaring, that he devoted himself to the service of his country, only as lieutenant to the senate and people. *Otho*, who still governed *Lusitania*, was the first of all the governors of provinces who declared for him ; at the same time sending him all his gold and silver plate to turn into money ; and likewise his domestics, who were more accustomed to a court, and knew better than *Galba's* how to serve an emperor.

Nero is not affected with the news of the revolt of Vindex. *Nero* was at *Naples* when he received the first news of *Vindex's* revolt, and was so far from being affected with it, that he seemed rather to be pleased, as it would give him a plausible pretence to plunder the wealthy provinces of *Gaul*: so that he continued to sing, play, and act upon the stage, as usual, for eight days together, without issuing any orders for snppressing the rebellion, or even writing or speaking to any one about it ; except one evening, at supper, when, receiving letters of a fresher date, acquainting him with the greatness of the danger, and the necessity of applying a speedy remedy, he said, *He would make the Gauls pay dear for disturbing his pleasures*. At length, the bitter declarations of *Vindex*, and particularly one, in which he was called an *unskilful harper*, and *Athenobarbus* instead of *Nero*, roused him so far, that, after appealing to every one about him, whether he was not a good player, he wrote to the senate, recommending to the fathers the revenging of the injuries offered to him, and excused his absence with the pretence of an inflammation in his throat. But the alarm increasing, and messenger after messenger arriving with dismal accounts, he at length left *Naples* in a great fright, and repaired to *Rome*. Upon his arrival there, instead of assembling the senate, or people, he only summoned some of the principal men to his palace, and, after a short consultation, in which no resolution was taken, he spent the rest af the day in shewing them some new instruments of music of his inventing, and promising to introduce them, c'er long, upon the stage, if

Vindex would give him leave. However, he wrote a letter to the senate, complaining of *Vindex*, set a price upon his head, recalled some troops that were marching towards *Albania*, and ordered back the legions then in *Ilyricum*. When *Vindex* was told, that *Nero* had promised ten millions of sesterces to any one who should bring him his head ; he answered, with great calmness, *Whoever shall bring Nero's head to me, shall, if he pleases, have mine in exchange.*

Nero.

Hitherto *Nero* seemed not at all alarmed : but when the news of *Galba*'s revolt was brought him, just as he was fitting down to supper, he was so struck with it, that he remained a long time motionless, without being able to utter at the re- a single word ; and when he came to himself, he overturned volt of the table in a violent rage, tore his garments, and dashed *Galba* his head against the wall, crying out, that *He was undone ; that his misfortunes were without example ; that his empire was taken from him while he was yet alive, and he was become the prey of an usurper.* Yet, even in the height of his consternation, he could not refrain from his usual debaucheries, nor from frequenting the theatre. In the mean time, the senate, out of fear and flattery, declared *Galba* an enemy to the state ; whereupon *Nero* immediately seized his estate, and commanded it to be put up to auction ; which *Galba* was no sooner informed of, than he exposed to sale *Nero*'s estate in *Spain*, and found a great number of persons ready to purchase it. This enraged *Nero* to such a degree, that, in the first transports of his fury, he resolved to massacre all the governors of provinces and commanders of the armies, under pretence of their being privy to the conspiracy ; to order all the exiles to be killed, lest they should join the revolters ; to cut the throats of all the *Gauls* in *Rome*, as accomplices of their countrymen ; to poison the whole senate at an entertainment ; to set fire to the city, and at the same time, let loose the wild beasts kept for the public shews, that the people might be prevented from extinguishing the flames. But, dropping these thoughts, not out of remorse, but despair of effecting them, he resolved to march in person against the rebels, and to that end ordered an immense number of waggons to be got ready, for conveying with safety, not engines of war, but his musical instruments, decorations for the stage, and his concubines, whom he armed with battle-axes and shields, and appointed his body-guards. At the same time he was mean enough to declare to some of his intimates, *That he did not intend to try his fortune with the rebels in the field, but, upon his arrival in the province, to present himself unarmed before them, to weep, and with sighs and tears implore their forgiveness ; which obtained, he would make them amends for his past conduct, by diverting them with plays and songs of triumph.*

In the mean time, *Galba*'s party gathered new strength, all the governors of the provinces declaring for him, except

Nero.

Clodius Macer in Africa, and L. Rufus Virginius in Upper Germany, who had under his command some of the best legions in the whole empire. This last even marched against *Vindex*, with all his forces, and advanced as far as the city of *Besançon*, where *Vindex*, being defeated, with the loss of upwards of twenty thousand of his men, laid violent hands on himself. The victorious legions begged of *Virginius* to accept the empire, and saluted him *Cæsar, Emperor, and Augustus*: but he not only rejected their offer, but resolutely declared, *That he would neither take upon himself the sovereign power, nor suffer any one else to assume it, who was not chosen by the senate, to whom alone the disposal of the empire belonged.*

Bad situation of Galba's affairs.

The death of *Vindex*, and this declaration of *Virginius*, perplexed *Galba* exceedingly: besides which, it was reported, that *Virginius*'s troops, finding they could not persuade their general to accept of the empire, threatened to return to *Nero*; and as to *Galba*'s own troops, some of them attempted to abandon him; and certain slaves, which one of *Nero*'s freedmen had given him, formed a conspiracy against his life, which he narrowly escaped. In this perplexity, *Galba* retired to a city in *Spain*, called *Clunia*, quite disheartened, and ready to put an end to his life.

The Roman legions revolt.

Nero's levies went on but slowly, or rather not at all in *Rome*, and the people grew daily more and more exasperated against him. A famine which began to be felt in the city, heightened the fury of the populace exceedingly, by the arrival of a ship from *Egypt*, at that time the granary of *Rome*, laden, not with corn, as was expected, but with sand for the gladiators and wrestlers. Upon this the people rose, threw down the emperor's statues, tore his images, plundered the houses of his friends and favourites, and committed innumerable disorders. At the same time, news arrived of the revolt of the legions in *Germany*, which so terrified *Nero*, that, taking with him a dose of poison, he went immediately into the *Servilian* gardens, and from thence sent some of his freedmen to *Cyria*, to order his fleet to be got ready to carry him to *Egypt*. At other times, he resolved to fly to *Parthia*, or else to address *Galba* as a suppliant, and throw himself intirely upon his mercy. As he was leaving the palace, he asked some of the officers of his guards, whether they would accompany him in his flight? Most of them eluded the question, others positively refused, and one of them cried to him, *Is it then so sad a thing to die?*

Nero is abandoned by his guards.

Nero remained in this irresolution till the next day, by which time his ruin was completed by one whom he least of all suspected, *Nymphidius Sabinus*, whom, though of mean descent, he had appointed colleague of *Tigellinus* in the command of the prætorian guards, and who now entertained thoughts of seizing the sovereignty for himself. However, he did not yet declare his ambitious views; but pretending to espouse the cause of *Galla*, assured the guards that *Nero*

was fled, and promised them, in *Galba's* name, such sums as neither he nor any other was able to give. This promise secured the empire to *Galba* for the present, lost it him afterwards, and, in the end, occasioned the destruction of *Nymphidius*, and of the guards themselves. Even *Tigellinus*, the chief author of *Nero's* crimes, forsook him now. In this situation, waking in the night, and finding that all his guards were gone, he leaped out of his bed, sent for his friends, and, on their not coming, went in person to their houses. Their doors were all shut against him, and not one vouchsafed to answer him. He then hastened back to his chamber, which he found rifled, even of the very bed-cloaths, and the gold box into which he had put the poison. Upon this he sent for one *Spicillus*, a gladiator, to dispatch him; but neither he nor any other being to be found, who would undertake that task, he cried out in a fit of despair, *What! have I then neither friends nor enemies left?* and at these words flew out of the room, with a design to throw himself into the *Tiber*; but changing his mind, he stopped on a sudden, and begged to be conducted to some private place, where he might recollect himself.

Phaon, one of his freedmen, offered him his country house, *He flies about four miles from the city*, and he immediately set out from for it, attended only by four persons, of whom *Sporus* was *Rome*, one, meanly apparelled, and worse mounted, and hiding his face with an handkerchief, for fear of being discovered. At his setting out, he was dreadfully terrified at several flashes of lightning, and as he passed by the camp of the prætorian guards, he heard them cursing him, and wishing success to *Galba*. Some people whom he met on the road, seeing him and his attendants, said to each other, *These people are doubtless in pursuit of Nero*; and another asked him, *What news of Nero in the city?* His horse starting at the sight of a carcase that lay in the way, the covering of his face was shaken off, and he was known by a soldier, who saluted him with the title of emperor; which so alarmed him and his attendants, that they quitted their horses at the first turning, and betaking themselves to a narrow path, crept through bushes and briars to a wall which inclosed *Phaon's* grounds, who intreated the emperor to hide himself in a sand-pit, till he could convey him in with more secrecy; but *Nero* answered, *That he would not be buried till he was dead*; and lay concealed among the briars, while *Phaon* examined how he might best introduce him, which was at last done by making a hole in the wall, and dragging him through it. Whilst *Nero* lay among the briars, being p抚ied with thirst, he took up water out of a ditch with his hands, saying, *To this liquor is Nero reduced*. In the house, he laid himself down on a pallet-bed, where he spent the remainder of the night, and part of the following day, in such agonies as cannot be exprefled, alarmed at the least noise he heard, and not daring to speak, for

Nero. fear of being discovered. His attendants pressing him to prevent the dangers that threatened him, by a voluntary death, he at last ordered his grave to be dug, and wood and water to be provided for washing and burning his body.

The senate declared him an enemy state, and condemned him to die. The day after he left *Rome*, the senate assembled early in the morning, and, after proclaiming *Galba* emperor, and taking the usual oaths to him, declared *Nero* an enemy to the state, and condemned him to be punished *more majorum*, to the death. The messenger who brought the account of this sentence, and found him making the above preparations for his own death, and, with a thousand sighs and tears, repeating several times, *What an artist will the world lose!* He asked, what was the punishment implied by the words *more majorum*; and being told, that he was to be stripped naked, his head to be fastened in a pillory, and he in that posture to be whipped to death; he was so terrified, that he snatched up two daggers, as if he had intended to kill himself that instant: but, after feeling their points with a trembling hand, he laid them down again, saying, *His fatal hour was not yet come.* He

His abject then begged with many tears, that some of his attendants cowardice would encourage him to die by killing themselves first: but none of them shewing the least inclination to oblige him so far as that, he endeavoured to animate himself, but to no effect; till hearing the noise of some horsemen sent by the senate to seek him, he set a dagger to his throat; but his heart failing him, he begged *Epaþbroditus*, his freedman and secretary, to lend him his assistance, and by that means wounded himself so that he died shortly after. Before he was quite dead, the officer sent by the senate entered the room, and pretending he was come to his relief, endeavoured to stop the blood. *Nero* gave him no other answer, but, *It is too late: Is this your fidelity and allegiance?* With these words he expired, his eyes staring frightfully, and almost starting out of his head. Such was the miserable end of *Nero*, who by his unheard-of iniquities, well deserved all the misfortunes that befell him. He died in the thirty-second year of his age, after having reigned thirteen years and eight months.

His death Year of *Rome* 821. **of Christ** 69.

Upon the first rumour of his death, one of *Galba*'s freedmen flew to the place where his body lay, and having beheld the lifeless carcase extended on the ground, hastened away to *Spain* with the important tidings: and as soon as it was known at *Rome*, the joy of the people was so great, that they ran up and down the streets with such caps on their heads as were worn by manumitted slaves, congratulating one another upon their deliverance, dashing to pieces most of *Nero*'s statues, and knocking out the brains of all his friends that fell in their hands. His ashes were deposited in the mausoleum of the *Domitian* family. He is called the last of the family of the *Cesars*; though that family, strictly speaking, ended in *Caligula*; both *Nero* and *Claudius* being descended from *Augustus* only on the mother's side.

GALBA.

G A L B A.

SERVIUS SULPITIUS GALBA, who first broke the Some ac-
tual succession of the empire, and who was the first that re- count of
ceived it from the hands of the soldiers, with the approbation *Galba* be-
of the senate, was seventy-two years old when he ascended the fore his
throne. His family was one of the richest and most illustri- elevation
ous in *Rome*. He was honoured with the prætorship before to the em-
the age required by the laws, and on the expiration of that pire.
office he was appointed governor of *Aquitain*, and about a
year after raised to the consulship. *Caligula* gave him the
command of the legions in *Germany*, which trust he dis-
charged with great reputation, restoring the ancient disci-
pline, which had been much neglected. Upon the death of
Caligula, he was strongly solicited by many persons of great
power to seize the empire for himself: but he, without listening
to their proposals, obliged his troops to take the usual
oaths to *Claudius*, who, for that service, always shewed him
the highest esteem. Some time after, *Africa* being harassed
with intestine broils and foreign invasions, he was sent into
that province in quality of proconsul, and distinguished himself there,
even above those who had gained the greatest reputation in that government. Upon his return from thence,
he was honoured with the triumphal ornaments, and admitted among the priests of *Augustus*. From this time, to the
middle of *Nero*'s reign, he led a retired life, for fear of giving
umbrage to that tyrant, who, of his own accord, ap-
pointed him governor of that part of *Spain* called *Hispania Tarraconensis*, which he had held eight years; ruling it, at
first, with extreme rigour, but afterwards abating by degrees
of that severity, through fear of giving umbrage to the emperor;
and at last, for the same design, abandoning himself,
contrary to his inclinations, to sloth and idleness; saying,
That no man could be called to an account for doing nothing. He
could not, however, help shewing a great concern for the
sufferings of the people, who were cruelly oppressed by the
imperial tax-gatherers; which provoked these last to such a
degree, that they prevailed on *Nero* to order him to be pri-
vately dispatched. But he had already revolted, before these
orders could be put in execution; and, as we observed be-
fore, retired to *Clunia*, in the utmost consternation, upon the
news of the death of *Vindex*, and the declaration of *Virginius*,
*not to suffer any one to seize the empire, who was not chosen by the
senate.*

While he was deliberating with his friends what measures Receives
to take, and in such despair as to be almost ready to kill him- the news
self, his freedman *Vicellius* arrived from *Rome* with the news of his pro-
of motion.

Galba. of *Nero's* death, and of his being declared emperor by the army, senate, and people. This was confirmed a few days after by *Titus Vinius*, tribune of the only legion then in the province, who had received the same account from his friends in *Rome*; and by messengers from the senate, who brought *Galba* the decree by which he was vested with the sovereign power.

Sets out
for *Rome*.

He threupon immediately set out for *Rome*, attended by his Spanish guard, his chief friends, and *Otho*, governor of *Lusitania*; but advanced slowly, being carried all the way in a litter, on account of his great age. The only person he now feared was *Virginius Rufus*; but that terror was soon removed by *Virginius's* meeting him on the road, and taking the oath of fidelity to him, in consequence of the resolutions of the senate. *Galba*, though he loved and esteemed him, and would have raised him to the highest offices in the state, had he followed his own inclination, received him very coldly, being influenced by the persuasions of *Titus Vinius*, who had already gained a great ascendant over him, and was jealous of *Virginius*. At *Narbonne* he was met by a deputation from the senate.

Nymphi-
dius Sabi-
to the em-
pire.
nus aspires and imagining that *Galba*, by reason of his years and infir-

affections of the prætorian guards by his immense largesses, would never be able to reach the capital, usurped all the authority there, obliging *Tigellinus*, his colleague in the command of the prætorians, to lay down his commission, treating all the great men of *Rome* with sumptuous entertainments, and courting the favour of the people with shews and distributions of money. By this means he gained so great an interest with all ranks, that he already looked upon himself as sovereign. The senate meanly stiled him their protector, attended him whenever he appeared in public, and had recourse to him for the confirmation of their decrees. This puffed him up to such a degree, that he usurped at once an absolute authority, even threatening to depose the consuls for sealing the dispatches to the emperor with their own signets, and not with his. However, though he acted as sovereign, he had not yet openly declared his design of seizing the sovereignty. But when he understood that *Galba* was near the borders of *Italy*, and that *Cornelius Laco* was appointed commander of the prætorian guards, with *Titus Vinius*, he exhorted the officers under his command to send a deputation to the emperor, to beg of him, in the name of the whole army, to discharge from his service *Laco* and *Vinius*. This they thought unreasonable, and therefore refused it: whereupon *Nymphiidius*, changing his measures, disclosed his real design to some of his officers, and they to the soldiers under their command; and it was agreed, that *Nymphiidius* should be carried that very night into the camp, and there be proclaimed emperor.

Attempts
to make
the præ-
torians re-
volt.

emperor. But one of the tribunes, touched with remorse, assembled his men in the evening, signified to them his repentance, and desired them to continue faithful to *Galba*. The discourse of the tribune brought over all who heard him, and most of the other cohorts joining them, *Galba* was again proclaimed emperor with loud acclamations. *Nymphidius* hearing the noise, and either imagining they proclaimed him, or fearing an insurrection, hastened to the camp, but found the gates shut, and the soldiers under arms upon the ramparts. Upon this, he called out to them to open the gates to their general. They obeyed; but as he was entering the camp, he was saluted with a dart, which one who marched before him received upon his shield. Alarmed at this, he betook himself to flight, but was pursued, overtaken, and killed.

Galba.

An account of the treason, and of the punishment of the traitor, was sent at the same time to *Galba*, who, upon receiving it, directly sent orders to the senate to put all his accomplices to death without distinction. This arbitrary proceeding, of condemning people, and especially people of such high rank as some of these were, without hearing them, death, greatly alarmed the whole city, who expected a quite different conduct from a man of *Galba's* years and experience. But what occasioned a far greater surprize, was his ordering *Petronius Turpilianus*, who had been consul in *Nero's* reign, to be put to death directly; for no other crime, but because he had been faithful to that prince, and had commanded as general under him. These hasty and illegal executions, together with the excessive severity with which he treated some of the chief cities of *Spain* and *Gaul*, that had been backward in acknowledging him when he first revolted from *Nero*, and a report of his being extremely covetous, made it be greatly feared, that the *Romans* would have cause to repent their choice.

At length, after a long and bloody march, *Galba* reached the *Milvian* bridge, within twenty-five furlongs of *Rome*, and was there met by a numerous body of marines, whom *Nero* had taken from the oar, and formed into a legion. They addressed the new emperor for a confirmation of their establishment; and, on his putting them off to another time, they grew mutinous, obstructed his passage, and loudly insisted on having an eagle and legionary ensigns. *Galba* thereupon ordered his horse to ride in among them; seven thousand of the disarmed multitude were killed on the spot, and the rest were decimated. He then discharged the *German* cohorts, which had been established by the former emperors and the for a guard to their persons, and had given manifest testimonies of their allegiance and fidelity to their prince: notwithstanding which, he sent them to their own country without any reward; pretending, that they were better affected to *Dolabella's* orders.

Dolabella's orders.

Galba. *Dolabella* than himself, because they had encamped near his gardens.

On his first taking upon him the government of the empire, after his arrival at *Rome*, he did some acts worthy a wife and good prince. He restored all persons unjustly exiled by *Nero*, to their country and honours though not to their wealth and estates. He was ever severe to all criminals; and being petitioned for a condemned knight, that he might not suffer the death of common malefactors, he ordered the gibbet to be painted, and made higher than ordinary, by way of distinction. He called to an account, and punished, according to their deserts, such as had borne the chief sway in the late tyrannical administration. Among these, *Polycletus*, *Petinus*, *Patrobius*, *Narcissus*, all *Nero*'s freedmen, and the famous poisoner *Locusta*, were publicly executed, to the great satisfaction of the people. No one doubted but *Tigellinus*, who had been the chief promoter of all *Nero*'s iniquities, would suffer the same doom; but the mighty protection of *Vinius* screened him, under pretence that *Tigellinus* had saved his daughter's life. This scandalous partiality exasperated the people, who complained loudly of it every time the emperor went abroad, and demanded his execution even at the gates of the palace. This act of justice would have been both politic and proper; but *Tigellinus*, by promising *Vinius* an immense sum of money, in case he escaped unpunished, made this last persuade *Galba*, who had an entire confidence in him, to check the people by an edict, wherein he reproached them with cruelty, and begged they would not make his government appear tyrannical, nor insist on the execution of an unhappy man who was dying of a consumption. *Halotus*, another of *Nero*'s ministers, whose death was equally demanded by the people, was likewise protected by *Vinius*, from the same motives.

governed
by his fa-
vourites,

he be-
comes
odious.

Galba's thus suffering himself to be governed by his favourites, the chief of whom were, *Titus Vinius*, *Cornelius Laco*, and *Marcianus Icelus*, rendered him both odious and contemptible. They were lodged in the palace, were continually about his person, and prostituted his character, by selling, to their own gain, offices, provinces, public revenues, justice, and the lives of men both innocent and guilty. He was old; they were infatiate, and eager to make the most of a short reign to enrich themselves: and he, by not restraining them, incurred the same censure and blame as if he himself had done the evil. The public hatred which the numberless iniquities of his new ministers brought upon him, was heightened by his ill-timed parsimony, which was such, that when, upon any extraordinary occasion, his table was more plentifully served than usual, he could not help sighing, and expressing his dissatisfaction in a manner inconsistent even with common decency.

As the public treasure had been quite exhausted by *Nero*, who had dissipated about seventy millions in profuse gifts and pensions; *Galba* judged that the most equitable way to raise the necessary subsidies for the public, was from those by whom the public had been impoverished. All who had profited by the late emperor's extravagances, were therefore called to an account, and ordered to refund nine tenths of Orders whatever they had received from him. These researches extended even into *Greece*, to the musicians, actors, wrestlers, of *Nero's* charioteers, judges of the olympic games, &c. and a court donations was erected on purpose to make these inquiries, which were to be so extensive, affected such multitudes of people, and occasioned so many vexatious suits, that, not only the city, but the whole empire, was in a ferment.

The prætorian guards were kept quiet a-while by the hopes of the vast donative which had been promised them by *Nymphidius* in *Galba's* name; supposing that if the emperor did not give them the whole of that sum, he would, at least, give them as much as they had received from *Nero*. But when he offered them only a small sum, less than they had ever been given before, and at the same time added, *That Disobey his soldiers, and did not buy them*; they were so incensed, that they could not refrain from vilifying, and even seditious prætorian invectives. His exacting a strict observance of military discipline, a thing they had never been used to for many years, exasperated them still more.

Clodius Macer, governor of *Africa*, had taken up arms in *Africa* that country, against *Nero*, about the same time that *Vindex Macer*, revolted in *Gaul*, and now refused to acknowledge *Galba*, for fear of being called to an account for his numberless murders and extortions. Instigated by *Galvia Crispinilla*, who had been the directress of *Nero's* lusts, and had passed over into *Africa*, he strove to keep possession of that province, and to famish *Rome*, by stopping the ships which used to convey corn from thence thither. For this he was killed, at the command of *Galba*, by *Trebonius Garucianus*, the imperial procurator in *Africa*. *Crispinilla* returned to *Rome*; and, though the whole people insisted on her being put to death, yet, by the connivance of the prince, and the favour of his ministers, for she was both rich and childless, she escaped punishment, and lived unmolested during this and the two following reigns. About the same time, *Fonteius Capito*, and *Fon-* who commanded in Lower *Germany*, was assassinated by *Vitellius* *Capo-* *Aquinus* and *Valens*, two tribunes, without staying for the *piso*, killed emperor's command. *Capito* was succeeded in the government of Lower *Germany* by *Aulus Vitellius*, afterwards emperor, who was raised to that post chiefly by the interest of *Vitellius*, whose favour he had gained by supporting the same viceroy of *faction in the circus*; *Galba* declaring, when he gave him that Lower command, *That it was not out of any esteem for him, or opinion of* *Germany*.

Galba. of his abilities ; but because he believed gluttons were not much to be feared.

The legions in Upper Germany revolt.

Galba had scarce entered upon his second consulship, when he received the news of the revolt of the legions in Upper Germany, who, dissatisfied at *Virginius*'s having been removed from them, and not preferred to any other employment, thought him treated as a criminal, and themselves as delinquents, for having offered him the empire. They now haughtily demanded another emperor, and referred the free election of one to the senate and people of *Rome*. This intelligence ripened the design *Galba* had been for some time framing within himself, and in concert with his friends, concerning the adoption of a successor ; for he thought himself despised, not so much on account of his age as for want of issue. His favourites, already at variance, and pursuing each his own private views, were divided into two factions. *Vinius*, who had a daughter unmarried, was for *Otho*, who was a widower. *Laco* and *Icelus* were combined together, not so much to favour the interest of any one in particular, as to exclude him. But *Galba*, moved with a concern for the commonwealth, which, he thought was in vain rescued from *Nero*, were it to devolve upon *Otho*; named for his successor *Piso Licinianus*, a youth nobly born, and highly esteemed. *Piso* received this extraordinary and unexpected honour with great modesty, and without seeming in the least elated by it. *Galba* then proceeded to the camp, and, in a short speech, declared to the soldiers, *That he adopted Piso, after the precedent of the deified Augustus, and according to the custom of the army*. As no mention was made of the distributions of money usual on such occasions, only the soldiers who stood next him applauded his speech ; the rest were sad and silent. From the camp he went to the senate, where he spoke with the same brevity and bluntness as to the soldiery : but *Piso* made a speech which was better received.

Otho attempts the sovereignty.

In the mean time, *Otho*, who thought himself sure of being adopted, enraged at the preference thus given to *Piso*, determined to make a bold push : and indeed the situation of his affairs required a no less desperate remedy ; for he had consumed his fortune by a course of riot and expence, and contracted immense debts, which nothing but a general confusion could relieve him from. Besides, he looked upon *Galba*'s putting him by, as a sure sign of his displeasure towards him, and thought resignation and acquiescence, in such a case, more dangerous than temerity. His favourite freedmen too, and his slaves, accustomed to licentiousness, were continually displaying to him the allurements of sovereign power, and represented them as his own, if he would but make them so ; and at the same time the astrologers urged him by their predictions, assuring him, *That the stars presaged approaching revolutions, and a year of great glory to him*.

Otho,

Otho, who looked upon these predictions as the propitious warnings of the fates, committed the direction of his treasonable designs to one *Onomastus*, his freedman, who introduced Two com-
mon soldi-
to him two common soldiers, men of great address and reso-
lution, who, being furnished by him with vast sums of mo-
ney, to bribe and corrupt as many as they could; and being
likewise promised prodigious rewards, undertook to transfer pire, and
the Roman empire from one prince to another, and in effect *Otho* is fa-
did it, by debauching all the troops then at *Rome*, a party of luted em-
which carried *Otho* to the prætorian camp, where he was una- peror.
Galba.
nionously saluted emperor and *Cæsar*.

Galba was offering a sacrifice, and tiring, says *Tacitus*, *Galba's* behaviour with his supplications, the guardian gods of the empire, al- ready under the sway of another head, when news was on hearing brought him of this sudden revolution. He thèreupon im- medately summoned his friends, with whom it was resolved, that the temper of the cohorts then upon guard at the palace should first of all be sounded, not by *Galba* in person, his au- thority being reserved as the last remedy, but by *Piso*, who accordingly assembled and harangued them, reprenting to them the views of *Otho*, and assuring them, *That they should receive from Galba, and him, as large a donation for preserving their fidelity, as Otho offered them for dipping their hands in the blood of their sovereign*. When he had ended his speech, some of the cohorts stole away; but the greater part of them dis- played their ensigns, and prepared their arms to defend *Galba*. *Celsus Marius* was sent to secure the troops lately re- turned from the army in *Illyricum*, and *Domitius Sabinus* was ordered to draw up the band of *German* soldiers. The tri- bunes *Severus*, *Dexter*, and *Longinus*, repaired to the præto- rian camp, to try what fair words and promises would do. Of these last, two were only terrified with threats; but *Lon- ginus* was stript of his arms and driven out of the camp. The *Syrian* troops likewise drove away *Celsus*; and the *Germans*, who were very sickly, continued a long time wavering and irresolute, but rather inclined to *Galba*, who, after being some time in suspense, whether he should remain in his pa- lace, arm his slaves, and fortify the avenues; or go out and shew himself; at last resolved on this last step, as most likely to dissipate a conspiracy, as yet weak and unsupported. Accordingly, he put on a breast-plate, and, finding him- self unable, through age and infirmities, to sustain the pressing of the crowd, he was put into a chair. He had scarce left the palace, when it was rumoured about that *Otho* was slain in the camp; and several persons averred that they had been upon the spot, and had seen him dead: nay, one of the guards, pressing through the crowd, presented himself before the emperor, and displaying a sword all over bloody, de- clared, with a loud voice, *That Otho had fallen by his hand*: to which *Galba* returned no other answer than, *Fellow-soldier*

Galba. whose orders had you for it? Such was his firmness in restraining the licentiousness of the soldiers.

Galba was approaching the forum, when he was overtaken by *Piso*, who, hearing the cries of the rebellious soldiery resounding quite through the city, had not thought it adviseable to proceed to the camp, to try what effect his presence would have there; and, a moment after appeared suddenly, first a party of horse, and then a body of foot, rushing furiously into the forum. At this sight, the standard-bearer to the cohorts which had remained with *Galba*, tore the emperor's effigies from his standard, and dashed it on the ground. Upon this signal, the whole cohort abandoned him, and joined the detachments from the camp; which so terrified those who carried *Galba*, that they threw him upon the ground, and there left him to the mercy of his enemies. His last words are differently reported, as he was hated or loved. *Plutarch* says, he stretched out his neck to the assassins, and bid them strike, if the good of the commonwealth required it. His body was miserably hacked and mangled, and his head cut off, and carried upon a pike to *Otho*, and afterwards to the camp, where it was treated with great ignominy. Such was the end of *Sergius Galba*, after a short and *Piso* reign of seven months. His death was accompanied with the murder of many other persons, particularly of his three favourites, *Vinius Laco*, and *Icilius*, who had hastened, if not effected, his ruin; and likewise with that of his adopted son *Piso*, whose death *Otho* most of all desired, and whose head he gazed on with a very unbecoming joy.

O T H O.

Hurry of
the senate
and peo-
ple to flat-
ter *Otho*.

GALBA was no sooner dead, than the senate, knights, and people, strove who should be first to congratulate *Otho*, and take to him the very oaths, says *Plutarch*, which he had so lately taken to *Galba*, and had that moment violated. The new emperor received them with great demonstrations of kindness, and endeavoured to pacify the fury of the soldiery, who loudly demanded the death of all *Galba*'s friends. From this moment all things were transacted by the arbitrary will of the soldiers, who immediately named *Plotius Primus*, once a common soldier, and *Licinius Proculus*, a great favourite of *Otho*'s, captains of the prætorian guards; and *Flavius Sabinus*, brother to *Vespasian*, governor of *Rome*. They then demanded an absolute exemption from the fees they had been used to pay to their centurions for furloughs. *Otho* readily granted

granted their request; but, at the same time, that he might not forfeit the affection of the centurions, he undertook to pay them those fees out of his own revenues: a regulation which was perpetuated as a part of the military establishment. The next day, the city-prætor assembled the senate, He is ac- who immediately decreed *Otho* the tribunitial power, the know- title of *Cæsar* and *Augustus*, and all the honours which the ledged by emperors had enjoyed. He was now thirty-eight years of the senate. age, valiant, witty, and of an ancient and honourable fa- mily; and was the first emperor made by the prætorian guards; a most pernicious precedent, which they frequently after availed themselves of, to the great detriment of the em- pire.

The new emperor had scarce taken possession of the sove- *Vitellius* reignty, when he was alarmed with the news that the army proclaim- in Lower *Germany* had proclaimed *Vitellius* emperor, at *Co-* ed emper- *lbgna*, where he then was; and that the people of that city, or by the as well as those of *Treves*, *Langres*, and all the country round army in about, were exceedingly zealous in his behalf, and furnished Lower him abundantly with men, horses, and money. This re- *Germany*. volt happened before the death of *Galba*, but had been sup- pressed, with a design to have it believed, that only the army in Upper *Germany* had rebelled.

This unexpected event threw *Otho* into a great consterna- tion, and the city into no small concern, well knowing that nothing but the sword; and great bloodshed would decide the contest, the pretensions being plausible on both sides. The *Germani* legions pretended, that they had as much right to create an emperor as the legions in *Spain*; and that *Vitellius* had a rightful possession before *Otho*'s creation: and the senate, and cohorts at *Rome*, maintained, That they had the supreme power, and that in them rested the absolute authority to chuse and create emperors; and that, having made a choice of *Otho*, they would not recede. Though *Otho* had by this means the most powerful interest, and the most specious ti- tle; yet, whether his guilty conscience threw him into ti- morous apprehensions, or whether he was desirous to avoid the miseries of a civil-war, he made *Vitellius* large offers in *Otho* order to come to a compromise with him: but nothing was makes of concluded; and, the dissentions increasing daily, both sides fers to *Vi-* prepared for war. It was supposed by many, that persons *tellius*, from *Vitellius* were come into the city to spy out and learn who re- how the parties were affected, which filled every one with jets them. jealousies and fears. All persons turned and shaped their countenances according to the news that was received from Melan- abroad; and in the senate, nothing was so difficult as an choly state even and prudent carriage in these critical times: silence, of *Rome*, might be reckoned contumacy; freedom of speech, insolence; and flattery was too well known to *Otho*, who, having been a courtier, was himself thoroughly skilled in the practice of it. The cares and fears of the city were much increased by

Otho.

the great preparations of *Otho*, and the disability of the nobles and gentry in the affairs of war. The chief of the senate were grown old and impotent, wanting both the power and vigour of soldiers; the nobility were slothful, covered with the rust of a long peace, and unacquainted with the fatigues of a camp: the knights were dissolved in ease and luxury, and ignorant of military service; and the more they endeavoured to conceal, the more they betrayed their fears. The wiser sort began to shew great concern for the miseries of the commonwealth: but the inconsiderate were swelled with vain hopes; and many persons, bankrupts in peace, began now to make a great appearance; they being safest when the state was most in disorder.

Otho's forces advance towards Italy.

Whilst *Otho* was making these preparations, he received advice that *Vitellius*'s forces were upon their march towards *Italy*, under the command of *Valens* and *Cæcina*; whereupon he left *Rome* with a great army, consisting of the *Roman* nobility, the praetorian cohorts, the legions out of the fleets upon the coast of *Italy*, and such others as he could levy in haste. He began his march from *Rome* with an army, numerous, but unaccustomed to war, against *Vitellius*, whose troops were already arrived at the *Alps*, to the number of seventy thousand men, forty thousand of which was commanded by *Valens*, and the rest by *Cæcina*; *Vitellius* himself remaining in *Gaul*, in expectation of more troops from *Germany*, and of the legions from *Britain*. Upon the approach of these great armies, this fatal civil-war begun; or, rather, that begun by *Vinæus* and *Galba* against *Nero*, was continued. *Otho* had of late been much troubled with unusual dreams and dismal apprehensions; and it is said, that one night, fetching several deep sighs in his sleep, his servants ran hastily to his bed-side, and found him upon the ground: after which, he used many expiations to appease the ghost of *Galba*, which seemed to him to beat and push him rudely out of bed. However, he proceeded with great show of courage, and arriving at *Brigallum* on the *Po*, he remained there, fending his forces before him under the command of *Suetonius* and *Celsus*, who were very little respected by the soldiers, now proud and insolent with the thoughts of their having created an emperor, and imagining that no man less than him ought to command them. The like want of obedience was in the army of *Vitellius*, and upon the same account; and both sides proceeded with such haste and precipitation, that, besides skirmishes and other encounters, three considerable battles were fought in a few days; one near *Placentia*, another near *Cremona*, and a third near a place called *Castor*; in all which, *Otho* had the advantage.

He is troubled with frightful dreams.

Has the advantage in three battles.

Shortly after this, *Valens* and *Cæcina*, who till now acted separately, joined all their forces together, strongly reinforcing their army with new supplies from several parts, and resolved to hazard a general battle. About the same time,

Otho,

Otho, elated with the advantages his generals had gained, came to his army at *Brebiacum*, a village between *Cremona* and *Verona*; and finding the enemy, notwithstanding their late losses, very forward to give him battle, he called a council of war, to consider whether it were best to protract the war, or hazard a general engagement. *Suetonius*, *Celsus*, and council of the most experienced commanders, declared, that protracting war. the war was much the wisest and safest course, since the whole force and power of *Vitellius* were arrived, and were now in want of many necessaries, which obliged them to offer battle, as the speediest way of supplying themselves: whilst, on the contrary, *Otho*'s army was well provided with all things; and *Italy*, and the senate, and the people of *Rome*, at his devotion; names which were never quite darkened, though sometimes obscured. Several provinces too had revolted from *Vitellius*, whereas all *Otho*'s stood firm to him; and the legions in *Pannonia*, *Mæsia*, and *Dalmatia*, were now upon their march to his aid: so that he had no reason so often and so rashly to tempt his fortune, and therefore ought rather to weary out his enemy by delays, or tarry for a greater power, when there could be no doubt of victory. Thus spoke the wiser sort: but some others, whose unexperienced heat and misguided valour made them too desirous of a battle, declared, that nothing but that could end the miseries of the state; protesting, that fortune, and all the gods, with the god-head of *Otho*, favoured the design, and would undoubtedly prosper the enterprize. *Otho* inclined wholly to these last, and commanded their advice to be immediately put in execution; for he was so extremely uneasy under this war, that he thought it a less punishment to lose a victory, than to be continually racked with fears and suspences. But it was agreed, that the emperor should not be personally in the battle; so that being free from the doubtful events of the field, he might reserve himself for the main fortune of the state. Whereupon he retired to *Brixillum*, while his army advanced towards the enemy, who were not far distant. *Vitellius*'s men were not only more numerous, but much better disciplined, than those of *Otho*, and from their infancy accustomed to arms. *Otho*'s troops attacked them with great courage and bravery, and at the first onset flew all the first rank, and won the eagle; but the battle still continued very obstinate. The armies were extremely encumbered with trees and hedges, so that they were obliged to fight with but small regularity, bearing down man upon man, as if the whole war depended upon the single valour of each individual. At length, *Vitellius*'s men wheeling round upon the flank of their enemies, the prætorian cohorts soon broke and fled, and the defeat of *Otho*'s whole army immediately ensued. In which he is totally overthrown.

*Otho.*Resolves
upon a ge-
neral bat-
tle.

Otho waited at *Brixillum* the event of this battle, the first account of which was brought him by a common soldier,

Otho.

who, upon his relation being doubted, and he himself taxed with cowardice, fell directly on his own sword at Otho's feet; who thereupon cried out, *That he would cause the ruin of no more such valiant and worthy soldiers.* The affection of his fellow-soldiers was such, that they staid not for any comfort or encouragement from their emperor, but gathering all about him, endeavoured to animate and raise his courage, telling him, *That there were still forces enough both for his revenge and safety, and that they would suffer every extremity for his sake.* The most distant addressed him with uplifted hands, while those who were nearer embraced his knees, especially *Plutius Firmus*, the prætorian prefect, beseeching him not to abandon such faithful soldiers; and telling him, *That it was a greater instance of magnanimity to sustain, than to avoid, the heavy shocks of fortune: that brave men supported themselves by hope against fortune; whilst cowardly and impatient spirits were driven to despair by fear.* But not all their persuasions and intreaties, nor all the apparent probability of success, if he continued the war, could divert him from the resolution he had taken; a resolution so generous in its nature, that some authors think it rather the effect of a sudden inspiration, than of any thing that could proceed from a temper so soft, and a life so effeminate, as his. Having made silence, he spoke to them to this effect:

I esteem this day far happier, and more glorious, than that on which you made me emperor, since it hath afforded me such sensible tokens of your love and affection. I therefore beseech you not to deny the favour I now request: which is, to suffer me to die justly and honourably for the safety of so many brave soldiers and worthy citizens as ye are. There can be no occasion for those legions and forces coming to my assistance, since the enemy is neither Hannibal nor Pyrrhus. Therefore, to hazard your valour in dangers wholly needless, is too dear a purchase of life; and the greater hopes you have of success, the more honourable will be my voluntary death. Assure yourselves, that I had rather die than reign emperor; since I can never advance the Roman state so much by wars and bloodshed, as by sacrificing myself for the peace of it. As others have acquired fame and glory by reigning well, and supporting the empire, I may reasonably expect a name for leaving it, rather than permit my ambition to weaken or destroy it. I therefore desire that you will take it as an undoubted proof of my courage and resolution, that I make no complaints of hard fortune or ill success; for to blame either the gods or men, implies a mean and selfish desire of life.

His heroic behaviour After this speech, he desired the old men, and enjoined the young ones, to submit to Vitellius as soon as possible, lest delays should provoke his anger. Then rebuking the unreasonable fears of those about him, without any alteration in his voice or countenance, he retired to his chamber, where he wrote two consolatory letters to his sister, and one to *Messalina*, who had formerly been married to *Nero*, and whom he had designed to marry, recommending his memory and

and ashes to her. After this, he burned such letters and papers as might be prejudicial to any one after his death, and distributed what money and jewels he had among his friends and domestics. He was then preparing to kill himself, when, hearing a tumult among the soldiers, and some of them upbraiding those who were going away, as traitors and deserters of their sovereign, *Nay then*, said he, *let us add this night to our life*: and thereupon forbade all violence to be used, and ordered his chamber to be left open till it was very late, that all who desired it might have admittance to him. After this, the doors being shut, and having quenched his thirst with a draught of cold water, he took two daggers, and having tried them, and chosen the sharpest, he laid it under his pillow, and fell into a profound sleep; but awaking about break of day, and seeing one of his servants remaining, he ordered him to retire; and taking the dagger, gave himself a mortal stab on the left side, and with a single groan ended his life, three months and eight days after he had murdered *Galba* himself, and usurped the empire. *He deserved*, says *Tacitus*, *by two acts, one the most detestable, and the other the most laudable, equal infamy and renown amongst posterity*. Most of his soldiers who were about him, after kissing his hands and feet, and commanding his courage and magnanimity, killed themselves at his funeral: many who detested him whilst living, now as much applauded and extolled him; and even went so far as to say, *That he did not depose Galba so much out of ambition, as to restore the liberty of the commonwealth*. Notwithstanding all his personal vices, his great care of the public good had gained him the affections of the senate and people of *Rome*: which plainly shews how easy it is for any prince to win the hearts of his subjects.

V I T E L L I U S.

AFTER the death of *Otho*, all the soldiers, both legionary and praetorian, besought *Virginius*, who commanded the *Rome 822.* *German* cohorts, to take upon him the title of emperor, offering him their utmost service and assistance; and desiring, if he himself would not accept of the empire, that he would please to be their advocate with *Valens* and *Cæcina*, in order to obtain their pardon. *Virginius* answered, *That it would be a high piece of imprudence, as well as presumption, for him to accept of the empire from the hands of a vanquished army, after having refused it from the German legions before Nero's death*; at a time when his success would have been almost certain: but finding the

Vitellius.

soldiers not satisfied with this, he gave them hopes of being their mediator, till he found an opportunity of retiring to a private place, where he waited till their fury was somewhat abated. But *Rubrius Gallus*, a person of considerable note, went immediately at their request, to *Valens* and *Cæcina*, and obtained pardon for all the troops, and also for those senators who had accompanied *Otho*, and were now at *Mutina*.

Vitellius
made em-
peror.

As soon as the news of *Otho*'s death was known at *Rome*, *Flavius Sabinus*, the city-præfect, assembled the senators, who, though they hated *Vitellius*, immediately pronounced him emperor, with the usual solemnities, giving him the title of *Augustus* and *Father of his country*, and all the other epithets of honour; and ordering thanks to be returned to him and his army for what they had done; though at the same time those very troops were committing such outrages in *Italy* as are scarcely to be paralleled.

He begins
his reign
with an
act of just
severity,

but soon
gives a
loose to his
vices, and

shews his
cruel dis-
position.

His en-
trance in-
to *Rome*.

Vitellius was then in *Gaul*; and, that he might do some remarkable act of justice before he went to *Rome*, he caused all the prætorian cohorts who had been instrumental in *Galba*'s death and *Otho*'s advancement, to be disarmed, and deprived of the name and honour of soldiers; commanding also one hundred and twenty of the most guilty to be put to death, whom he discovered by their demanding a reward for having killed *Galba*. This action gave the public great hopes that he would be an excellent prince: but he soon gave such a loose to his vices and extravagancies, as to be deservedly ranked amongst the worst of princes, and the worst of men. He performed his journey to *Rome* with all imaginable pride and ostentation, never stirring upon the rivers but in his painted galleys, curiously adorned with garlands of flowers, and profusely furnished with the most exquisite delicacies and provocations to gluttony. No order or discipline was known among his soldiers or servants, he himself being highly pleased with their continual rapines and insolencies, however insupportable. Upon his arrival at *Bebriacum*, where the last battle was fought, he was very desirous of seeing the place, where were great numbers of scattered bodies torn in pieces; limbs terribly mangled, men and horses quite putrefied, and the air and ground tainted with stench and blood. This he took infinite pleasure in viewing; and when some of his attendants grew weary at the noisome smells, he told them, *A dead enemy smells well, but a dead citizen better*. He then called for wine, drank publicly in this scene of horror, and bid his soldiers do the like.

After such ravages as laid waste every country through which he passed, he arrived at *Rome*, accompanied with innumerable swarms of various nations; and, in the midst of that formidable throng, entered the city as if it had been a conquered place, mounted upon a stately horse magnificently caparisoned, the senate and people going before him as if he had triumphed over them, himself surrounded with standards

and

and colours, and his army marching after him in a riotous manner. In this confused manner he marched up to the capitol, to sacrifice to *Jupiter*; from whence he repaired to the imperial palace; and the next day, ordering the senate to be assembled, he made a fulsome speech, extravagantly extolling his own acts, and promising them vast advantages from his administration. In his way from the senate to the palace he was met by a body of the commons, who, having been long accustomed, right or wrong, to flatter all in authority, highly applauded and blessed their new emperor; and, on his declining the title of *Augustus*, forced him to accept it. These first ceremonies being over, he caused himself to be chosen *pontifex maximus*, and to be made perpetual consul; and took upon him such honours and dignities as he thought fit; commanding magistrates to be chosen ten years before they entered upon their office: which, with many other arbitrary proceedings, soon indisposed the people against him, and rendered him the object of their hatred. He banished from Astrology all the astrologers, because they foretold that his reign would not continue a whole year; and was so highly incensed against them, that even the slightest accusation was sufficient to make him order any one of that profession to be instantly put to death, without so much as hearing him. Soon after the publication of his edit, by which they were ordered to leave *Rome* by the first of *October*, a writing was set up in the *forum* to this effect: *We, in the name of the ancient Chaldeans, warn Vitellius Germanicus to depart the world by the calends of October.* That it might appear to all what example he designed to follow in his government, he publicly sacrificed to the manes of *Nero*, in a general assembly of the He sacrificer in the *Campus Matius*; and at a solemn feast, being fices to the much pleased with a player upon the harp, he ordered him manes of to sing something in the praise of *Domitius*; and upon the harper beginning one of *Nero's* songs, he leaped up, and gave him the first tokens of applause.

In the mean time his soldiers filled the city with riot and confusion, committing every kind of insolence and outrage, behaviour and thinking of nothing but their pleasures: so that, in a little of his while, their bodies were wasted and enfeebled by idleness, and diers. their spirits broken by lust and luxury. The principal affairs of state were managed by the counsels of players, charlatans, and other such contemptible persons: among which his freedman *Afianicus*, remarkable for nothing but his infamous life, held the first rank. He now abandoned himself to luxury and profuseness, to which he had been accustomed in the reigns of *Caligula* and *Nero*, and particularly to gluttony, which he carried to such excess, that he generally eat luxry, ex-four or five meals in a day, taking vomits to bring up what trav-a-he had devoured, that he might gormandize again. All his gance and meals were prodigiously expensive, though they were not al-gluttony. ways at his own cost, for he frequently invited himself to his

Vitellius.

Vitellius. his friends, to breakfast in one place, dine in another, and sup in a third; and they generally entertained him in so sumptuous a manner, that a treat seldom cost less than ten thousand crowns. But the most memorable supper made for him, was by his brother, on his first arrival at *Rome*; in which were two thousand dishes of fish, and seven thousand of fowls, every one different, and the most expensive that could be had. His own profuseness exceeded even this, at the dedication of that famous dish, which, on account of its great capacity, he called *Minerva's target*; filling it with the livers of mullets, the brains of pheasants and peacocks, the tongues of a scarce kind of birds called *phænicopterus*, and the spawn of sea lampreys, brought from a prodigious distance. Nor was he less insatiable than extravagant in his gluttony; for, not being able to contain himself, he would snatch the half-burnt meat from off the coals at sacrifices, and greedily devour it. In short, such was his depravity in every thing, that, as *Tacitus* observes, no one of his court thought of raising himself by his virtues or abilities. The only way to preferment was to feast the emperor with profuse entertainments; whilst he, considering nothing but the present enjoyment of his pleasures, wasted, in four months, upwards of seven millions of our money, and ruined an infinite number of cities and families. Upon which *Josephus* observes, that if he had reigned long, the whole empire would not have been sufficient to support his gluttony.

His excessive greediness and horrid cruelties. These excesses were accompanied with such horrid acts of cruelty, as plainly shewed that he intended to make *Nero* his pattern. He was so fond of shedding blood, that he punished all sorts of people with death, even for the slightest offences, or what he thought proper to look upon as such. There was no fraud or hypocrisy which he left unpractised to destroy such persons of quality as had formerly been his companions and school-fellow; first caressing them, and giving them a share in the government, and then finding some pretence or other to put them to death. Going to visit one of them, who was ill of a violent fever, upon his asking for drink, he mingled poison with cold water, and gave it him with his own hand. He never excused any one who asked payment of the debts he had contracted before he was emperor; and one of his creditors coming only to salute him, he ordered him to be put to death immediately; but changing his mind a moment after, he sent for him back, and had him executed in his presence; saying, *That he would feed his eyes with that sight.* Having condemned another to death, he executed his two sons with him, only because they had presumed to intercede for their father. A *Roman* knight crying out to him, as the executioners were dragging him to death, *That he had made him his heir*; he ordered the will to be produced; and finding that he was only co-heir with another person,

person, he ordered them both to be executed, that the whole of the inheritance might be his. He put several of the lower sort to death, only for disliking the colours of some chario-teers; saying, *That they did it out of contempt to him, and that they would not have dared to be so audacious, but that they hoped for another revolution.* He was likewise suspected of having been accessory to his mother's death, having commanded that no meat should be given her, under pretence of its hurting her health; being induced to this by the prediction of an old woman, who had told him, *That if he survived his mother, he would reign many years in happiness and safety.*

It was by the excess of his vices only, that *Vitellius* seemed to think himself emperor, or to know that he was such: for such was the stupidity that seized him, that, if others had not reminded him of his high station, he would have forgot it. He liked nothing but what was pleasant and intoxicating; and fortifying his mind with confused mirth and sottishness, against all dangers and exigencies, he lost the very remembrance of things past, and the thought of things to come. War was never so much as mentioned before him, and he strictly forbid ever speaking of it in the city.

Having by this abominable life rendered himself odious to the city, and, by the continual insolence and cruelties of his soldiers, insupportable to the country; the legions in the East, though they had refused his authority in the beginning of his reign, now began to revolt, and shortly after unanimously resolved to make *Vespasian* their emperor. *Vespasian* had now reduced almost all *Judea*, except *Jerusalem*, when he learned the death of *Nero*, and *Galba*'s promotion to the empire; upon which he had sent his son *Titus* to know the pleasure of this last with respect to the siege of that city. *Titus* was so long stopped by contrary winds, that, upon his arrival on the coasts of *Achaia*, he was informed of *Galba*'s death, and *Otho*'s advancement; whereupon he returned to his father for farther orders. During the contest between *Otho* and *Vitellius*, *Vespasian* continued neuter, though he acknowledged *Otho* for emperor till *Vitellius* obtained the victory and empire; a matter no way pleasing to him, nor to any of the commanders in the East; all of them highly disliking so vicious a man, and so corrupt a governor: so that when the day came on which they were to swear allegiance to their new emperor, in the presence of *Vespasian*, they performed the solemnity with great silence and reluctance. Their discontents increased daily; and all the legions in *Syria*, *Egypt*, in *Mæcia* and the whole East, joining in their dislike to *Vitellius*, they and *Pannonia* determined to put an end to the miseries of the world, by making *Vespasian* emperor. This design was favoured by the news they received shortly after, that the legions in *Mæcia* and *Pannonia* had taken the same resolution; for, being upon their march to *Otho*'s assistance, and learning his defeat and death,

and those
and *Pan-*
nonia.

Vitellius. death, they refused obedience to *Vitellius*, whom they hated, and declared in favour of *Vespasian*. Several letters and messages passed on this occasion, between *Alexander*, governor of *Egypt*, and *Mucian*, governor of *Syria*; and it was concluded between them, that *Vespasian* should be emperor, though he utterly declined it. *Alexander* made the first overture of this affair to *Vespasian*, who, though absent, was declared emperor at *Alexandria*, all the army confirming it with applause and paying the usual homage.

Vespasian. About a week after, *Vespasian's* own army likewise ~~is declared~~ claimed him emperor, and entreated him to accept of the government: but he, on several accounts, refused it. This occasioned several private conferences between him and his friends, to whom he urged the many difficulties and dangers attending so great an enterprize; and particularly, *That, in all civil dissensions the faith of the soldiery is perpetually wavering; that it would therefore be indiscreet, as well as dishonourable, to hazard himself and his reputation, to gain an empire at his age; that wars of this nature require infinitely more vigor and resolution than all others; for in private undertakings a person may proceed or stop where he pleases; but in gaining a crown, there is no medium between the state of a prince and the death of a traitor.* The more *Vespasian* declined his own promotion, and the high post of emperor, the more his friends endeavoured to shew him the facility of the attempt, and the duty incumbent on him to free the state from an usurping tyrant, and an army of robbers. Besides these private counsels, *Mucian* told him openly and in public, *That the Roman state was so miserably degenerated by means of its corrupt governors, that after his achieving so many glorious exploits, he could expect no safety; for how many renowned persons, said they, have been destroyed of late, only because their merits distinguished them from the vulgar; so that seeking the empire might formerly be deemed ambition and treason; but now it must be his only refuge. We rise not, continued they, against a person of Augustus's profound insight and prudence, nor against the wary old age of Tiberius, nor against the house of Caligula, Claudius, and Nero, rooted into the empire by so many descents. The antiquity of Galba's family was also respected. But to sleep now, and abandon the state, to be thus abominably polluted, and miserably ruined, is unpardonable. We are to meet an enemy enervated with licentiousness; armies dissolved in ease and luxury; the very march of our foes will immediately disclose all the secret distempers of the present government: nor do we rely more upon your vigilance and conduct, than upon the stupidity and cruelty of Vitellius. Add to this, that we are already guilty in the eyes of Vitellius; for to deliberate whether we shall rebel, is rebelling.*

After this speech, the rest came more boldly about him, exhorting and persuading him, and laying before him the oracles and prophecies by which the empire had been pro-

mised

mised him ; and at length, finding all persuasions fruitless, *Vitellius*. his soldiers forced and compelled him, with their drawn swords, threatening him, if we believe *Josephus*, with immediate death, if he refused any longer. Thus compelled, he and he is took upon him the imperial authority ; and shortly after all forced to the armies in the East swore obedience to him, as did like-accept the wife those in *Mæsia*, *Pannonia*, *Noricum* and *Dalmatia*. He empire. then held a council with *Mutrian*, *Alexander*, and his son *Titus* ; wherein it was agreed, That *Titus* should continue the war against the *Jews* ; that *Mucian* should, as soon as possible enter *Italy* with the greatest part of the legions ; and that *Vespasian* should go to *Alexandria*, to make the necessary provisions, and from thence pass over into *Italy* and join *Mucian*, if there should be occasion.

The *Mæsan* legions, hearing of *Mucian's* intended expe- The *Mæ-
dition*, chose for their commander *Antonius Primus*, an ex-*sian* legi-
-dilect soldier, who had been banished by *Nero* and restored to *Italy*.
by *Galba*, and hastened into *Italy*, before *Mucian* could ar-
-rive there ; either with a view of shewing their extraordi- under the
-nary readiness to serve *Vespasian*, or in hopes of being the command
first to plunder that country. Great preparations were made of *A. Pri-
-mus*.
on *Vitellius*'s side against these gathering storms ; and though he himself was so buried in luxury, as to have but small concern for the public, yet his two chief commanders, *Va-
-len* and *Cæcina*, at first used great diligence, both in oppo-
-sing *Primus*'s coming from *Mæsia*, and in preventing the landing of *Mucian*, whom they expected shortly in *Italy*. But as *Primus* had already entered the north-west part of that country, *Cæcina*, with the principal forces of *Vitellius*, hastened his march towards him, and arrived at *Cremona* about the same time as the enemy ; but considering the effe-
-minacy of his men, he listened to *Primus*'s advice, and per-
-suaded his soldiers not to trust to the feeble power of *Vitellius*, but to yield to the merits of *Vespasian*, while they could do it with the greatest advantage and security. Upon which, they, with some reluctance, swore allegiance to *Vespasian* ; but soon repenting this step, and provoked against their general for having made them take it, they seized him as a traitor, put him in irons, and exhorted *Primus* to come over to *Vitellius*'s side. Though they were now without a general, they resolved, in the heat of their fury, to engage the enemy ; and accordingly, starved as they were with cold and hunger, they marched directly against *Cæcina*, and came up with him in the beginning of the night. *Primus* was ready to receive them, and the battle continued till the morning very bloody and doubtful, when both sides, by mutual consent, left off fighting, to refresh themselves, and then began again. But *Primus*'s soldiers saluting, accord- *Vitellius*'s ing to custom, the rising sun, *Vitellius*'s troops, apprehend- troops de-
-ing that *Mucian* was arrived, fled to *Cremona*, with the loss feated at of upwards of thirty thousand men. There freeing *Cæcina* *Cremona*. from

Vitellius, from their imprisonment, they procured him to make their peace ; and the *Mæsian* legions immediately after made several attacks upon *Cremona*, and entering the place laid it in ashes, sparing neither sex, dignity, or age.

Vitellius's news of this defeat was brought him ; at which he was so dastardly behaved, that he rendered himself quite despicable. At length, however, rousing himself a little, he ordered *Julius Priscus* and *Alphenus Varus*, with what force he could collect, to guard the narrow pafs of the *Apennine* mountains, and prevent *Priscus's* march to *Rome*, reserving considerable forces to defend the city, under the command of his brother *Lucius*. At length, through the urgent importunities of his army, then at *Mevania*, he repaired to the camp, attended by a great train of senators, irresolute of himself, and averse from all good counsels. Nothing appeared more ridiculous to the *Romans*, than to see their prince and commander without skill in arms, void of skill and judgment, demanding of others in what order to march, what diligence was required for discoveries, how the war was to be carried on, and upon every flying report fearful and trembling, and continually drunk. At last, growing weary of the camp, and learning the revolt of his fleet at

The fleet at Misenum, he returned to *Rome*, ever dreading the last blow, and always careless of the principal concern. His fears increasing daily, he thought of a composition with *Vespasian*,

Vitellius and being offered by *Primus* and *Mucian*, that if he would peaceably resign the empire, he should be allowed a revenue

Vitellius sufficient for his maintainance, putting on deep mourning, *resolves to* he left his palace, his servants weeping about him, and his *resign the* little son being carried before him in a chair. All who had *empire to* any sense of the instability of human affairs, were moved at *Vespasian*.

this object, to see an emperor of *Rome*, just before lord of the universe, abandon the seat of his command and fortune, and at once sink into nothing. *Sudden violence*, says Tacitus, *destroyed Julius Cæsar*, and *secret conspiracy Caligula* ; *nigh*, and the obscurity of a country house, covered *Nero's flight* : *Piso and Galba died as it were in the field* ; but *Vitellius in the assembly of his own people, and amidst his own soldiers*. *Vitellius* made a short speech on this occasion, saying, *That he resigned his palace out of regard for public peace, and the welfare of the commonwealth* ; *that all he desired of them was, to retain some remembrance of him, and take pity of his brother, his wife, and little children* ; and then, with tears, he offered his sword to the consul *Cæcilius*, thereby surrendering the power of life and death over the citizens ; and upon the consul's refusing to accept it, he departed, protesting that he would lay down all his regalities in the temple of *Concord*, and retire as a private man to his brother's house : but some of the crowd stopping him, and crying out, *That he himself was Concord*, he returned, and not only protested, *That he retained his sword*, but

but that he also accepted of the surname of Concord, and then repaired to his palace.

The next day, encouraged by the promises and protestations of the soldiers and citizens, he altered his mind, to the no small vexation of *Sabinus*, governor of the city, who had been very forward in promoting his resignation ; and who, being informed that some of *Vitellius*'s party intended to murder him in his house, with his friends, some senators, and knights, seized upon the capitol, where he was immediately besieged ; so that *Rome*, as well as *Italy*, now felt the fatal effects of civil discord. The next morning the capitol was assaulted with great fury ; and, besides its being very weakly provided, it was defended with no courage nor ardor. After a bloody contest it was entered by force, and by the fury of the soldiers laid in ashes : the most deplorable misfortune, says *Tacitus*, that ever befell the *Roman* people since the city was founded. During this dreadful scene, *Vitellius* was feasting in the palace of *Tiberius*, and looking on with pleasure. Young *Domitian*, nephew to *Sabinus*, and son to *Vespasian*, escaped in the habit of a priest ; but all the rest were put to the sword, except *Sabinus*, who was made prisoner, and, shortly after, executed by the command of *Vitellius*.

Sabinus
seizes the
capitol,

which is
burnt a
second
time.

Soon after this, *Vitellius*, being informed of *Primus*'s march towards *Rome*, and of *Mucian*'s arrival in *Italy*, sent letters advances and messengers to *Primus* to beg terms, and even deputed towards the vestal virgins to intercede with him. But *Primus* was *Rome*, so incensed at the death of *Sabinus*, and the destruction of the capitol, that he would not listen to any offers, but continued his march to the very walls of *Rome*, where *Vitellius*'s and *Primus*'s forces expected him, determined to defend themselves to the last extremity. *Primus* attacked the city in three different places, and the *Romans* sallied out in as many. A dreadful battle ensued, which continued the whole day, at the end of which *Vitellius*'s people were drove back into the city with prodigious slaughter. The people looked on as they fought, and, as if it had been a diversion, sometimes encouraged one side, and sometimes the other ; and when either party turned their backs, and hid themselves in the houses or shops, for *Primus*'s men had entered the city with those of *Vitellius*, they bid the enemies pull them out and kill them, delighted with the plunder they gained thereby ; for while the soldiers were employed in slaughter, the spoil fell to the share of the common people. They were now celebrating the *Saturnalia*, and, rather than not enjoy the pleasure of that festival, they turned this scene of horror into mirth and jollity. Nothing but slaughter, riot, and confusion reigned throughout the city : in some places they were fighting and killing, and in others tipling and bathing. The greatest lewdness was mixed with the utmost cruelty. Thus sacked.

was

Vitellius. was this mighty city, the head and empress of the world, sacked by her own subjects.

Vitellius seized,

and killed

*Year of
Rome 822.
of Christ*

70.

Vitellius, in the utmost confusion, retired privately to his wife's house on mount *Aventine*, designing to fly that night to *Terracina*, to his brother and the cohorts there: but immediately changing his mind, and, as it frequently happens to men in extreme danger, fearing all things, and most disliking the present, he returned to his palace again, now empty and desolate, even his meanest servants having either fled, or avoiding his presence. Astonished at this unusual silence and solitariness, after wandering up and down for some time, and not meeting any body, he crept into a dark corner of a room, but was soon discovered and plucked out by a party of the conquerors, to whom he pretended that he had secrets of the highest importance to discover to *Vespasian*, and begged of them to keep him, though it were in a prison, till his arrival at *Rome*. But all was in vain; for, without waiting for any further orders, they tied his hands behind him, put a halter about his neck, and tearing his very cloaths off his back, dragged him half naked into the public *forum*, through the main streets of *Rome*, upbraiding him all the time with a thousand opprobrious words, and treating him with the utmost indignity, tying his hair backward, as used to be practiced to the more infamous malefactors, and holding the point of a sword under his chin, to hinder his holding down his head to hide his face. Some paulted him with filth, others reviled him for his gluttony, and others called him an incendiary, and reproached him with the imperfections of his body, being extremely tall, red-faced, his belly prodigious, and his thighs distorted: till at length they brought him to the *Gemoniae*, and killed him with many wounds. His body was dragged with a hook, and thrown with all possible ignominy into the *Tiber*. *Vitellius* was in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and had reigned eight months and five days. His death was accompanied with that of his brother *Lucius Vitellius*, and his only son. His life was infamous, his advancement villainous, his administration odious, and his death ignominious.

Dreadful confusion in *Rome*.

THE death of *Vitellius*, and the overthrow of his party rather ended the war, than began a real peace; for the conquerors pursued their enemies through the city with implacable fury, the streets were strewed with dead carcases, and the temples and public places imbrued with blood, every man

V E S P A S I A N.

man lying slain where he fell, without distinction of place or person ; and the licentiousness of the soldiery increasing, they searched the houses, and dragged out such as were hid, massacring without mercy all soldiers, and all others whom they ignorantly or maliciously took for such. When their thirst of blood abated, their cruelty was converted into avarice. Every place was then broke open and rifled, under pretence of searching for *Vitellius's* friends ; and the least resistance was attended with death. Besides the soldiers, the mob and some of the people, now at the head of every mischief, triumphed in their robberies and outrages of every kind. Servants voluntarily discovered the wealth of their masters ; the nearest relations detected one another ; dreadful cries and lamentations were heard in every street, and the city looked like a place abandoned to the merciless fury of an implacable enemy. The insolent outrages of the soldiers of *Otho* and *Vitellius*, so much detested before, were now accounted small evils, compared with the present calamities. But upon the arrival of *Mucian*, and the return of *Domitian*, who had fled when his uncle *Sabinus* was killed, the disorders ceased, and some order began to appear. The *Vespasian** senate was assembled, and *Vespasian* declared emperor, with the unanimous consent of all, and vested with all the authority that any other emperor had ever had. Messengers were immediately sent to *Vespasian* at *Alexandria*, to carry him the decree of the senate, and desire his return to *Rome* ; but it being now winter, and dangerous sailing, he deferred his voyage to a more convenient season.

The miseries of *Rome* were now at an end ; but such violent commotions were raised in *Gaul* and *Germany*, as extremely endangered the peace and safety of the empire. They began indeed before the death of *Vitellius*, and were occasioned by the crafty insinuations of *Claudius Civilis*, a man of great designs, and of as great reputation among his countrymen the *Batavians* ; and who, after having been sent in chains to *Nero*, and freed by *Galba*, was in great danger of losing his life under *Vitellius*, the army strongly demanding his death. Besides his countrymen, the inhabitants of the present *Holland*, he excited his neighbours the *Caninefates*, to rebel, and by secret messages and large promises, drew over the auxiliaries of *Britain*, and the *Batavian* cohorts, then quartered at *Moguntiacum*, now *Mentz*. These drew out and destroyed the *Roman* garrisons, overthrew *Aquilius*, who commanded the advanced guards, and, after him, *Mummius Lupercus*, lieutenant of that province. *Herennius Gallus*, endeavouring to prevent the march of their cohorts, was likewise overpowered by them ; and as *Vitellius* had drained these parts of soldiers, to oppose *Otho* and *Vespasian*, *Civilis*, for a time, met with but small resistance. Having afterwards collected a more considerable force, the better to cover his designs, he made his army take the oaths to *Vespasian*, and even

Vespasian. even besieged in their camp those who refused to do it. Shortly after this, the *Romans* mutinying against their general *Hordeonius Flaccus*, the command was given to *Vocula*, an excellent officer, and *Herennius Gallus* was his lieutenant. *Vocula*, in the first engagement with *Civilis*, was obliged to retreat, but in a second he overthrew him; though without any prospect of finishing the war: for the news of *Vitellius's* death reaching *Gaul* and *Germany*, increased the disorders. And now *Civilis*, without even pretending any regard for *Vespasian*, threw off the mask, and plainly shewed himself an enemy to the *Romans* in general; and the soldiers, once *Vitellius's*, conscious of their crimes, chose rather to submit to slavery, than to the government of *Vespasian*. The *Gauls* likewise took fresh courage and resolution, looking upon the burning of the capitol as an omen of the ruin of the empire. The *Treviri* and *Lingones*, two considerable nations, revolted also; all *Gaul* was unsettled; and, what was still more dangerous, the legions themselves were corrupted, and became traitors to their country; a thing never before known among the *Romans*. Having murdered *Vocula*, their general, they swore allegiance to the *Gauls*, and other legions in other places did the same, of which some were besieged, reduced to extremities, and cut to pieces by *Civilis*. These disturbances increasing, *Julius Sabinus*, one of the revolters, taking upon him the name of *Caesar*, led a numerous body of undisciplined men against the *Sequani*, who intirely routed him.

Consternation of the *Romans.*

Most of the rebels submit.

Cerealis defeats *Civilis.*

The senate was filled with consternation at the news of these disorders; upon which *Mucian* set out for *Germany* with *Vespasian's* son *Domitian*, sending before him, with the utmost expedition, four legions under the command of *Petilius Cerealis*. By this time the *Gauls*, chiefly by the persuasion of *Julius Vindex*, began to reflect on the mighty power of the *Romans*, and at length preferred a peace, on any terms, to a dangerous and fatal war. *Cerealis* also gave the *Treviri* a great overthrow, and most of the rebels returned to their obedience. Shortly after, he came to a general battle with *Civilis*, and his associate *Classicus*, in the beginning of which he was much overpowered, his legions broke, his cavalry put to flight, and his bridge over the *Moselle* gained by the enemy: but by his extraordinary skill and diligence he retrieved all, and not only routed the enemy, but took and destroyed their camp. The news of this success reached *Mucian* before he arrived at the *Alps*; upon which he endeavoured to persuade *Domitian* not to proceed any farther, well knowing his haughty and ambitious temper. But his advice not succeeding, he accompanied him as far as *Lions*, from whence *Domitian* is said to have written privately to *Cerealis*, to deliver up his army to him, with a view of rebelling against his father, or of rivalling his brother *Titus*: but perceiving that he was slighted

ed on account of his youth, he betook himself to such cour- *Vespasian*.
ses as might best conceal his designs. Shortly after, *Civilis* recruited his forces in *Germany*, and *Cerealis* did the same. Several battles were fought ; but at last both fides came to who sub- an agreement, the *Batavians* being glad to accept of a peace, mits. and *Civilis* of a pardon.

During these commotions in *Germany* and *Gaul*, those The first
Scythians called *Sarmati*, suddenly passed the river *Istir* in irruption
Mæsia, and continued their march with such rapidity and of the fury, that they destroyed several of the *Roman* garrisons, to- northern
gether with *Fontius Agrrippa*, who governed *Mæsia*, and wasted nations.
all the adjacent countries with fire and sword. *Vespasian*
hearing of this at *Alexandria*, sent *Rubrius Gallus* to stem the torrent, which he did effectually, killing numbers of the barbarians in battle, and driving the rest of them back to their own country. He then fortified the frontiers with stronger garrisons and forts, to prevent the like incursions for the future. This was the first irruption of that northern swarm, which afterwards destroyed the *Roman* empire.

Vespasian continued several moths at *Alexandria*, where he *Vespasian* received great honours and offers of forces from many fo- cures two reign powers. During his stay in that place, the following men lame accident is related of him by the best authors. Two men, of and blind. mean condition, the one lame, and the other blind, pre- sented themselves to him as he sat on his tribunal, and hum- bly besought him to vouchsafe to cure them ; for that they had been admonished by their god *Serapis* in a dream, that if he would but wet the eyes of one with his spittle, and tread upon the hand of the other, they would both be healed. *Vespasian*, over-ruled by the persuasions of his friends, did so, and, we are told, they both were effectually cured. Before he embarked for *Rome*, he ordered his son *Titus* to continue the war against the Jews ; and setting sail from *Alexandria*, he touched at *Rhodes*, from thence went to *Greece*, where he honoured many cities with his presence, and from thence sailed to *Italy*.

Never was any prince more ardently wished for, or more triumphantly received, than *Vespasian* was at *Rome* ; every one rightly judging him to be the only person capable of recovering the languishing state of the *Roman* empire. He was met several miles off by the senate, nobility, and people; so desirous were they of seeing and paying their respects to him. Joy was painted in every face, and he was entertained all the way with loud acclamations, thousands at a time calling him their benefactor and preserver, and the only person worthy to be emperor of the world. The whole city was hung with magnificent garlands, and filled with odours and perfumes ; and the concourse of people of every rank was so great, that it was with difficulty he arrived at the palace. The whole body of the people were feasted ; and in their sacrifices to the gods, the request of all was, that *Vef-*

Vespasian. *Vespasian* might be their emperor many years ; that his son *Titus* might succeed him ; and that the empire might never depart from his family. *Vespasian* was now fifty-nine years of age.

Triumphs over the Jews, with his son Titus. Shortly after his arrival in *Italy*, his son *Titus* finished the *Jewish war*, by the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the reduction of all *Judea*, as we have related at length in our history of the *Jews*. He thereupon returned to *Rome*, where he was received with all possible demonstrations of joy, and honoured with a triumph, which was decreed by the senate both to him and his father, who had begun that war with great success. All the wealth of the *Jewish nation* was displayed on this occasion. To *Titus* was likewise decreed a triumphal arch, describing his noble exploits, which continues almost entire to this day. This triumph was no sooner

The tem- over, than *Vespasian* commanded the temple of *Janus* to be pie of shut, a profound peace now reigning in every part of the *Janus* that empire. Soon after, the temple of *Peace* was begun, and, the se- on its being consecrated four years after, the rich spoils of venth the temple of *Jerusalem* were deposited there. *Titus*, before time. his arrival at *Rome*, had been honoured with the titles of *Cæsar* and *Emperor*, and associated by his father in the tribunitial power ; so that being, in a manner, his partner in the empire, he discharged all the functions of sovereignty, and also took upon him the command of the prætorian guards, by which means that office became the most honourable employment in the whole empire.

Year of Rome 823. of Christ 71. *Vespasian* now applied himself to the regulation of the state ; and first he began with the soldiery, who, elated with their late victories, now thought every thing lawful to them, and ran into all kinds of licentiousness, so as to occasion heavy complaints against them. To reform these disorders, he broke several of *Vitellius's* troops, and corrected others, not sparing even those that had been most instrumental in his own victories. He omitted nothing that could contribute to restore the discipline of the armies, of which we have an instance in a young officer, who waiting on him to return him thanks for his preferment, and being finely perfumed, *Vespasian* looked sternly at him, and told him, *He had rather he had smelt of garlic*, and immediately took away his commission. He was no less severe with respect to the seamen who were appointed by the public to run from *Ostia* and *Puteoli* to *Rome* ; for, upon their petitioning him to have some extraordinary allowance above their wages, for shoes, instead of complying with their request, he ordered, that, for the future, they should do their duty without any shoes at all. He took a more than ordinary care in reforming and purging those two respectable orders the senators and knights, reviewing them very strictly ; and as they had

been greatly diminished by the late massacres, and extremely corrupted by the depravity of the late reigns, he expelled

all such as he thought unworthy of their rank, and replaced *Vespasian*. them with more deserving persons, either *Romans* or fo- reigners. He likewise strictly examined into all the courts of judicature, and reformed them thoroughly, appointing special judges to determine suits which had been many years depending, and to restore the lawful owners to what they had been unjustly dispossessed of, during the disturbances of the late unhappy times. They were likewise to determine extraordinarily in causes depending before the *centumviri*, which were become so excessively numerous and tedious, that a client could seldom hope to live to the end of his suit; and also to draw up and digest a compendium of the laws.

He was no less careful to restore the ancient buildings of Embel- the city, and embellished it with new ones, hastening these like the works as much as possible, that *Rome* might recover her for- city. mer splendor; and if any of the proprietors neglected to build within a proper time, which was limited, he permitted any one that pleased to take possession of, and go on with, what the other should have done. But the rebuilding of the capitol was his chief concern; for the greater encou- Re-build- ragement to which, he himself began the work, carrying the capi- away the first rubbish on his own shoulders, and making the tol- nability follow his example, by which means it was finished in a short time, more beautiful and magnificent than before. He likewise raised several new and very stately edifices, particu- larly a magnificent temple to *Peace*, and finished the temple of *Claudius*, which *Agrippina* had begun, and *Nero* almost demolished. The temple which he built to *Pallas* surpassed every thing that had yet been seen, for the beauty of the paintings, carving, and gilding, the most excellent workmen in the whole world being employed in it. He also built a magnificent amphitheatre in the middle of the city, the ruins of which remain to this day. He restored three thousand tables of brass, and the inscriptions on them, which had been destroyed by the late fires. These were, in some sort, the registers of the empire, in which were recorded all decrees of the senate, all ordinances of the people, all treaties, alliances, and privileges granted to any person, or body of men, and all remarkable occurrences from the foun- dation of the city.

His cares were not confined to *Rome* only: numbers of Repairs other cities felt the good effects of them, being repaired, em- bellished, and fortified by his means, with great cost, skill, ways. and industry. He also built several new towers and cities in several parts of the *Roman* dominions, and, at prodigious expence, repaired the high roads throughout the empire, and made that famous one called the *Roman way*, by piercing through vast mountains.

The affairs of the provinces were settled with all the skill Settles the and prudence that a wise and good prince could be capable provinces. of. He made great alterations in several parts of his domi-

Vespasian. nions, in which he often met with much trouble, particularly in the fourth year of his reign, when *Antiochus*, king of *Comagene*, and his son *Epiphanes*, were accused by *Cæsennius Pætus*, governor of *Syria*, of holding private correspondence with *Vologeses*, king of *Parthia*. *Pætus* represented to the emperor, that if a speedy remedy was not applied, his affairs might soon come to an open revolt, and give great disturbance to the whole *Roman* empire. *Vespasian* thereupon directed him to proceed as he should think most expedient; and *Pætus*, thus authorised, invaded the province of *Comagene* with a considerable force. He met with little resistance; for *Antiochus*, afraid of exasperating the *Romans* too much, left his country, and fled with his wife and daughters into *Cilicia*, and his army submitted. His two sons, after some vigorous struggles, fled to *Parthia*; but *Antiochus* was shortly after taken in *Cilicia*, and loaded with chains; which *Vespasian* was no sooner informed of, than, out of regard to their ancient friendship, he ordered him to be set at liberty, with leave to remain, if he pleased, at *Lecedamon*, where he then was, with a revenue, which he allowed him, suitable to his dignity. His kingdom was, however, reduced to a *Roman* province; and he and his two sons came afterwards to *Rome*, where they were treated with great respect, and honourably supported at the public charge. The following year he reduced *Greece*, which *Nero* had declared free, together with *Lycia*, *Rhodes*, *Byzantium*, *Samos*, *Thrace*, and *Cilicia*, to *Roman* provinces, alledging, *That they were no longer capable of liberty, since they only made use of it to undo themselves by their intestine broils*: a charge which *Vespasian* seems to think well grounded.

Reduces
Comagene
Greece,
&c. to
Roman
provinces.

Strange
behaviour
of *Helvidius Priscus*.

He is ba-
nnished,
and put to
death.

The last
census.

Helvidius Priscus, a man of great eloquence, but who gloried in nothing so much as imitating his father-in-law *Thrasca Pætus*, like him, speaking boldly whatever he thought right, and being immovable in whatever he thought conducive to the public welfare, had been recalled from exile by *Galba*, and honoured with the praetorship by *Vespasian*, in the first year of his reign. But, unable to contain himself, through his zeal for liberty, he could not help inveighing in the senate against *Vespasian*, because he was emperor, as bitterly as ever his father-in-law had done against *Nero*. *Vespasian* bore it, till at last he went so far as openly to celebrate the birth-days of *Brutus* and *Cæfus*, and to encourage the people to follow their example, and attempt the recovery of their ancient liberty. *Vespasian* then caused him to be seized, but soon after released him. *Helvidius* again pursued his former course, was accused anew, and banished. But even in the place of his exile, he still continued to rail bitterly against the emperor, whereupon the senate sentenced him to death. *Vespasian* would have saved him, and sent to countermand the execution, but his orders came too late. The last census we find mentioned in history was performed

the next year, by *Vespasian* and *Titus*, when, *Pliny* tells us, *Vespasian*.
besides numbers of very old people, two were found aged one hundred and fifty years each.

The next year the celebrated *Agricola* was sent into *Britain*, to govern that province, in the room of *Julius Frontinus*. His father, *Julius Græcinus*, a senator, famous for his eloquence and philosophy, was put to death by *Caligula*, for refusing to accuse *M. Silanus*. His mother, *Julia Agricola*, noted for her modesty, brought him up, in his tender age, under her own eye, and with great care. He studied philosophy and law at *Marseille*, and learnt the first rudiments of war in *Britain*, under *Suetonius Paulinus*, one of the greatest commanders of his age, by whom he was greatly esteemed. On his return to *Rome*, to enter there upon the public offices, he was first sent into *Asia* as *quaestor*, and behaved with remarkable probity. He was afterwards created tribune of the people, but remained inactive that year, being well apprized, that, under *Nero*, sloth and heaviness served for wisdom. His behaviour was the same during his *prætorship*. Being afterwards appointed by *Galba* to survey the gifts and oblations belonging to the temples, by a diligent search he procured full restitution of all, except what had been taken away by *Nero*. After *Vespasian's* elevation to the throne, he was employed by *Mucian* to levy forces, and soon after preferred to the command of the twentieth legion, then in *Britain*, of which province *Vectius Bolanus* was then governor; but as he ruled with great mildness, *Agricola* had no opportunity of distinguishing himself by any military exploits. *Bolanus* was succeeded by *Petilius Cerealis*, a man of a more enterprising genius, under whom *Agricola* had room to display his talents and abilities. Upon his return from *Britain*, where he had rose to the command of a legion, *Vespasian* raised him to the rank of patrician, and made him governor of *Aquitain*, which trust he discharged with great uprightness. At the end of three years he was recalled, and honoured with the consulship, during which he contracted his daughter to *Tacitus* the historian, who was then very young, and gave her to him in marriage, as soon as he had resigned the fasces. He was then promoted to the government of *Britain*, for his great exploits in which island, we refer to the history of that country.

In the ninth consulship of *Vespasian*, and the seventh of *Titus*, *Julius Sabinus*, who had stirred up the *Gauls*, and caused himself to be proclaimed *Cæsar*, was at length discovered, and put to death. After his defeat, he had fled to his country house, and set it on fire, to make people think he had perished in it. It was believed: but in the mean time he lay concealed, with his treasures, which were immense, in a cave, known only to two of his freedmen, on whom he could depend. He might easily have escaped into *Germany*, but could not prevail upon himself to forsake his wife *Eponina*,

Vespasian. *ponina*, whom he loved tenderly. *Sabinus*, that no one might doubt of his death, did not, for some time, undeceive even his wife, who solemnized his exequies with unfeigned grief, and resolved to starve herself, rather than out-live him. She had already begun to abstain from all food, when *Sabinus*, being informed of it, let her know, by one of his freedmen, the place where he was concealed, warning her, at the same time, to suppress her joy, lest it should betray him. *Eponina*, accordingly, continued in public to bewail him as before; but secretly passed the greatest part of the night, and sometimes whole weeks with him, under pretence of business in the country. She had even two children by him, who were born and brought up in the cave. In this condition he lived nine years, at the end of which he was discovered by some inquisitive persons, who, wondering what *Eponina* did so often out of town, and curious to know whither she went, watched her to the cave. *Sabinus* was immediately seized, loaded with chains, and sent to *Rome*, with his wife, who, throwing herself at the emperor's feet, and presenting to him her two children, addressed him in these words, accompanied with floods of tears: *O Cæsar! I have brought forth these infants in a cave, and given them nourishment, to increase the number of your supplicants, and enlarge the bounds of your clemency.* *Vespasian* could not forbear weeping at so moving a sight, but nevertheless condemned both her and her husband, and caused them to be executed soon after. The children were brought up at the public expence. Of all the actions of *Vespasian*'s reign, this was by far the most disagreeable to the public.

He and
his wife
are put to
death.

Cæcina
and *Mar-
cellus* con-
spire a-
gainst *Vel-
pasian*, but
are disco-
vered and
put to
death.

Vespasian
taken ill.

Shortly after the execution of *Sabinus*, *Alienus Cæcina*, and that infamous informer *Eprius Marcellus*, entered into a conspiracy against the emperor, and drew over great numbers of the prætorian guards. But one of the conspirators betrayed the whole to *Titus*, and even delivered to him a copy of the speech which *Cæcina* was to make to the soldiers after the assassination, written with his own hand. This being sufficient evidence, *Cæcina* was put to death, without any farther trial. *Marcellus* was tried in form, and condemned by the senate, but prevented the execution of the sentence by cutting his throat with a razor.

Vespasian was, soon after this, seized with a pain in his bowels, for which he removed to *Cutiliae*, his paternal estate in the neighbourhood of *Reate*, where he usually went every summer to drink the waters of that place, which were remarkable for their coolness. There he was seized, first with a fever, and afterwards with a flux, which brought him so low, that every one began to despair of his recovery. However, he still attended business, received ambassadors, and gave audience to his ministers. Finding himself grow more and more faint, he said one day to those about him, *Me thinks I am going to be a god*; alluding to the custom of the

Romans,

Romans, who deified their emperors after their death ; and *Vespasian*. upon the approach of death, he cried out, with his usual resolution, *It becomes an emperor to die upon his legs* ; but while he endeavoured to rise, he expired in the arms of those who His death held him, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, and after having reigned ten years wanting six days, from the time he was proclaimed emperor at *Alexandria*.

Providence seemed to have raised this prince to the empire, and *cha-*
on purpose to preserve it from utter destruction. Greatness rather.
and majesty, says Pliny, *wrought no alteration in him, save that*
of making his power of doing good answerable to his will. He
 was the second *Roman* emperor, if not the first, who died a
 natural death ; and the first who was succeeded by his son. He is said to have been so confident, that the empire was de-
 stined to him and his posterity by the laws of fate, that he
 told the senate, *He was sure he should keep the sovereignty to his*
death, and be succeeded in it by his two sons, in spite of all plots
and conspiracies. He scarce ever failed to assist at the debates
 and deliberations of the senate, without assuming to himself
 any authority above the other senators, whom he frequently
 exhorted to speak their sentiments with freedom, telling
 them, *That he had called them not blindly to approve his will and*
pleasure, but to receive their counsel, and to trust to, and follow
 it. He was courteous and affable to all, allowing persons of
 every rank to accost him with freedom, the gates of his pa-
 lace being constantly open. His tenderness was such, that
 he could not behold even the greatest criminals led to execu-
 tion, without many sighs and tears. He was so far from
 concealing the meanness of his birth, that he frequently dis-
 coursed of it himself, and used to deride those flatterers who
 undertook to derive his pedigree from the founders of *Reate*,
 and the companions of *Hercules*. He despised titles, and
 was with difficulty persuaded to accept of that of *Father of*
his country, to which no one ever had a better claim. The
 king of *Parthia* having written to him in the haughty style of
 Arlaces, *king of kings*, to Flavius Vespasian, he, without find-
 ing fault with the title, or resenting it as an affront, directed
 his answer thus : *Flavius Vespasian to Arlaces, king of kings* ;
 shewing thereby in what contempt he held such titles. He
 was so far from taking delight in public honours, that, when
 he triumphed with his son *Titus* over the *Jews*, being quite
 tired with the length of that ceremony, he was heard to say,
He deserved to suffer, for having, at his age, desired a triumph,
as if such an honour had been due to his ancestors, or hoped for by
himself. He bore with incredible patience the many lampoons that were dispersed all over the town, reflecting upon
 his avarice. He gave no ear to whisperers, nor ever put any
 one to death, whose crimes were not plainly proved. Tho'
 several conspiracies were formed against him, he could never
 be prevailed upon to put the conspirators to death, but only
 said, *That they deserved pity, rather than punishment ; for that*
they

Vespasian. they knew not what a burden the empire was. He carried his sentiments so far, that his friends having one day admonished him to beware of *Metius Pomposianus*, who, said they, was born under a constellation which promised him the empire, he immediately named him consul, adding pleasantly, *When he is emperor, I hope he will remember this good turn, and requite it.* He took the daughter of his inveterate enemy, *Vitellius*, under his protection, gave her a rich dower, and married her into a noble family. Private insults and injuries were things he never remembered.

The only fault with which the ancients have charged him is his immoderate love of money, which he was not ashamed to procure by means altogether unworthy of an emperor. He not only revived the old taxes which *Galba* had suppressed, but loaded the provinces with new ones; bought commodities, that he might sell them again to advantage; and descended to some very low and uncommon imposts, such as laying a tax upon urine, which gave occasion to his son *Titus* to remonstrate to him the meanness of such an impost; but he, presenting to his son the first money that accrued from thence, asked him, *Whether the smell offended him.* Neither did he scruple the selling of any office, nor pardoning a criminal, however enormous his crimes were, if he could but raise money enough to redeem himself from punishment. He is said to have preferred to the most profitable employments such of his officers as were most noted for their rapaciousness, and to have made use of them as sponges, wetting them when they were dry, and squeezing them when they were wet. He often strove to disguise his avarice by some humourous joke; as when certain ambassadors acquainted him, that their nation had ordered a considerable sum of money to be laid out in erecting a statue to him, and desired to know where he would please to have it placed; *Here is the basis,* said he, stretching out his hand, *Put the money here, and the statue is reared.* Some have said, that he was covetous by nature; but others excuse him on account of the urgent necessities of the state, and the emptiness of the exchequer, when he first came to the government; for he then publicly declared to the senate, *That the republic could not possibly subsist, without a supply of an hundred and forty millions of sesterces.* To this may be added in his favour, that he always employed his revenues to great and noble purposes, and laid them out with uncommon generosity. His public works and edifices too were very expensive; his presents and pensions profuse and numerous, and his entertainments frequent and magnificent. He supported a great number of poor senators, allowed five hundred sesterces a year to every decayed consular, restored to their former lustre several cities, which had been destroyed by fire or earthquakes; built aqueducts, and repaired the public roads.

roads. He was likewise a great encourager of learning, and settled an hundred thousand sesterces upon the professors of rhetoric, to be paid yearly out of the exchequer. He invited to Rome, and amply rewarded, all such as excelled in any art or science. Among these, one skilled in mechanics having offered to convey certain columns of a vast weight into the capitol, at a very small expence, *Vespasian* rewarded him for his invention, but would not employ him, saying, *We must not bind the common people from earning their livelihood.* In his reign flourished, among other learned men, the historian *Josephus*, whom he honoured with a statue, the elder *Pliny*, and that great orator *Quintilian*.

T I T U S.

VE SPASIAN was succeeded by his eldest son *Titus*, *Titus.* who was brought up with *Britannicus* in the court of *Nero*, and is said to have tasted the poison of which that young prince died at the emperor's table. From his early years he applied himself closely to the study of rhetoric and poetry, and made a considerable progress in both. He served first His rise. in quality of tribune in *Germany*, and afterwards in *Britain*, in both which places he gained no less reputation by his modesty, than by his courage. Upon his return from *Britain*, he betook himself to the bar, and pleaded some causes of great importance with uncommon applause. He married, while yet very young, *Arricidia Tertulla*, whose father was only a *Roman* knight, but had been captain of the prætorian guards. Upon her death, he married *Marcia Furnilla*, descended of an illustrious family, but divorced her, after having by her a daughter, named *Julia Sabina*. After his quæstorship he was advanced to the command of a legion, and attended his father into *Judæa*, in quality of his lieutenant, in which post he distinguished himself in a very eminent manner, and was the means of bringing about a reconciliation between *Vespasian* and *Mucian*, to which the former afterwards owed, in a great measure, the empire. His exploits during the war against the *Jews* being particularly related in the history of that people, need not be repeated here.

Suetonius tells us, that, while his father lived, he was His chaproud, cruel, and covetous, and that when any gave him ractor be the least umbrage, he even hired people to demand their fore he doom, either in the theatre, or the camp of the prætorians, came to and then condemned them without farther trial. In admiring justice, continues that author, he was easily byassed pire.

by

Titus: by presents ; sold employments of great trust, without the knowledge of his father, and abandoned himself to debauchery and riot ; insomuch, that scarce any man ever came to the empire with a more sullied reputation, or more detested by the people.

But all these imputations turned to his praise and advantage soon after his accession to the throne, no prince having ever governed better. He then dismissed the beautiful *Berenice*, who had followed him to *Rome*, with her father

Agrippa, the last king of *Judea*, and, though he was passionately fond of her, obliged her even to leave *Italy*, out of pure complaisance to the senate and people, who were displeased to see their emperor captivated by a foreign woman. Though his brother *Domitian* raised great disturbances in the city, by pretending that their father had left him partner in the empire, but that his will had been falsified ; yet he could not prevail upon himself either to punish or banish him, but, on the contrary, trusted him as his colleague in the empire ; conjuring him often in private, with tears in his eyes, not to hate a brother who loved him sincerely, and was willing to allow him a due

Confirms share in the administration. He confirmed, by one general *edict*, all the gifts of his predecessors. He could never be prevailed upon to send away any one that applied to him, dissatisfied, or without some hopes of success ; whereupon, being told by some of his friends, that he promised more than he could well perform, he replied, *That no man should depart dissatisfied from the presence of a prince.* His desire of doing good was so great, that being told, one night, that he had not granted any one a favour that day, he expressed his regret with that memorable saying, *My friends, I have lost a day.* He completed the reformation of many abuses which had not been thoroughly remedied in his father's reign, entirely abrogating the law of lese-majesty, which the accusers had made such a handle of, to work the ruin of innocent

His seve- persons, and proceeding against that infamous tribe with in-
rity a- flexible severity, causing them to be publicly whipped, ex-
against the posed to the insults of the populace in all the public places,
informers. and then to be either sold for slaves, or banished to desert islands, till he had utterly extirpated them. His complaisance to the people was such, that, intending to give a show of gladiators, he signified by a proclamation, that he desired them to regulate it, for that it should be exhibited according to their taste, and not his own. He allowed free access to him even while he was bathing, and received all with great affability and condescension, and yet so as to maintain the dignity of his rank. He never coveted the property of another : nay, he often refused even the usual presents, and such contributions as were due to him ; though no emperor was ever more generous than he, nor expended larger sums in private bounties, and public shows and works. He was

not less active than his father in repairing the ancient buildings, erecting new ones, and taking care of the high roads. After he had dedicated the famous amphitheatre, the stately ruins of which are still to be seen, and finished with incredible expedition the baths close to it, he entertained the people, at an immense expence, with a naval battle in the old *Naumachia*, caused five thousand wild beasts of various kinds to be baited, and entertained the people with a vast variety of magnificent shews and feasts for an hundred days together.

His whole conduct was so mild and merciful, that he never would receive any accusation against such as abused him; nes and that while he did nothing worthy censure, he did not regard calumnies. He was so tender of the lives of his subjects, that when he entered upon the office of chief pontiff, he solemnly declared, *That he took upon him that dignity, in order to keep his hands undefiled, and pure from the shedding of blood;* and from that time he never was accessory to the death of any man, though he might several times have exerted a just revenge: but, however provoked, he spared the criminals, declaring, *That he had rather die himself than put another to death.* Of this great clemency he gave a remarkable instance. Two patricians being convicted of conspiring against him, he freely forgave them, and only admonished them in private, telling them, *That as the empire was the gift of destiny, it was in vain for them to think of obtaining it by any villainy; that they had better be satisfied with the rank which Providence had allotted them; and that he would be glad to serve them in any thing else that was in his power to grant.* At the same time he dispatched a messenger to the mother of one of them, who was at a great distance, to let her know that her son was alive and out of danger. He then invited them both to sup with him that night; and the next day, placing them by him at a shew of the gladiators, when the weapons of the combatants were presented to him, according to custom, he desired them to survey them.

In the first year of his reign, a dreadful eruption of Mount Dreadful *Vesuvius* desolated *Campania*, laying waste the country to a great distance, and destroying several cities with their inhabitants; among the rest, *Pompeii* and *Herculaneum*; the ruins of which last have been lately discovered. *Puteoli* and *Cumæ* were also greatly damaged. Such was the violence of this eruption, that, the ancients assure us, that the burning ashes that were thrown out of the mountain reached *Africa*, *Egypt*, and *Syria*; and were so thick at *Rome*, as to darken the air, and turn the day into night. The elder *Pliny*, who was then at *Misenum*, where he commanded the fleet riding there, curious to know the cause of this phænomenon, went immediately on board one of the gallies, and sailed towards Mount *Vesuvius*. He pursued his course, though stones, ashes, and earth,

Titus. earth, began already to shower down upon his ship, and reached *Stabiæ*, between *Pompeii* and *Surrentum*, where, tho' the inhabitants had all abandoned the place, he passed the night, the better to observe, during the darkness, the mountain, which seemed all on a blaze. The same night, a dreadful earthquake happened at *Stabiæ*; and such quantities of stones fell, that *Pliny* would have put to sea again, had he not been prevented by contrary winds. The fire approaching, he attempted to save himself by flight; but, though supported by two of his domestics, he soon fell, suffocated by the thickness of the air and the stench of the sulphur.

Death of
the elder
Pliny.

Titus re-
pairs the
damages
done by
the erup-
tion,

and by a
fire at
Rome.

A plague
at *Rome.*

The following year, *Titus* gave many remarkable instances of his humanity and goodnature; in repairing, at his own expence, the losses which *Campania* had suffered by the eruption of Mount *Vesuvius*, sending into that country two consulars, to see the cities which had been destroyed rebuilt at his expence; and going thither shortly after himself, and distributing immense sums among the unhappy sufferers. While he was in *Campania*, a dreadful fire broke out in *Rome*, which lasted three days and as many nights, and reduced to ashes, among many other buildings, both public and private, the library of *Augustus*, with all the books in it; the theatre of *Pompey*, and great part of the Capitol. Upon the first news of this calamity, *Titus* hastened back to *Rome*, and publicly declared, that the whole loss should fall upon him. He was as good as his word: for, though many cities and foreign provinces offered to bear their share in the expence, he would not accept of any assistance, but chose rather to sell even the ornaments and furniture of his own palaces, to defray the vast expence of rebuilding the temples, public edifices, and houses of private men.

This conflagration was followed by the most dreadful pestilence that had ever raged in *Rome*; thought to have been occasioned by the ashes of Mount *Vesuvius*, which had covered the country to a great distance. *Titus* left no remedy unattempted to abate the malignity of the distemper, exerting all the care of a good prince, all the tenderness of a father; comforting the people with his edicts, and relieving them with his bounties.

Last year, *Titus* had assumed the title of emperor, with the usual solemnity, on account of the advantages which the brave *Agricola* had gained during his second campaign in *Britain*: and now the senate, out of a real sense of gratitude, conferred new honours upon him. What they were, we are not told; but the good emperor did not live to enjoy them. *Suetonius* tells us, that he exhibited shews, during which he shed many tears in the presence of the multitude, and retired as soon as they were over into the country of the *Sabines*. The first night he lay out of *Rome*, he was seized with a violent fever; but continued his journey in a litter, being desirous to

end

end his days in the same house where his father died. He reached it with much difficulty, and died there soon after his arrival, in the forty-first year of his age, after having reigned two years, two months, and twenty days. Philostratus says, that he was poisoned by his brother *Domitian*: but Plutarch ascribes his death to the immoderate use of baths. He far exceeded all his predecessors, and was equalled by few of his successors. He knew no advantage in being higher than others, but that of being able to do the more good. He was a stranger to pride and ostentation, and behaved with such paternal tenderness to all his subjects, that he was deservedly styled, **THE DELIGHT OF MANKIND.**

Titus.

The death
of *Titus*.
Year of
Rome 833.
Christ
81.
His cha-
racter.

D O M I T I A N.

TITUS was succeeded by his brother *Domitian*, who, notwithstanding the bad opinion which many already had of acknowledging him, was immediately acknowledged emperor, without the least opposition. The beginning of his reign seemed to promise happiness to his people, whose love he studied to gain, by disguising his vices, and affecting the opposite virtues. He then shewed such an abhorrence to every kind of cruelty, ginning that he was once going to forbid the sacrificing of every living creature. He was so far from betraying any inclination to reign profligate, that he gave instances of a temper truly magnificient, presenting his officers and ministers with large sums to set them above the temptation of doing mean things. He refused to accept of any inheritances left him by persons who had children; forgave all debts due to the Exchequer that were above five years standing; forbade all the officers of the Treasury to sue any one for debts that were not quite clear and undoubted; confirmed, by one general edict, all the grants of his predecessors; increased the pay of the soldiers; and finished, at a vast expence, all the public buildings which had been begun by *Titus*. Plutarch tells us, that he expended above twelve thousand talents only in the gilding of the capitol; and that every part of his own palace was still much more magnificent than that stately temple. To the ancient edifices which he repaired or rebuilt, he added an incredible number of new ones.

He was assiduous and unbiassed in the administration of justice; punished, with the utmost severity, such judges as were accused of having received bribes; and kept the magistrates of the city, as well as the governors of the provinces, in such awe, that they never behaved with so much modesty as in his time. Though he was never known to peruse a book

His vast
expence
in build-
ing.

Domitian book after his accession to the empire, except the memoirs which *Tiberius* left, yet he repaired the libraries which had been burnt in the last fires, and even sent persons to *Alexandria* to procure copies of such books as had perished in the flames. He made several good laws: such as, prohibiting all scandalous writings; making adultery a capital crime, and restraining the debaucheries of the people: all which were received with great applause. But his putting to death, towards the end of the first, or in the beginning of the second,

He puts year of his reign, his own cousin *Flavius Sabinus*, for no *Favinius* crime, but because the public crier had, by mistake, instead *Sabinus to* of consul, proclaimed him emperor, in the assembly of the people, filled the city with universal terror. *Sabinus* had married *Julia*, the daughter of the emperor *Titus*; and that, we are told, was the source of *Domitian's* jealousy.

His mock In the second year of his reign he undertook an expedition against the *Catti*, the most warlike nation in all *Germany*.
expediti- on against He attacked them without the least provocation, and while they were quite unprepared for war: laid waste part of the country, took a few peasants prisoners, and then, upon advice that the enemy were assembling their forces, hastened For which back to *Rome*, where the senate decreed him a triumph for he tri- his pretended victory. From this time he constantly wore umphs. the triumphal robe in the senate, and upon all public occasions. On this account, he promised to increase the pay of the soldiers; but not having wherewithal to do it, and at the same time supply his other extravagances, he soon after betook himself to all manner of rapine and violence.

In the mean time *Agricola* sent *Domitian* a plain and modest account of his having intirely reduced *Britain*. The emperor received it with seeming joy, but real anguish; being of *Agricola* stung to the very heart with the thought of a subject's having and recalls eclipsed his own boasted glory. However, dissembling his him.

rancour, he made the senate decree triumphal ornaments to *Agricola*, and a statue crowned with laurel; heightening these honours with many expressions of great esteem: but at the same time he resolved to recall him: and, that this might not be imputed to jealousy or envy, he caused a report to be spread, that he intended to give him the government of *Syria*, then vacant, and always reserved for persons of high rank. Some say, that *Domitian* actually dispatched one of his freedmen with the instrument by which *Agricola* was appointed to that high post; but that meeting him as he was crossing the channel, he returned back without speaking to him. Whether or not this be true, is uncertain; but *Agricola* had already resigned his command in *Britain* to *Sallustius Secundus*. Arriving at *Rome*, he entered the city in the night, purposely to avoid all popular distinction, and went directly to the palace, where *Domitian* received him with a cold embrace and without saying a single word. From this time *Agricola* resolv'd to avoid every thing that could in the least distinguish him

him from other men, and to bury in retirement those virtues *Domitian* for which he plainly saw he should soon be hated.

The same year, *Cariomer*, king of the *Cherusci*, a German nation, being driven from his dominions by the *Catti*, because he had submitted to the *Romans*, and given them no assistance, had recourse to *Domitian* for assistance. But the emperor not caring to engage in a war with that fierce nation, contented himself with sending his friend and ally a sum of money instead of troops, which, he said, he could not well spare at that time. The next year, the *Sarmatians* and *Suevi*ans entered into an alliance against the *Romans*, who lost whole armies in *Mæsia*, *Dacia*, *Germany*, and *Pannonia*, thro' the bad conduct of their generals: but the particulars of these wars have not been transmitted to us. We only know, by some medals which have reached us, that *Domitian* went upon some expedition, for which he triumphed this year.

On his return to *Rome*, he abandoned himself to all manner of cruelty, and put to death several illustrious persons, because certain astrologers, whom he consulted, told him, they were destined to the empire. *Mesius Pomposianus*, against whom some designing persons had endeavoured in vain to stir up the emperor *Vespasian*, was, on this occasion, banished to death, the island of *Corsica*, where, he was soon after put to death by *Domitian's* order. *Nerva*, who succeeded him in the empire, would have suffered the same doom, had not somebody assured *Domitian*, that he had no reason to fear him, for that he could not live many days. Multitudes of senators and knights were this year accused of treason, and either sentenced to death by the senate, or ordered by *Domitian* to dispatch themselves. Of these the most illustrious was *Ælius Lama*, whom he caused to be publicly executed only for a jest. *Domitian*, who had taken away his wife, commanding one day his voice, *Lama* answered, *Yet, alas! I must be silent.* *Civicus Circalis* was murdered during his proconsulship of *Asia*, under pretence of his intending to raise disturbances in the state; but, in reality, because he had accepted of that government when it fell to him by lot. *Agricola*, warned by this, when either the proconsulship of *Asia*, or that of *Africa*, must have fallen to him by lot, presented a petition to the emperor, begging to be excused from being a candidate to either. *Domitian* not only granted his request, but even received his formal thanks for that great favour. *Salvius Cœtianus* was put to death for celebrating the birth-day of the emperor *Otho*, who was his uncle by the father's side: *Salustius Lucullus*, who succeeded *Agricola* in the government of *Britain*, for suffering a new kind of lances to be called by his own name; *Junius Rusticus*, for publishing a writing in praise of the celebrated *Tirafca*, and of *Helnidius Friscus*; and *Maternus*, for having declaimed against tyranny and tyrants. All the professors of philosophy were driven into exile; and, that

Domitian nothing which was worthy or honest might any where be seen, says *Tacitus*, a new kind of cruelty was exerted ; the works of men of genius being burnt publicly in the *forum*. In short, such was the melancholy state of *Rome*, that every thing gave the jealous tyrant fear or offence ; and both were sure of being punished with death.

Abandons himself to all manner of lewdness, avarice, and extortion. In the beginning of his reign, he treated informers with great severity, and solemnly declared that he would never give ear to them : but now he encouraged them more than any other prince had done ; their persons were declared sacred ; and the more they were detested by the public, the more they were cherished by the emperor. In the midst of his cruelties, he abandoned himself to all manner of lewdness and debauchery, equalling, in that respect, the most infamous of his predecessors. His avarice was equal to his lewdness and cruelty, practising every sort of rapine and extortion, and confiscating the estates of the wealthy upon the slightest pretence. He seized upon the effects even of persons he had never known, if he could but find any one witness to depose, That he had heard the deceased say, *That Cæsar was his heir*. By these means he reduced to beggary the most opulent persons in *Rome*, *Italy*, and all the provinces of the *Roman empire*. The heavy tributes, and the rigour with which they were exacted, occasioned great disorders, and frequent revolts in the distant provinces : in particular, the *Nasamonians*, a people of *Africa*, no longer able to bear the load, took up arms this year, defeated *Flaccus*, governor of *Numidia*, stormed his camp, and put great numbers of his men to the sword. But *Flaccus* rallying his troops, fell unexpectedly upon them, while they were intoxicated with the wine they had found in the *Roman camp*, and cut them all off to a man. *Domitian*, elated with this victory, bragged in the senate, *That he had cut off the whole nation of the Nasamonians* : for he always ascribed to himself the advantages gained by his officers ; but to others every miscarriage, even though occasioned by a strict observance of his orders. This year he assumed the title of *Lord*, and that of *God*; not being ashamed, in dictating an ordinance to one of his secretaries, to begin it thus : *Our Lord and God orders and commands, &c.* He likewise enacted, that all should pay him divine worship, and forbid any one from that time ever to address him by any other name than that of *Lord* and *God*. Temples and altars were erected to him, and he himself offered sacrifices to his own divinity.

Assumes the titles of *Lord* and *God*.

Institution of the *Capitoline* games. In the sixth year of *Domitian's* reign, were instituted the *Capitoline* sports, or games, so much spoken of by the writers of those days ; according to whom, they were to be celebrated, as the *Olympic games*, at the end of four years complete, and in the beginning of the fifth. As they were exhibited in honour of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, the emperor presided

Year of Rome 839.

at them in person, attended by the priest of Jupiter and the *Domitian*
college of the *Flavian* priests.

The war with the *Dacians*, the most bloody and dangerous ^{The Da-}
of any in *Domitian's* reign, happened about this time. This *cian* war.
warlike nation then inhabited the countries now called *Moldavia*, *Valachia*, and *Transylvania*. They were not only men
of great strength, but of equal courage; despising death,
which they looked upon as the end of a transitory, and the
beginning of an happy and lasting life. This doctrine they
had learned of the philosopher *Zamolxis*, whom some sup-
pose to have been the disciple of *Pythagoras*; others, to have
lived long before his time. *Duras*, who ruled them, by a
moderation which hardly can be matched in history, volun-
tarily resigned the sovereignty to *Decebalus*, because he
thought him better qualified than himself for so great a trust.
The particulars of the war are not known, otherwise than by
an account we find of it in *Jomandes*; according to whom,
the *Dacians*, dreading the effects of the emperor's avarice,
broke their alliance with the *Romans*, crossed the *Danube*,
drove away the troops stationed on the banks of that river,
fell upon *Oppius Sabinus*, governor of *Mæsia*, defeated and
killed him, and seized all the forts and castles of the *Romans*
in their neighbourhood. Hereupon *Domitian*, having raised
a formidable army, marched himself at the head of it into *Il-
lyricum*. Upon his approach, *Decebalus* sent ambassadors to
him, offering to put an end to the war, and renew the for-
mer treaties: but *Domitian*, instead of returning any answer,
ordered the flower of his forces to advance against the *Da-
cians*, under the command of *Cornelius Fuscus*, who was de- The Ro-
feated with prodigious slaughter, and himself killed, with the *mans de-
lolls* of an eagle, a great quantity of arms, all the engines of feated.
war, and a vast number of captives. The news of this de-
feat alarmed *Domitian*, who was already returned to *Rome*,
where he made as dreadful havock of the senate and people,
as the *Dacians* had done of the soldiery. He thereupon left
Rome a second time, giving out, that he would head the army
in person: but he stopped in the city of *Mæsia*, and sent
his generals against the enemy. Many bloody battles were The Da-
fought with various success: but at last, the fortune of the *cians re-
Romans* prevailing, *Decebalus* was forced to sue for peace. ceive a
Domitian refused to grant it upon any terms: but, instead of great
pursuing the war with vigour, and forcing him, as he might overthrow
easily have done, to submit at discretion, he turned his arms
against the *Quadi* and *Marcomani*, because they had not sent
him succours during the war with the *Dacians*. These two
nations, though famous for their strength and valour, un-
willing to suffer the calamities of an unnecessary war, sent
deputies to the emperor, begging him to forbear hostilities,
which they were not conscious of having deserved. But *Do-
mitian*, instead of listening to their entreaties, caused their
ambassadors to be murdered; which so provoked those war- like

Domitian like people, that, collecting all their youth, they took the field, engaged *Domitian*, and put him to flight. *Domitian* then, as abject as he had been haughty before, sent to *Decebalius*, with offers of peace upon very advantageous terms; defeated which the *Dacian*, whose army had been greatly weakened, by the *Marcomanni*, concludes a shameful peace with *jan*; when that prince, ashamed that the *Romans* should be tributaries to any one, refused to pay it; saying, *That Decebalus had never conquered him*. Upon the conclusion of this opprobrious peace, *Domitian* wrote to the senate, telling them, *That he had at length forced the Dacians to submit to the Roman yoke*: and at the same time he dispatched to *Rome* the ambassadors of *Decebalus*, with a letter written to him by that prince, or rather, as was generally believed, feigned by himself, wherein the *Dacian* owned himself conquered, and no longer able to withstand so brave a commander as *Domitian*.

For which he triumphs. The senate thereupon decreed him a triumph, which he enjoyed upon his return; triumphing at the same time over the *Dacians*, of whom he had purchased peace at the expence of an annual tribute; and over the *Quadi* and *Marcomanni*, by whom he had been utterly defeated and driven out of the field. After this, he celebrated the secular games with great pomp and magnificence.

The revolt of *L. Antonius*. About two years after *Domitian's* return from this famous expedition, *L. Antonius*, governor of Upper *Germany*, where he had two legions under his command, being provoked with the tyrannical conduct of the emperor, and depending upon the fidelity and affection of his soldiers, assumed the imperial title, and was acknowledged emperor, not only by his own soldiers, but by most of the *German* nations, who promised him powerful succours, not out of esteem for him, but thro' hatred to *Domitian*. The news of this revolt no sooner reached *Rome*, than *Domitian* hastened to suppress it, leading with him the praetorian bands, the flower of all the troops then in *Italy*, all the senators, and greatest part of the *Roman* knights, even such as had absented themselves from the city, and led a retired life, hastening to join him on this occasion, lest they should afterwards be accused of having abandoned their emperor in time of danger: a charge which would have cost them their lives. However, he had not proceeded far on his march, when he received an account of the total overthrow of *L. Antonius*, whose army was entirely cut off, and he himself slain, by *L. Maximus*, who, after this victory, prudently burnt all *Antonius's* papers, that the emperor might not take occasion from them to renew his cruelties.

who is defeated and killed. But this precaution availed little with the blood-thirsty tyrant, who made strict search after *Antonius's* accomplices,

put to the most cruel torture persons of all ranks and conditions, upon the least suspicion of their having been privy to the conspiracy, or even upon the slightest intimation of their having been at all intimate with *Antonius*. On this occasion, all those whose birth or virtues gave him the least umbrage, were executed or banished, and their estates seized. From this time, *Domitian* could not suffer two legions to be quartered in the same camp during the winter, but kept them all at some distance from each other. This year a second counterfeit *Nero* appeared in *Asia*, and had recourse to the counter-king of *Parthia*, who furnished him with troops, and seemed feit *Nero* inclined to quarrel with the *Romans* on his account, but was appears. at last prevailed upon by *Domitian* to deliver him up to the governor of *Syria*, by whom he was put to death.

The next year, *Domitian* took the title of emperor three times; but for what exploits we know not: probably for expeditions as glorious as those against the *Dacians*, *Quadi*, and *Marcomani*. The following year afforded nothing remarkable: but the year after that, *M. Ulpius Trajanus*, who succeeded *Nerva* in the empire, and *Acilius Glabria*, being consuls, *Domitian* obliged this last, who was a man of great strength and activity, to fight in the arena a huge lion, whom he overcame and killed. The applause of the people on this occasion roused the jealousy of the emperor, who thereupon, under pretence of some crime or other, banished *Acilio*, and soon after caused him to be murdered in the place of his exile. After this, he treated the people with a great many shew, the most magnificent that had ever yet been seen. In a vast lake, dug on purpose, near the *Tiber*, a sea-fight put to was represented, with such numbers of ships as amounted to death. complete fleets. In the combats of gladiators, not only men, but also women, and some of them of quality, entered the lists; and in the amphitheatre, two battles were exhibited, the one of horse, and the other of foot; which so pleased the populace, that, forgetting at once all his cruelties, they bestowed higher encomiums upon him than they had ever given either to *Titus* or *Vespasian*.

In the twelfth year of *Domitian's* reign, died, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, the celebrated *Agricola*: one of the greatest commanders, and best citizens, that *Rome* ever had. His death was deservedly lamented as a public misfortune; and what heightened the general concern, was, a suspicion of his having been poisoned by *Domitian's* order. His son-in-law, *Tacitus*, does not say there was any proof of this; but from the tenor of *Domitian's* behaviour towards him, there is great reason to suspect it.

The same year, *Bæbius Massa*, an infamous accuser, was himself accused by the people of *Bithynia*, for his tyrannical extortions during his government of that country. The infamous younger *Pliny*, and *Herennius Senecio* were appointed by the accuser,

Domitian senate to plead the cause of the *Ei hynians*; which they did so effectually, that *Bæbius* was condemned, and the consuls were ordered to seize his estate and effects. But other business intervening, and the execution of the sentence being thereby delayed from day to day, *Senecio*, fearing least the delinquent should secrete part of his goods, begged *Pliny* to join him in applying for immediate execution of the sentence. Accordingly, they went both together to the consuls, where they found *Bæbius*, who, upon hearing their business, was so provoked, that he immediately charged *Senecio* with treason, and summoned him before the emperor. The very name of treason struck the whole assembly with terror: but *Pliny*, without betraying the least fear, told *Bæbius*, *he was very sorry he did not also charge him with the same crime, for fear his silence with respect to him, should induce the people to think he had not acted against him with as much zeal as Senecio; and that he should be sorry any one should entertain so bad an opinion of him.*

Domitian, now more cruel, if possible, than he had ever been, began to put in execution the design he had long since formed, of utterly extirpating the senate, and destroying every man of family or virtue. *The islands*, says *Tacitus*, describing these unhappy times, *were peopled with exiles; the rocks contaminated with blood: but more horrid still were the ravages of cruelty at Rome*. It was treasonable, to be noble; capital, to be rich; criminal, to have borne honours; unpardonable, to have declined them; and the reward of worth and virtue was quick and inevitable destruction. Nor were the iniquities of the informer more shocking than the greatness of their rewards; for to some were given, as the spoils of the state, the dignity of pontiff, and that of consul; others were appointed governors of provinces; and others were made prime-ministers and confidants at home. Troubling and confounding all things, they exerted their terrors, and reeked their vengeance, in every nation. Slaves were suborned against their masters, freedmen against their patrons, and such as had no enemies were betrayed and undone by their friends. Among the number of illustrious persons

Helvidius, Rusticus, and Senecio put to death at this time, *Tacitus* reckons, *Helvidius, Rusticus, and Senecio*. *Helvidius*, who was of consular rank, was accused of treason, in having wrote a poem wherein he was said to have reflected on the emperor. The moment he appeared to plead his cause before the senate, *Publius Cætus*, one of the judges, seized him, with the assistance of some other senators, and, without allowing him to speak, dragged him to prison, where he was executed. *Rusticus* and *Senecio* suffered for having written in praise of *Thrasea* and *Helvidius Priscus*. *Senecio* had wrote a life of this last, at the request of his widow *Famia*, who, for having desired it, was, with her mother *Arria*, the widow of the famous *Træsa Pater*, banished

Firmness
of the
younger
Pliny.

banished to a desert island ; to which she carried with her, *Domitian* as her only comfort, the book which had been the cause of her misfortunes, though it was declared capital to read or keep it. *Domitian*, not satisfied with the death of these great men, ordered their writings to be burnt ; *as if*, says *Tacitus*, *he could thereby have destroyed the ideas and memory of mankind*. *Pomponia Gratilla*, the wife of *Ruficus*, and *Junius Mauricus*, his brother, were likewise banished ; and one *Hermogenes*, of *Tarsus*, was put to death for having spoken disrespectfully of the emperor, under borrowed names, in a history which he published ; all who were concerned in transcribing or selling of which, were condemned to be crucified. After this, and All philosophers chiefly out of hatred to *Ruficus*, who professed the philosophy of the stoicks, a decree was issued whereby all philosophers were banished from *Rome*, and every laudable science expelled *Italy*. The famous *Epicetetus*, *Lucius Teleinus*, *Artemidorus*, and several others, were, in consequence of this order, obliged to leave the city. This last had contracted great debts, but for laudable purposes, says *Pliny*, who supplied him with money to discharge them, when his other friends, who were much richer, abandoned him in his distress. The philosopher would afterwards have reimbursed *Pliny* ; but he generously made him a present of the debt. *Pliny* went frequently to see him in the place of his retirement, though he knew that he exposed himself thereby to great danger, especially as he was at that time *prætor* : and, in fact, had not *Domitian* been cut off soon after, he would probably have undergone the same fate which most of his friends had suffered ; a memorial being found among the emperor's papers, after his death, drawn up by the famous informer *Metius Carus*, against *Pliny*.

The famous *Apollonius Tyaneus*, is said to have come to *Apollonius* *Rome* in this persecution, and there to have contracted a *Tyaneus* strict friendship with *Nerva*, *Rufus*, and *Salvidienus Orfitus*, whom he solicited to conspire against *Domitian*, and to deliver rages a the world from so bloody a tyrant. The conspiracy was actually formed, but the execution of it put off for want of courage in the conspirators : and in the mean time, the emperor, suspecting their design, accused them of treason before the senate. The charge was not proved ; but nevertheless *Rufus* and *Orfitus* were banished to the islands, and *Nerva* to the city of *Tarentum*. *Orfitus* was soon after put to death in the place of his exile : what became of *Rufus* we know not ; but *Nerva*'s life was spared, because another astrologer assured *Domitian* that he could not live many days. In the beginning of the next year another conspiracy was discovered against him ; at the head of which was *Juvenius Celsus*, who, finding himself betrayed, begged and obtained a private audience of the emperor, in which, throwing himself at his feet, and accosting him with the title of *Lord and of God*, he protested

Domitian That, as to himself, he was quite innocent of the crime laid to his charge; but would, if he was allowed a short reprieve, discover all those who were concerned in the plot, and produce undeniable proofs of their guilt. The reprieve was granted; and *Celsus*, by putting off the promised discovery from time to time, under various pretences, till *Domitian* was killed, he escaped the danger that threatened him.

The second general persecution.

Year of
Rome 847.
of Christ

95.

Death of
Domitian
foretold.

The fourteenth year of this tyrant's reign is remarkable for his cruel persecution of the *Christians*, of whom infinite numbers were put to death both at *Rome* and in the provinces. This was the second general persecution. Among the many illustrious persons who suffered in this glorious cause, were several of the emperor's own relations: viz. *Flavius Clemens*, his own cousin-german and colleague in the consulship, and the two *Flaviae Domitillae*; one the wife, and the other the niece, of *Flavius Clemens*, the son of *Flavius Sabinus*, who was brother to *Vespasian*. It was in this persecution that St. John was banished to the island of *Patmos*, where he wrote the *Apocalypse*. This same year, *Domitian*, in order to deter his own freedmen from any attempts upon his life, put to death *Epaphroditus*, formerly *Nero*'s freedman and secretary, for having helped that prince to kill himself.

The next year, the last of *Domitian*'s life, many prodigies are said to have happened at *Rome* and in the provinces. The city was, for eight months together, alarmed almost daily with dreadful claps of thunder, and flashes of lightning: the capitol, the temple of the *Flavian* family, and the emperor's own chamber, were thunder-struck: the inscription upon one of his statues was beaten off, and, by the violence of the storm, carried into a neighbouring monument: the oracle at *Prænestine*, which had always returned favourable answers, now prefaged nothing but calamities and slaughter. *Domitian* himself dreamed, That *Minerva*, whom he looked upon as his tutelar deity, had withdrawn herself from a temple which he had consecrated to her, telling him, That *Jupiter* had disarmed her, and she could no longer protect him. But nothing, we are told, terrified him so much as the answer of one *Astartorion*, an astrologer, and what ensued thereon: for he, being accused of having foretold the death of the emperor, and not denying the charge, *Domitian* asked him, Whether he knew what would be his own fate? The astrologer answered, That he should shortly be devoured by dogs. Upon this, *Domitian*, thinking to shew the falsity of his art, ordered him to be put to death immediately, and his body to be burnt. The first part of the sentence was executed; but before the body was half consumed, it was thrown down, with the funeral pile, by a violent storm, and devoured by dogs. *Larginus Proculus*, another astrologer, foretold publicly in *Germany*, that the eighteenth of *September* would prove the last day of *Domitian*'s life. He was thereupon apprehended,

and

and sent to the emperor, in whose presence he maintained the *Domitian* truth of his prediction, and was, on that account condemned to be executed on the nineteenth of that month: but *Domitian* being murdered the day before, as he had foretold, he not only escaped unhurt, but was presented with a large sum by *Nerva*, who ever after held him in great esteem.

Domitian, terrified with these prodigies and predictions, He lives and alarmed by his own guilty conscience, lived in continual fears and agonies, dreading all men and every thing, and daily sacrificing to his distrusts even the most intimate of his friends, if they chanced to give him the least sort of umbrage. His fears were such, that he would not permit any criminal, however loaded with chains, to plead before him, till he had first secured his chains in his hands.

A young child with whom he used to divert himself, having one day, while he was asleep, taken from under his head a paper, to play with it, the empress *Domitia* happening to meet him, took it out of his hand, and looked at it, when, to her great surprize, she found it contained the names of several illustrious persons destined to slaughter, and her own name at the head of them, with those of *Narbanus* and *Petrus secundus*, commanders of the prætorian guards; and of *Parthenius*, the emperor's chamberlain. She immediately communicated this discovery to them, and it was that instant resolved to kill him, before he could put his bloody design in execution. *Nephanus*, one of his freedmen, undertook to strike the blow.

The day before he was killed, he ordered some fine fruit, which was presented to him, to be reserved for the next day; adding, *if it be my fortune to eat it*: then turning to those about him, *To-morrow*, said he, *the Moon will appear bloody in Aquarius, and something will happen which will be much talked of.* About midnight he was so terrified that he leaped out of his bed. However, he went the next morning to the *forum*, to administer justice, and returned to the palace an hour before mid-day, which was the time he dreaded most. Having therefore asked what time of the day it was; and one of the conspirators, on purpose to deceive him, answering that it was noon, he was overjoyed, as if he had escaped all danger, and thought of nothing but abandoning himself to mirth and jollity. As he was going to bathe, according to the *Roman* fashion, before dinner, *Parthenius* told him he had something of great importance to impart to him, and which could not be deferred. *Domitian* thereupon ordered his attendants to withdraw, and retired to his chamber, where *Parthenius* introduced to him *Stephanus*, who, the better to disguise his design, had appeared for some days with his left arm wrapped up, and in a sling, as if it had received some hurt. He presented to *Domitian* a memorial, wherein he pretended to discover a dangerous conspiracy; and while the emperor was

reading

Domitian reading with great attention, *Stephanus*, drawing suddenly a dagger, which he had concealed, stuck it into his belly. *Domitian*, finding himself wounded, called to a boy, who happened to be in the room, to reach him a dagger from under his pillow, and to run for assistance: but only the scabbard was found under his pillow, and the doors were all locked. *Domitian* struggled for some time with *Stephanus*, and even threw him to the ground; but at length *Parthenius*, assisted by four more, among whom was a famous gladiator, rushed in and put an end to the strife, by piercing *Domitian* with many wounds. Some, not privy to the conspiracy, hearing the noise, hastened to the emperor's apartment, and finding him wallowing in his blood, killed *Stephanus*. The other conspirators made their escape the moment of *Domitian*'s fall. It is said that *Appollonius Tyaneus*, then at *Ephesus*, and disengaging to a numerous assembly, stopt on a sudden, as if he had been intent upon something else, and, fixing his eyes steadfast on the ground, after a short silence, cried out, *Strike, strike the tyrant home*: then, recovering himself, he bid the company, who stood amazed, be of good cheer, and rejoice, *for that the tyrant had that moment expired.*

Thus died the last of the twelve, commonly called *Cæsar*'s, in the forty-fifth year of his age, after a reign of fifteen years and five days. The common people shewed neither joy nor sorrow for his death; but the soldiers, whose pay he had increased, and with whom he often shared his rapine, would have raised great disturbances, had not their officers, most of whom were concerned in the conspiracy, restrained them. The senate, on the contrary, elated with gladness, assembled in haste, ordered all his statues to be pulled down, his triumphal arches to be overturned, his memory to be deemed infamous, his name to be erased out of the consular tables, and all inscriptions, and his body to be thrown into

his statues
broken,
and his
acts annul-
led.

Year of
Rome 849.
of Christ

98.

the *Tiber*. All his acts were annulled, and those whom he had banished recalled. A woman, named *Phyllis*, who had taken care of him in his infancy, caused his body to be carried upon a bier, as that of a person of the meanest condition, to a house she had not far from *Rome*, and there burnt it, and afterwards privately conveyed the ashes to the temple he had built for the *Flavian* family, of which he was the last emperor.

N E R V A.

THE same day that *Domitian* was killed, *M. Cocceius Nerva* declared emperor by the senate, and acknowledged as such by the prætorian guards, notwithstanding their fury, but a few hours before, for the death of their favourite prince; *Petronius Secundus*, one of their commanders, and the chamberlain of *Parthenius*, having soon reasoned them into a cooler temper.

Nerva was a native of *Narnia* in *Umbria*, and his family came originally from the island of *Crete*; so that he was neither born a *Roman*, nor descended from an *Italian* family; first rise. but his father, grand-father, and great-grandfather, had been honoured in *Rome* with the consular dignity. He himself was honoured with the prætorship by *Nero*, and with a statue in the palace, having by his elegant poems (for he was one of the best poets of his time) gained the affection of that prince, who even inscribed to him some of his own poetical performances. He was consul with *Vespasian*, and afterwards with *Domitian*.

He had scarce assumed the sovereignty, when a rupture was spread, that *Domitian* was still alive, and the news of his death only an artifice to discover the designs of such as he suspected. The crowd about the new emperor immediately dispersed, and he himself, naturally very timorous, knew not what to do, till *Parthenius* assured him that the report was quite groundless. He then went, first to the camp of the prætorian guards, and, after securing them with a promise of the usual donation, to the senate, where he was received with the greatest mark of esteem and affection. Numbers of congratulatory speeches were made to him upon this occasion; but that of *Arrius Antoninus*, grandfather to the emperor *T. Antoninus*, was very different from all the rest; for, embracing *Nerva*, with whom he had long lived in great intimacy, *I am come, said he, with the rest, to congratulate the senate, the people of Rome, and the provinces of the empire, upon your promotion to this high post; but cannot pay the same compliment to you, who, after having, by your wisdom and virtue, happily escaped the rage of so many wicked princes, now plunge yourself into new dangers and troubles, being exposed to the censure and hatred both of your friends and foes; especially of the former, who will never fail, if any of their suits are denied, to become your most inveterate enemies.*

Nerva, now confirmed in the sovereignty, happily allied two things, says *Tacitus*, once thought irreconcileable; public liberty; and sovereign power: for, under him, the *Romans* enjoyed all the former, and felt none of the evil effects of the latter.

Nerva. latter. He immediately set at liberty all whom the late emperor had confined under pretence of treason; recalled those who had been banished for the same cause; restored them their possessions without the least deduction; ordered, that no person should, for the future, be accused of violated majesty, or prosecuted for living after the manner of the *Jews*, (by which was then meant the *Christians*): he inacted severe laws against informers, and caused all the slaves and freedmen to be put to death, who had informed against their masters and patrons. He solemnly swore, *That no senator should ever be put to death by his order*: and he religiously observed his oath, though some of that body soon conspired against him. He restored to the right owners all the effects which he found in the palace belonging to others: lessened the taxes; delivered the *Jews* from the oppressions they laboured under from the collectors of the public revenues; and, to the greatest satisfaction of all the *Romans*, annulled the laws of *Augustus*, by which the twentieth part of all inheritances was ordered to be paid into the Exchequer. At the same time, as just as he was merciful, he would not suffer *Licinianus*, who had been banished for debauching a vestal, to return to *Italy*. He allowed no gold or silver statues to be erected to him; retrenched all superfluous expences, and sold great part of the gold and silver plate, and rich furniture, both of his own houses, and of the imperial palace, together with several houses and estates, to enable him to relieve the necessitous citizens, and reward his friends. He laid out a vast sum upon a purchase of land, which he divided among the poor of *Rome*; and, at the same time, distributed among them another large sum in money, and a great quantity of corn. Their children, in all parts of *Italy*, he caused to be brought up at the public expence. Of his disinterestedness, the following instance is a sufficient proof: *Atticus*, a citizen of *Athens*, having found in his house a large treasure, wrote to *Nerva*, desiring to know how he should dispose of it. The emperor answered him in one word; *utere: use it:* but *Atticus*, not thinking himself yet secure, wrote to him a second time, acquainting him, *That the treasure was too great for a private man, and therefore he was afraid to use it.* To this the generous prince replied in two words, *Ergo abutere; then abuse it:* signifying thereby, that the treasure was his without reserve.

He confirmed, by one edit, all the grants of his predecessors; prohibited the castration of children; forbid any one to marry his niece, which had first been allowed in the reign of *Claudius*; applied himself closely to the reformation of manners; was assiduous in the administration of justice; and, in short, behaved in such a manner towards all, that he used to say, *He believed he might safely resign the empire, and return to a private life, not being conscious that he had done the least thing that could give any man just motive of offence.* If he

he erred in any thing, it was in being too kind to men who were unworthy of his favour. *Nerva.*

Nerva had not been long upon the throne when *Calpurnius Crassus* descended from an illustrious family of the *Craffi*, with *Calpurnius* some others, conspired against him. Being informed of it, *us Crassus* he sent for the conspirators, carried them with him to the conspires theatre, placed them next to himself, and presented to them, against as *Titus* had done on the like occasion, the swords of the *Nerva*, gladiators, which, as we observed before, were always brought to the emperor to be viewed. We are not told what effect this generosity had upon the conspirators : all we know is, that *Crassus*, having owned his crime, was, with his wife, banished to *Tarentum*. The senate were for condemning both him and his accomplices to death ; but the emperor alledging the oath he had taken not to spill the blood of any senator, checked their zeal : whereupon *Fronto*, to whom *Nerva* had resigned the consulship, could not help saying, *That it was a great misfortune to have a prince under whom all things were criminal and forbidden ; but still a greater, to be governed by one under whom all things were allowed.* The emperor was so far from resenting this freedom, that he acted with somewhat more severity from that time.

Shortly after this, the prætorian guards, headed by *Ælienus Casperius*, their commander, raised disturbances in the city, torian under pretence of revenging the death of *Domitian*, flew to the palace, and there besieged *Nerva*, demanding loudly the raise a tumult, of all who had been any way concerned in the murder of the late emperor. *Nerva*, though naturally timorous, behaved with great firmness on this occasion, offering his bare neck to the incensed soldiery, and begging of them to be satisfied with his life, and to spare those to whom he owed the empire, and whom, on that account, he could not in honour abandon. But this did not satisfy the enraged soldiers, who, unmoved by any thing he could say, cut in pieces *Petronius Secundus*, *Parthenius*, and the other conspirators, and even obliged the emperor to return them public demands. *Nerva* to comply with their demands.

The consequences of this insolence of the soldiery proved of great advantage to the state ; for it determined *Nerva* immediately to adopt *Marcus Ulpius Trajan*, whom he rightly judged to be the fittest person in the whole empire, both to assist and succeed him in the government, and whom, for that reason, he preferred before all his own relations. This adoption was received with joy both by the senate and people, and put a stop to the disorders of the soldiery, who thereupon returned to their duty. *Nerva* gave him the title of *Cæsar*, with that of *Germanicus*, which he himself assumed about this time, invested him with the tribunitial power, honoured him with the title of *emperor*, and named him consul for the ensuing year ; so that he created him not only his successor, but his actual partner in the empire.

The

Nerva.Nerva's death.Year of Rome 850. of Christ
98.

The next year, *Nerva* entered upon his fourth consulship, in which *Trajan*, now the second time consul, was his colleague : but shortly after, having over-heated himself in reproofing with great severity the infamous informer *Regulus*, he was seized with a fever, which, as he was weak, and advanced in years, soon put an end to his life, after he had reigned sixteen months and eight, or, some say, nine days ; and, according to *Dion Cassius*, in the sixty-sixth, according to *Eutropius*, the seventy-first, and, according to *St. Jerome*, the seventy-third year of his age. He was ranked among the gods, and *Trajan*, out of gratitude, caused several temples to be built to him, both in *Rome* and the provinces. He is commended by all the ancients, as a prince of a most sweet and humane temper, of great moderation and generosity, and one who looked upon himself as raised to the empire not for his own advantage, but for that of the people. He seems to have been naturally timorous ; and some writers charge both him and *Trajan* with being too fond of wine. Some of the provinces suffered greatly in his reign, through the rapaciousness of their governors, who, presuming on his lenity, enriched themselves at the expence of the people committed to their care : but those grievances would certainly have been redressed, had he lived long enough to know them.

T R A J A N.

Trajan acknowledged emperor in Germany.

TRAJAN, who was born in *Spain*, and descended of an ancient rather than illustrious family of that country, was governor of *Lower Germany*, and commanded a powerful army there, when *Nerva* adopted him for his son and successor. He was then in the forty-second, or, as some will have it, the forty-fifth year of his age ; healthy, robust, and unaccustomed to fatigue, having followed, and distinguished himself in, the profession of arms from his early youth. He did not seem in the least elated with his new dignity, but, on the contrary, would rather have declined it, had not the officers of his own army, and deputies from those in *Upper Germany* and *Mæsia*, insisted on his taking the title of *Cæsar*. He was at *Cologne*, when the news of *Nerva*'s death was brought him by his cousin *Adrian*, upon which he immediately assumed the title of *Augustus*, and was acknowledged as such by the armies in *Germany* and *Mæsia*, who, with great joy, swore allegiance to him.

Writes to He had no sooner taken possession of the sovereignty, than the senate. he wrote to the senate, assuring them, upon his oath, *That though*

though he was raised to that high station, he did not think himself *Trajan.* any more exempted from the observance of the laws, than the meanest of the people; and that no man of probity should ever be put to death, or injured in his fortune, by his order. He did not leave Germany immediately, but staid there the remainder of this, and part of the following year,, during which, all the German nations sent their submissions to him; and the barbarians who dwelt beyond the *Danube*, and had used, in the winter, to pass that river on the ice, and commit great devastations on the *Roman* territories, awed by his presence, refrained from all hostilities.

His journey to *Rome* was conducted with such order and Arrives at regularity, that not a single person suffered the least injury, *Rome.* even from any one of his numerous retinue. He entered the city on foot, and was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy, all ranks of people promising themselves complete happiness under so good and great a prince. He embraced his old friends who came to meet him, with the utmost cordiality and affection, and would not suffer them to treat him as their sovereign, but as their friend, assuring them, *That they would always find him such.* He went first to the capitol, attended by the senate and the whole city, and from thence to the palace.

Soon after his arrival the senate decreed him the title of *Optimus, Best,* which he accepted with pleasure, and valued of *Optimus* more than all those which were afterwards given to him for his victories. He paid part of the donation to the soldiery, him. and made large distributions both of money and corn among the *Roman* people, extending his generosity not only to the absent, but even to children, who had been hitherto excluded from any share in such largesses until they were eleven years old. By these largesses, which he frequently renewed, he is said to have supported near two millions of souls. Nor did he confine his benevolence to *Rome* alone, but appointed very considerable sums to be paid yearly out of the exchequer, for the maintainance and education of children whose parents were not able to bring them up. He took great care, that *Rome* should be plentifully supplied with provisions, especially corn, which, during the whole of his reign, was extremely cheap. He published several laws against informers; banished such of them as had been spared by *Nerva*, and utterly abolished the detested law of lese-majesty. He repaired several old buildings, at a vast expense, and enlarged the *circus*, but would not suffer the people to return him thanks for his public works, nor ever The people to mention his name either in the *Circus* or the theatre, ple restored which till then had resounded, says *Pliny*, with the praises red to the of wicked princes. The people were restored to their ancient privileges of creating magistrates; and *Trajan*, when of creating the senate pressed him to accept a third consulship, appeared among the other candidates, like a private citizen, begging magistrates. the

Trajan. the suffrages of the tribes. At this time, few consuls held that dignity above three months.

He had no sooner assumed the fasces, than he ascended the *rostra*, and in the presence of the people, bound himself anew, by a solemn oath, as he had before done in his letter to the senate, *to observe the laws*; adding to the public vows which were made in the beginning of each year, for the health and prosperity of the emperor, these conditions: *If he observes the laws; if he governs the republic as he ought; if he seeks the happiness of his people.* Before he resigned the *M. Priscus* fasces, the cause of *Marius Priscus*, accused of extortion during his government of *Africa*, was heard by the emperor and condemned for extorting. *Pliny* and *Tacitus* the historian, pleaded for the *Africans*. The trial lasted three days, the emperor being present all the time, and hearing the reasons on both sides, with great impartiality and attention. *Priscus* was degraded from the rank of senator, and banished *Italy*. This is doubtless the *Marius* we read of in *Juvenal**, who in spite of the angry gods, enjoyed in exile the immense wealth which he had accumulated by wicked means, whilst *Africa* lamented, without redress, the losses it had sustained by his avarice. His lieutenant and accomplice *Hystilius Tirminus*, was declared incapable of holding any employment in the empire. *Classicus*, proconsul of *Bætica*, likewise accused of extortion by that province, laid violent hands on himself before the time appointed for his trial: but the province pursued their action against his accomplices, who were all condemned, *Pliny* pleading against them. The estate which *Classicus* was possessed of before he went into *Spain*, was adjudged to his daughter: but the rest was divided among those whom he had plundered.

Adrian
marries
Julia Sa-
bina. Towards the end of this year, *Julia Sabina*, grand-daughter to the emperor's sister *Marciana*, was married to *Trajan's* cousin *Adrian*, the son of *Elius Adrian Afer*. This match, which proved unhappy to both, was made by the empress *Plotina*, who had a particular kindness for *Adrian*.

War with
the *Daci-*
ans. *Decebatus*, king of the *Dacians*, demanding, about this time, the yearly tribute which *Domitian* had engaged to pay; *Trajan* refused to pay it, saying, *That he had not been conquered by Decebatus*. Besides this, the *Dacians* grew daily more formidable, and their king maintained a good understanding with *Pacorus*, king of the *Parthians*, which gave no small jealousy to *Trajan*, who wanted an opportunity to display his military talents. The *Dacians* soon gave him a fair pretence, by their crossing the *Danube*, and committing some hostilities. Upon the news of this, he immediately marched against them with incredible expedition, at the head of a powerful army, passed the *Danube*, and defeated

* Sat. i. v. 49. and Sat. viii. v. 120.

Decebalus in a pitched battle, in which the slaughter was prodigious on both sides, and the number of the wounded so great on that of the *Romans*, that they had not linen enough to bind up their wounds ; whereupon *Trajan* tore his own robes to supply that want. The slain were buried with great solemnity, and an altar was erected upon the spot, and a yearly sacrifice ordered to their memory. *Trajan*, pursuing his advantages, followed *Decebalus* so close, that, being at last in danger of losing his capital city, he agreed to make peace on terms very advantageous to the *Romans* ; and after having sworn to observe them, he was introduced to the emperor, before whom he threw himself on the ground, acknowledging himself his vassal. *Trajan* commanded him to send deputies to the senate, for the ratification of the peace, which he did accordingly. *Trajan* then placed garrisons in most of the cities of *Dacia*, and returned to *Rome*, where he triumphed for this victory, and took the surname of *Dacicus*, being the first *Roman* who had ever triumphed over that nation.

Trajan.

Trajan. and what renders it more amazing, is, that it was built in the narrowest part of the river, and consequently where the stream was strongest and most rapid, and the foundation most difficult to lay. It was defended by two castles, one on the *Roman*, the other on the *Dacian* side of the river. Some remains of it are still to be seen near Zwerin in *Lower Hungary*. *Trajan* built this bridge, that the *Romans* might the more easily fall upon the territories of the barbarians; but his successor *Adrian* broke down the arches of it, for fear of the barbarians invading the territories of the *Romans*.

Enters
Dacia.

As the winter was drawing near when this bridge was finished, *Trajan* did not think it adviseable to enter the enemy's country in that season; but early the next spring he passed the bridge, entered *Dacia* at the head of his forces, and renewed the war with more caution than haste, not chusing to expose his men to unnecessary dangers. At length, after undergoing almost incredible hardships, and exposing to many imminent dangers, he at length made himself master of *Zermizegethusa*, the capital of *Dacia*, and of almost the whole country; insomuch, that *Decebalus*, stripped of dominions, and dreading to fall into the hands of the conqueror, put an end to his own life. His head was brought to *Trajan*, and by him sent to *Rome*. He had concealed his treasures in a pit dug in the bed of the river *Sargetia*, now *Jotrig*, the stream of which was, for that purpose, turned into another channel, and afterwards brought back to its former course; and as for his rich moveables, he hid them in deep caves, which he caused to be dug by captives, whom he immediately after put to death, that they might not discover the secret. But one of his chief confidants, being taken in this war, discovered the whole to *Trajan*, who thereupon seized both

and redu-
ces it to a
Roman
province.

Year of
Rome 856.
of Christ,
104.

Dacia, which, according to *Eutropius*, was a thousand miles in compass, being thus subdued, was reduced to a *Roman* province, and continued such till the reign of the emperor *Gallienus*. *Trajan* built several castles in the country, and placed garrisons in them, to keep the inhabitants in awe. He likewise planted a great number of colonies, distributing lands among the poor citizens of *Rome*, and of the other towns of *Italy*, who were willing to settle in *Dacia*. The famous pillar called *Trajan's*, is thought to have been raised for a monument of this conquest; many of the remarkable events of the *Dacian* war being expressed thereon. *Trajan*, upon his return to *Rome*, triumphed over the *Dacians* a second time; on which occasion he entertained the people with public banquets, shews, in which ten thousand gladiators entered the lists, combats of wild beasts, and several other diversions, which lasted an hundred and twenty-three days. With the *Dacians*, *Trajan* reduced several nations in alliance with them; so that the fame of his conquests reaching the most distant countries, and even *India*, ambassadors were sent from thence to congratulate

gratulate him upon the success of his arms. This year, *Trajan.*
the eighth of *Trajan's* reign, is also remarkable for the intire *Arabia*
reduction of *Arabia Petræa*, by *A. Cornelius Palma*, gover- *Petræa*
nor of *Syria*.

Trajan finished a noble harbour at *Centumcellæ*, now *Civita* reduced.
Vercchia, a little before his expedition into *Dacia*; and about *Pliny* ap-
the same time, *Pliny* was sent to govern *Pontus* and *Bithynia*, in quality of proprætor, with consular authority; the pointed
emperor judging him a proper person to remedy many abu- governor
ses which wanted reforming in that province. About the of *Pontus*
same time also, *Trajan*, at the request of the senate, pub- and Bi-
lished an edict, subjecting such pleaders as received fees *thyinia*.
from their clients, to the penalties of the law against ex-
tortion; and by a decree of the senate, on the same occa-
sion, it was ordered, That the parties should swear, before
their cause was tried, that they had neither given nor pro-
mised any fee, present, or reward, to those who were to
plead for them. *Pliny*, speaking of this law, declares, *That*
be was pleased to see that forbidden to others, which he had never
practised himself.

In the ninth year of *Trajan's* reign, the Capitoline sports, instituted by *Domitian*, were celebrated the sixth time, when the prize in poetry was won by a child, thirteen years old, named *L. Valerius Pudens*. This year *Trajan* made, at a vast expence, a road through the *Pontine* marches, since called *Trajan's causey*. He likewise began several magnificent buildings, and, while they were carrying on, resolved upon a journey into the east. Before he set out for that country, a conspiracy was formed against him by *Craffus*, and several other persons of great quality, but seasonably discovered. The conspirators were tried by the senate, who condemned *Trajan* to banishment, *Trajan* refusing to sit as judge in a cause wherein he was personally concerned.

The pretence for *Trajan's* journey into the East was, that His ex-
Exedares, king of *Armenia*, had received his crown at the dition in-
hands of *Cosrhaes*, king of *Parthia*; whereas the Roman em- to the
perors claimed a right of disposing of that diadem ever since
the reign of *Nero*; who had crowned at *Rome* *Tiridates*, king
of *Armenia*: but the real motive, as *Dion Cassius* informs us,
was, a desire of glory, which he hoped to reap from a war
with the *Parthians*, who rivalled the *Romans* themselves in
power, and had given them several great overthrows. *Trajan*, pretending to be highly affronted at what *Cosrhaes* had
done, demanded satisfaction, and threatened him with war
if he did not immediately give it. The *Parthian* slighted his
menaces; whereupon, having already made the necessary
preparations, he crossed directly over into *Greece*. *Cosrhaes*
then, finding that he was in earnest, sent ambassadors, who
met him at *Athens*, and, after offering him rich presents,
begged that he would not involve the two empires in a bloody
and destructive war for so slight a cause; at the same time

Trajan.

acquainting him, that *Exedares* had resigned the crown, and beseeching him to give it to *Parthamasiris*. *Trajan* replied, *That friendship was shewn by actions, and not by words: that he was going into Syria, and should there take such resolutions as he should think most proper.* He then dismissed the ambassadors, without accepting any of their presents, and proceeded to *Antioch*, which he entered, crowned with a branch of olive.

He arrives at Antioch.
Several of the eastern princes wait upon him.

During his stay at *Antioch*, *Abgarus*, king of *Edesa* in *Mesopotamia*, sent him presents, and, by his ambassadors, declared his desire of living in friendship with the Romans. The other petty princes in those parts came personally to offer their service, and, according to the custom of the eastern countries, brought him presents. Among the rest, one of them presented him with a stately courser, which, as he was brought before the emperor, kneeled down, bowed his head to the ground, and adored him, as he had been taught beforehand. *Trajan* received all these princes with great demonstrations of kindness, and having made the necessary preparations for his intended expedition, he left *Antioch*, bending his march towards *Armenia*, and taking by the way several places without the least resistance. Upon his arrival at *Elegia* in the *Greater Armenia*, *Parthamasiris* came to wait on him, and beg of him the crown of *Armenia*. *Trajan* received him seated upon a throne, and attended by the chief officers of his army. As *Parthamasiris* approached the throne, he took off his crown, and laid it at the emperor's feet, without uttering a single word, not doubting but he would immediately restore it to him. The soldiers, pleased to see the king of *Armenia* obliged thus to submit, and resign his crown to their general, congratulated him upon it with loud shouts of joy, which so terrified *Parthamasiris*, that he attempted to withdraw; but finding himself surrounded on all sides, he desired to speak to *Trajan* in private. Hereupon he was carried into the emperor's tent; but *Trajan* refusing to comply with his proposals, he went away in a great passion, and endeavoured to make his escape out of the camp. *Trajan* ordered him to be brought back, and, ascending his tribunal anew, desired him to repeat, in the hearing of all, the proposals he had made to him in private, and his answers. Upon this, *Parthamasiris*, no longer able to contain himself, said, *That he had neither been conquered, nor taken prisoner; but came voluntarily, believing no injury would have been offered him, and that he should receive his kingdom of Trajan, as Tiridates had received it of Nero.* *Trajan* replied, *That Armenia belonged to the Romans; that it should receive a Roman governor, and be no longer a kingdom; and that, as for him, he had liberty to retire whither he pleased.* *Parthamasiris*, thus dismissed, endeavoured to maintain himself in his kingdom by force of arms, but lost his life in the attempt; and *Trajan* thereupon reduced *Armenia* to a *Roman province*. Several princes

Armenia reduced to a Roman province.

princes then submitted of their own accord, amongst whom *Trajan.*
were the kings of *Iberia, Sarmatia, Bosporus, and Colchis.*

Trajan, after leaving garrisons in all the strong places of *Armenia*, advanced from thence to *Edeffa* in *Mesopotamia*, Enters where he was received in a very friendly manner by *Abgar* *Mesopotamus*, king of that district, who gave him a grand entertainment, at which, *Manes*, one of the chiefs of the *Arabians*, *Sporaces* prince of *Arthemusia*, a province of *Mesopotamia*, *Mebarsapes* king of *Adiabene*, and *Manisares* king of another district in those parts, promised to join him, but still delayed marching their troops, which made him begin to distrust them, and not without reason, as appeared soon after by the treacherous behaviour of *Mebarsapes*, who having defected and obtained a body of troops to protect his dominions, as he pretended, against the *Parthians*, put most of them to the sword, and made the rest prisoners. Among these last was a centurion, who, as *Trajan* approached *Ademystris*, a strong fortress where he was kept, found means to break his chains, and, with the assistance of his fellow captives, killed the governor of the place, and opened the gates to the *Romans*. After this, great part of *Mesopotamia* submitted *Reduces* voluntarily; and *Trajan*, having passed the *Tigris*, and pe- great part netrated into *Adiabene*, reduced the cities of *Nisibis* and *Bat-* of it, and *ne*, after a vigorous resistance. What *Cosrhoes* did, or at- of *Adiabe- tempted* to do; to stop the progres of *Trajan's* conquests, ne. we know not; nor indeed do we find any thing recorded during the next six years of his reign by the compilers of the ancients, (for the works themselves of the ancients have been long since lost) except the names of the consuls, the making of a highway from *Beneventum* to *Brundusium*, the burning of the *Pantheon* by lightning, the overturning of several cities in *Galatia* by an earthquake, and the dedicating of the great square in *Rome*, which took its name from *Trajan*. That he did not stay all this time in the east, is pretty plain from some medals that have reached us, by which *Trajan* seems to have returned to *Rome* before the fifteenth year of his reign, and to have begun, either the same, or the following year, another expedition against the *Parthians*. In this, and indeed in all *Trajan's* wars, *Lusius Quietus*, a Moor *Lusius* by nation, and born in a country not subject to *Rome*, dis- *Quietus* tinguished himself so greatly, that *Trajan* honoured him with distin- the consulship, and, towards the end of his reign, made him guishes governor of *Palestine*, to reward him for a signal victory himself. which he gained over the *Jews* of *Mesopotamia*. *Quietus* also reduced, for *Trajan*, the *Mardi*, a people of *Asia*, near *Armenia*, and not far from the *Caspian sea*.

The eighteenth year of *Trajan's* reign was remarkable for The se- his victories over the *Parthians*, but what gave occasion to cond Par- this war, history says not. We are told, that *Trajan*, before thian war. he left *Syria*, sent to consult the oracle of *Heliopolis* in *Phœ- nicia*, to know whether he should return from this war to

Trajan. *Rome*; and that the oracle gave, as usual, an ambiguous answer, which might be interpreted either way. However, early the next spring, he marched against the *Parthians*, who were encamped on the other side of the *Tigris*, which he passed over a bridge of boats, constructed with great expedition, in spite of the opposition of the enemy, who, with a numerous army, possessed the opposite bank, and annoyed him exceedingly with showers of darts and arrows. This done, he made himself master of the whole kingdom of *Adiabene*, and reduced all *Affyria*. After this, the *Parthians* being greatly weakened by their domestic wars, and still divided among themselves, he advanced to the famous city of *Babylon*, entered it without opposition, and reduced its vast territory, where the *Roman* eagles had never been seen before. Being now master both of *Chaldea* and *Affyria*, he began a canal between the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris*, in order to convey his vessels from the former of these rivers into the latter, and with them form a bridge over the *Tigris*, to facilitate the siege of *Ctesiphon*, which stood on that river: but being informed that the bed of the *Euphrates* was much higher than that of the *Tigris*, and that the stream would, for that reason, be too rapid to be navigable, he dropped that design, and ordered his vessels to be brought upon land-carriages to the *Tigris*, which, in some places, is not very far distant from the *Euphrates*. Having formed a bridge with them, he passed his army over, and made himself master of *Selenia*, and likewise of the great city of *Ctesiphon*, the metropolis of the *Parthians*, and afterwards of the *Persian* empire. At *Ctesiphon* he took the daughter of *Cesrboes*, and seized the throne of the *Parthian* kings, which was of massy gold. *Cesrboes* made his escape, and was still living in the reign of *Adrian*. The taking of this city put him in possession of all the neighbouring countries; and *Affyria*, *Armenia*, and *Mesopotamia* being now deduced to *Roman* provinces, the empire extended to the *Tigris*, and even beyond that river. *Eutropius* says, that all the countries between *Babylon* and *India*, were subdued. The conquered countries were subjected to a yearly tribute, and *Trajan* sent an account of his success to the senate, who, in return, decreed, that he should enter *Rome* in triumph as often as he pleased.

Makes himself master of Seleucia and Ctesiphon.

Adreadful earthquake at Antioch. Towards the end of autumn, *Trajan* returned to *Antioch*, which was almost entirely ruined that winter by one of the most dreadful earthquakes recorded in history. What made this calamity still greater, was, that almost every nation and province in the whole empire shared in it; *Antioch* being then crowded, not only with troops, but with vast numbers of strangers, who had come from all quarters, either out of curiosity, or upon business and embassies. The earthquake continued several days and nights; the consul *Vergilianus*, with many other persons of great distinction, perished by it, and *Trajan* himself escaped, much hurt, through a window of the house

house where he was. Upon the return of the spring, *Trajan* left *Antioch*, and sailed down the *Tigris* into the *Perſian Gulf*, where he made himself master of an island called *Mesene*, and obliged *Athamylus*, who reigned there, to pay him tribute. In this expedition *Trajan* also reduced *Arabia Fælix*, reduces and having reached the ocean, wished he was young, that *Arabia* he might extend his conquests that way as far as *Alexander Fælix*. *Trajan* had done.

Trajan now wrote again to the senate, acquainting them Honours with the success of his arms, and naming the several nations decreed he had conquered, many of which were utterly unknown to them. Extraordinary honours were decreed him; him by the senate. among the rest, that, upon his return to *Rome*, he should triumph over each particular nation which he had subdued; a triumphant arch was built in his own square, to perpetuate the memory of his conquests; and the people of *Rome* made great preparations to receive him with the utmost pomp. But he did not live to enjoy them; nor was the end of his actions answerable to the beginning; for most of the countries which he had conquered, revolted in his absence, and murdered, or drove out, the *Roman* garrisons. *Lusius Quietus* and *L. Appius Maximus* were sent against them, but with very different success, *Maximus* being defeated and killed, but by whom we know not, and *Lusius* recovering *Nisibis*, and destroying *Edessa*. *Erucius Clarus*, and *Julius Alexander*, two other commanders of the emperor's, retook the city of *Seleucia* upon the *Tigris*, and several others, which had shaken off the yoke. The king of *Mesene* continued faithful; nor did the *Parthians* seem inclined to stir; but, for fear they should, *Trajan* thought it adviseable to give them a king of their own nation, instead of a *Roman* governor, and to that end, repairing to *Ctesiphon*, he placed the *Parthians* a crown upon the head of *Parthamaspates*, with great pomp and solemnity.

The following year, the twentieth and last of his reign, Year of *Trajan* marched into *Arabia*, and there made war upon the *Rome* 870. *Hagareni*, who had likewise revolted: but what part of *Christ*, *Arabia* they inhabited we cannot say, no farther mention being made of them till the time of the *Constantinopolitan* empire, when the name of *Hagareni* became common to the *Saracens* and *Arabians* in general. He laid siege to their city, Lays siege called *Atra*, which was neither great nor beautiful, but thought to be very rich, numbers of people resorting thither with presents for the sun, which was worshipped there. But what rendered this city so strong, that neither *Trajan* now, nor *Severus* afterwards, could take it, though both of them made a breach in the wall, was, its being surrounded by a barren land, destitute, to a great distance, of grass, wood, and water; so that a numerous army could not possibly subsist long before it. *Trajan* narrowly escaped being killed in one of the attacks; for, having laid aside the en-

A GENERAL HISTORY

Trajan.

but is obliged to raise it.

Is taken ill, and sets sail for Italy.

All the conquer'd countries revolt.

Trajan dies.

His character.

signs of his dignity, that he might not be known, and heading his men in person, the enemy still distinguishing him by his grey hairs and majestic air, aimed chiefly at him, wounded his horse, and killed a horseman by his side. Notwithstanding this, the siege was still carried on for some time, till at length violent storms of thunder, hail, and rain, coming on, and the Romans being excessively annoyed in their camp by swarms of flies, *Trajan* was obliged to raise it, and retire. Soon after, being now advanced in years, and worn out with fatigue, he was seized with a dropsey and palsey, which he ascribed to poison, but others thought natural. However, he was still for returning into *Mesopotamia*, to reduce some places which had revolted there : but his distemper increasing, he left the command of the army to *Adrian*, whom he appointed governor of *Syria*, and embarked for *Italy*. His departure was no sooner known, than all the countries which he had conquered, at a vast expence, and with infinite danger, shook off the yoke, and recovered their former condition, in spight of the troops he had left to keep them in subjection. The *Parthians* drove out *Parthamaspates* ; the *Armenians* chose themselves a king ; and the greatest part of *Mesopotamia* revolted from the *Romans*, and submitted to the king of *Parthia*.

Upon his arrival at *Selinus*, afterwards called from him *Trajanopolis*, he was seized with a flux, which soon put an end to his life. His body was burnt at *Selinus*, and his ashes carried by his widow *Plotina*, and his niece *Matidia*, in a golden urn, to *Rome*, where they were received with extraordinary pomp, and deposited under the stately pillar which he had erected, though it stood within the walls, where no one before him had been buried. Games, called *Parthic*, were for many years celebrated in memory of his victories in the east. He died in the sixty-third year of his age, after having reigned nineteen years, six months, and fifteen days, reckoning from the death of *Nerva* to the time when *Adrian* received at *Antioch* the news of his death, which had been concealed for some time, and thereupon caused himself to be proclaimed emperor. *Trajan* left no children, nor are we told that he ever had any. He possessed, in an eminent degree, all those qualities which form a great and excellent prince.

In military affairs, he was, without dispute, the best commander of his age, and equal to the greatest generals of antiquity. In the duties of war he was indefatigable ; always marching on foot at the head of the army, and crossing immense countries without ever once mounting on horseback, or suffering himself to be carried, as other emperors had done, in a chariot, or litter. His diet was such as chance presented, and his garb little different from that of a common soldier. He frequently devoted whole nights to business ; never retired to his tent, till he had visited the camp, and was always the first in the field. He was as great in peace as he was in

war ;

war ; and though he was not himself a man of learning, having been trained up to arms from his infancy, he favoured the learned, and encouraged in others what he himself wanted. *Rome* was indebted to him for several stately buildings, besides his supplying with plenty of water those quarters of the city which had been hitherto neglected in that respect. To form the magnificent square which he made, and wherein he erected for his tomb the famous pillar called after his name, he levelled a hill an hundred and forty-four feet high, which is just the height of that pillar. He made, at an immense expence, a large and convenient road through many barbarous nations, from the borders of the *Euxine* sea to the *Gallic* ocean. He also built several magnificent libraries in *Rome*, and a stately theatre, and baths, in the field of *Mars*. Though he was very humane in other things, he suffered the Christians to be cruelly persecuted in most provinces of the empire.

Trajan.

Plutarch, Tacitus, Suetonius, the younger Pliny, Epictetus, and several other excellent writers, flourished in this reign, under which the *Roman* empire was brought to its utmost grandeur and extent.

A D R I A N.

P. AELIUS ADRIANUS was the son of *Aelius Origin, Adrianus Afer*, cousin-german to *Trajan*, and of *Domitia &c. of Paulina*, sprung from an illustrious family in *Cadix*. His *Adrian*. ancestors came originally from *Italica* in *Spain*, the native city of *Trajan*; and his great-grandfather *Marullinus* was the first *Roman* senator of his family. His father, dying when he was but ten years old, left him under the guardianship of *Trajan* and *Cælius Tatianus*, a *Roman* knight. He applied himself to the study of the *Greek* tongue, and was so thoroughly acquainted with that language, that, at the age of fifteen, he was commonly called *the young Grecian*. He then served in *Spain*, and staid there till he was recalled by *Trajan*, with whom he lived as his son : but though that emperor was his kinsman, his guardian, and even gave him his niece *Sabina* in marriage, he never conferred any extraordinary honours upon him.

His elevation to the empire was chiefly owing to the management of the empress *Plotina*, who, after concealing for emperor, some days the death of her husband *Trajan*, that *Adrian* in consequence might have time to sound the temper of the troops, and the quence of that of the nobility of *Rome*, produced a forged instrument, a forged by which the deceased emperor was made to adopt him for adoption. his

Adrian. his son and successor. The stratagem took, and the army immediately swore fidelity and obedience to him. Adrian thereupon wrote to the senate from *Antioch*, where he then was, excusing his having assumed the empire without their previous consent and authority ; alledging, that he had been forced to it by the soldiery, and begging of them only to confirm his title, without conferring any other honours upon him till he had deserved them. In the same letter he promised never to put any senator to death, nor to transact any thing of consequence without their counsel and advice. At the same time he doubled the usual donative to the soldiery, and appointed *Tatianus*, formerly his guardian, and *Similis*, a man of great probity, prudence, and moderation, captains of the praetorian guards. The senate immediately confirmed what the army had done, and *Adrian* was acknowledged emperor by all ranks of men.

He aban-
dons all
Trajan's
conquests. *Adrian* was about forty years of age when he took possession of the empire ; one of his first acts in which was to deprive the brave *Lusius Quietus* of the command of his countrymen the *Moors*, suspecting him of aspiring at the sovereignty. As to the conquests made by *Trajan*, he resolved to abandon them all : and accordingly withdrew his troops from *Armenia*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Affyria* ; so that the *Euphrates* became again the boundary of the *Roman* empire. He suffered the *Armenians* to chuse themselves a king, and the *Parthians* to recal *Cosrhoes*, and dispossess *Parthamaspates*, whom he made king of some neighbouring nation. He had likewise thoughts of abandoning *Dacia*, but was prevailed upon to keep that province, on account of the great numbers of *Roman* citizens settled there. However, he ordered the arches of the famous bridge which *Trajan* had built over the *Danube* to be broken down, lest the barbarians should possess themselves of it, and invade the *Roman* territories. After this, having given the necessary orders for maintaining the tranquility of the east, and appointed *Catilius Severus* governor of *Syria*, he set out for *Rome*, but did not arrive there till the next year. Some say, that he went first into *Egypt* ; and that, passing by *Jerusalem*, he resolved to rebuild that city ; a design, which, however, he did not put in execution before the latter end of his reign.

Arrives at
Rome. He was received at *Rome* with the greatest demonstrations of joy, but could not by any means be prevailed upon to accept the triumph which had been prepared for *Trajan*, and was now decreed to him ; but, at his desire, that honour was conferred upon the image of *Trajan*, which he himself seems to have carried. Soon after his arrival, he remitted all debts whatever due to the exchequer, to the amount of upwards of seven millions of our money, and publicly burnt the bonds and registers relating thereto. He likewise lessened the taxes throughout the whole empire, and eased the provinces of the burden which *Trajan* had laid upon them,

of supplying such as travelled for the service of the public with horses and carriages, which he ordered to be thenceforth provided at the expence of the emperor. He declared, *That the forfeited estates of condemned persons should never be paid into his private coffers, but be returned into the public treasury.* He increased the allowance which *Trajan* had made for the education of poor children ; and upon such of the senators as were reduced to poverty by misfortunes, he settled pensions suitable to their rank, and the number of their children ; giving likewise great presents to such of the knights as were not able to support their dignity.

In the second year of his reign the *Sarmatians* and *Roxolans*, whose country bordered on the *Palus Maeotis*, invaded *Illyricum* ; upon which *Adrian* hastened into *Maeotia*, where he defeated them as they were returning home, and by that means put a speedy end to the war. He then appointed *Martius Turbo* governor of *Pannonia* and *Dacia*, and led his army into *Illyricum*, from whence he wrote to the senate, complaining of *Cornelius Palma*, *L. Publius Celsus*, *Domitius Nigrinus*, and *Lusius Quietus*, as if they had formed a conspiracy against him. They were all consulars, men of extraordinary parts, and had been greatly esteemed by *Trajan* : but nevertheless the senate, out of complaisance to the emperor, ordered them immediately to be put to death, without so much as acquainting them that they had been accused. As no one believed them guilty, their death drew the public hatred upon *Adrian*, who thereupon hastened back to *Rome*, where he openly declared, upon his oath, *That they had been executed against his will, and without his knowledge.* But this also was not believed by those who knew, that *Palma* and *Celsus* had always been his enemies, and that he was jealous of *Nigrinus* and *Quietus*, who were highly esteemed by the *Roman* people. Several other persons of great merit and distinction were likewise condemned, as privy to the other supposed conspiracy. These proceedings filled the whole city with dread and terror ; but having now got rid of those whom he chiefly feared, he calmed the minds of the people by shews, largefles, and an edict, forbidding any more to be accused or tried upon the law of lese-majesty. He would indeed have been glad to have had *Tatianus* also put to death ; for he was a man of an haughty temper, and assumed greater power than *Adrian* liked ; but not thinking it adviseable to spill more blood, he dissembled his hatred for the present, and persuaded him to exchange his command of the prætorian guards for a place in the senate, and the consular ornaments. *Martius Turbo* was put in his room, as was *Septicius* in that of *Similis*, who likewise resigned his command of the prætorians of his own accord, and retired from the city. This year the emperor went into *Campania*, where he relieved the poor inhabitants of all the cities thro' which he passed.

The

Four consulars put to death,

Adrian. The next year, *Adrian*, who used to say, *That an emperor ought to imitate the sun, which enlightens all the corners and regions of the earth*, set out with a design to visit all the provinces of the empire, and to examine the state of each of them, that he might not be obliged to depend entirely upon the accounts he received from his ministers and governors. In this progress he employed almost the whole remainder of his reign, that is, near seventeen years; most commonly travelling on foot, and always with his head bare, making no difference between the frozen summits of the *Alps*, and the scorching sands of *Egypt*. He went first into *Gaul*, where he visited the chief cities and forts, and signalized himself by his extraordinary bounties, relieving the poor wherever he passed. From *Gaul* he went into *Germany*, where he spent some time in reviewing and disciplining the flower of the *Roman* troops, then in that country. From *Germany* he returned to *Gaul*, and from thence passed over into *Britain*, where he built a prodigious wall, eighty miles in length, from the river *Eden* in *Cumberland* to the *Tine* in *Northumberland*, in order to secure the possessions of the *Romans* against the incursions of the warlike *Caledonians*, who, upon the departure of *Agricola*, had revolted, and recovered their ancient liberty. He there disgraced his secretary *Suetonius Tranquillus*, no doubt the historian, and *Septicius Clarus*, captain of the prætorian guards, for their disrespectful behaviour towards the empress *Sabina*.

Having settled the affairs of *Britain*, he returned to *Gaul*, and built at *Nismes* a magnificent edifice in honour of *Plotina*, *Trajan's* widow. The famous amphitheatre, of which the remains are still to be seen in that city, is likewise supposed to have been raised by him, or by his successor *Antoninus*. From *Gaul* he went into *Spain*; rebuilt at *Tarraco*, (now *Tarragona*) the temple which *Tiberius* had erected to *Augustus*, and held a general assembly of the states of *Spain*, in order to settle some differences which had arisen about the levying of recruits for the *Roman* armies. At *Tarraco* he was very near being killed by a slave, who assaulted him with a drawn sword, while he was walking in a garden. The slave was seized, and being found disordered in his senses, *Adrian* committed him to the care of his physicians. From *Spain* he returned to *Rome*, but did not stay there long; for, in the beginning of the following year, the third of his progress, he was at *Athens*, from whence he went into the east, where he prevented a war with the *Parthians*, by a conference with their king *Cosrboes*. The following year, he returned from the east through *Asia*, and visited *Cilicia*, *Lycia*, *Pamphylia*, *Cappadocia*, *Bithynia*, and *Phrygia*; ordering temples, squares, and other edifices to be built, at his expence, in most of the chief cities of those provinces. He likewise visited the islands of the *Archipelago*, arrived in *Achaia*

He nar-
rowly es-
capes be-
ing killed
in Spain.

Achaia in the beginning of the next year, and spent the remainder of it at *Athens*, where he was initiated in the rites of *Ceres* and *Proserpine*, called the *Eleusinian mysteries*. From *Athens*, after he had presided there at the public games, and bestowed innumerable favours upon the *Athenians*, he went to *Sicily*, out of curiosity to see the top of mount *Ætna*, and from thence returned to *Rome*, in the beginning of the following year. The two next years, the eleventh and twelfth of *Adrian's reign*, are quite barren of events. The next year, he re-built, at his own expence, the cities of *Nicomedia*, *Rebuilds Cæsarea*, and *Nicæa*, in *Bithynia*, which had been almost entirely destroyed by an earthquake. For this he was stiled *the Restorer of Bithynia*. In the thirteenth year of his reign he set out again upon a new progress, passing first into *Africa*, where, upon his arrival, it rained, after a five years drought, which, with the many favours he bestowed upon the inhabitants of that province, gained him the affections of all ranks of men. From *Africa* he returned to *Rome*, and there caused the obsequies of *Plotina*, to whom he owed the *Platina empire*, to be performed with the utmost pomp and magnificence. She died either while he was in *Africa*, or soon after his return from thence. He appeared for nine days in among the deep mourning for her, wrote an elegy in her praise, and gods: caused her to be ranked among the gods.

The next year *Adrian* built a magnificent temple at *Rome*, in honour of that city, and of the goddess *Venus*, which was called the *Temple of Rome*, and the *Temple of the fortune of Venus and Rome*. On account of this temple he changed the ancient name of the feast, which was kept yearly on the twenty-first of *April*, for the foundation of *Rome*, calling it *Romana*, instead of *Palilia*. This temple, and *Trajan's pillar*, were two of the things which the emperor *Constantius* admired most when he came to *Rome*. It was afterwards burnt by accident, and re-built by *Maxentius*. In the beginning of the fourteenth year of his reign he returned to *Asia*, where he consecrated several temples. In *Cappadocia*, he purchased a great number of slaves for the servile offices of the camp. He sent back to *Cosrhoes* his daughter, who had been taken prisoner by *Trajan*, and promised him his golden throne, but never gave it. He invited to a conference all the neighbouring kings, and loaded them with rich presents. From *Syria* he passed into *Palestine* and *Arabia*, and from thence into *Egypt*.

The next year, *Salvius Julianus*, one of the most learned civilians of his age, compiled, by the emperor's command, *petual & perpetual edict*, containing the substance of all the laws *dist.* which had been published by the *prætors*. It was called *perpetual*, because it was to continue in force for ever, to be as a body of standing laws, to prevent the great confusion occasioned by new *edicts*, and to serve as a rule in the administration of justice throughout the whole empire. *Adrian*

Adrian. continued in *Egypt* all this and the following year. He disliked the fickle and satirical temper of the *Egyptians* in general, and particularly of the *Alexandrians*. But, notwithstanding this, he repaired, at his own expence, their city, which had been almost intirely ruined by the *Romans*; restored them to their ancient privileges, which they had forfeited, and heaped many new favours upon them. The *Alexandrians* were very thankful for all this while he was among them; but the moment he was gone, they loaded him with virulent lampoons. From *Egypt* Adrian passed into *Lybia Cyrenaica*, where he killed with his own hand (for he took great delight in hunting) a lion of a monstrous size, which had committed great ravages in that country.

**Death of
Antinous.**

The death of *Antinous*, a beautiful youth, greatly beloved by *Adrian*, who was addicted to the most unnatural pleasures, happened during his stay in *Egypt*. The account which *Adrian* himself gave of his death was, that he fell accidentally into the *Nile*, as he was sailing on that river with him, and was drowned. But *Dion Cassius* assures us, that *Adrian*, who had great faith in magic, being made to believe, that he should prolong his life by sacrificing an human victim to the infernal gods, accepted of the tender which *Antinous* made him of his life, all the rest preferring their own safety to the emperor's. *Adrian* would rather have sacrificed his dearest friends; but no compulsion was to be used, and *Antinous* was the only person who would voluntarily lay down his life for him. *Adrian* bewailed him with all the tenderness of a woman lamenting the death of her husband. To allay in some measure his grief, he desired the *Greeks* to rank him among the gods, which they did accordingly; so that in a short time all the eastern provinces were filled with statues, temples, and chapels, consecrated to this new divinity.

**He is
ranked a-
mong the
gods.**

The following year *Adrian* left *Egypt*, and returned to *Syria*, where he staid this and the next year; and in the spring of the year after, having visited *Thrace* and *Macedon*, he set out in order to return to *Italy*, but staid a long time at *Athens*, during which the *Jews* revolted, provoked chiefly at his sending a *Roman* colony to *Jerusalem*; at his calling that city after the name of his family, *Ælia Capitolina*; and at his erecting a temple to *Jupiter Capitolinus* in the place where the ancient temple stood. But of this revolt, and the fatal consequences that attended it, we shall speak farther in a more proper place. About the same time, the *Alani*, or *Messagetae*, a people of *Sarmatia*, under the conduct of their king *Pharasmanes*, committed dreadful ravages in *Media*, entered *Armenia*, and penetrated into *Cappadocia*; but soon withdrew from thence, not caring to encounter *Flavius Arrianus*, governor of that province, who was prepared to meet them.

In

In the mean time, *Adrian* continued at *Athens*, being mightily taken with the customs and learning of the *Athenians*. He was there admitted to the great mysteries of *Eleusina*, different from those in which he had been initiated some years before. Having been created archon of *Athens* before he was emperor, he assumed the habit peculiar to that dignity, and, with the other magistrates, celebrated the great festival of *Bacchus*; on which occasion he distributed large sums of money, and an immense quantity of corn among the His gene-people. He embellished the city of *Athens* with a library of roſity to wonderful structure, and so many noble buildings of other the *Abbe-kinds*, that he was looked upon as the second founder of *nians*. that city, one quarter of which was from him called *Adriano-polis*. He likewise finished the magnificent temple of *Jupiter Olympus*, begun, according to *Philoſtratus*, five hundred and sixty years before. In this temple he dedicated an altar to himself; and he likewise suffered the *Greeks* to build a temple to him.

Adrian having now spent almost seventeen years in travel- He re-
ling into the several provinces of the empire, that is to say, turns to
almost over all the then known world, left *Athens*, and re-
turned at length to *Rome*, where he had not been long, when
ambassadors arrived from *Vologeses*, king of *Armenia*, with
complaints against *Pharasmanes*, king of *Iberia*; and from
the *Jazyges*, a people of *Sarmatia*, who were desirous to
have their ancient treaties with the people of *Rome* con-
firmed by the emperor. *Adrian* conducted them to the se-
nate, where their request was granted. *Pharasmanes* came
to *Rome* in person, with his wife and son, to anſwer the com-
plaints of *Vologeses*; bringing with him rich presents for
Adrian, who not only repaid them with others far more va-
luable, but likewise presented him with fifty elephants,
five hundred chosen men for his guard, enlarged his domi-
nions, and caused an equestrian ſtatue to be erected to
him.

Soon after this, *Adrian* fell into a lingering disorder, at- He falls
tended with frequent bleeding at the nose, which the physi- into a
cians of thoſe days ascribed to his going constantly with his lingering
head uncovered in all sorts of climes and weather. As he disease.
was advanced in years, the loss of blood was followed by a
dropſy, from which having no hopes of recovering, he be-
gan to think of naming a ſucceſſor. *Servianus*, who had
married his ſiſter; *Fuscus*, his own great nephew; *Pletorius*
Nepos, his ancient and intimate friend; and *Tirentius Gentianus*, a man greatly beloved and eſteemed by the ſenate, oc-
curred to him, as the moſt capable of the ſupreme power;
but neveɾtheleſs, neglecting them, nay, conceiving an irre-
concileable hatred of them, for no other reaſon but because
they were equal to the empire; contrary to the expeſtation of Adopts *L.*
all, and the advice of his friends, he made choice of *L. Com-modus*
modus Verus, who was indeed sprung from an illuſtrious fa- *Verus*,
mily,

Adrian. mily, and was endowed with many good qualities, but was judged rather not unfit for the empire, than equal to it. He was of a very weak constitution, and, at the same time, excessively debauched; nay, it was commonly thought, that the price of his adoption was his consenting to satisfy *Adrian's* infamous passion for him. This adoption occasioned great rejoicings in *Rome*, and *Adrian* treated the people with games in the *Circus*, and combats of gladiators, and distributed a considerable largess among them and the soldiery. *Verus* was created prætor a few days after, and sent to govern *Pannonia*, where he behaved remarkably well, but in who dies, less than a year was seized with a bloody flux, of which he and is died. His funeral was performed with the utmost pomp; ranked a- his ashes were deposited in the *mausoleum* which *Adrian* had mong the begun for himself, and he was, at the emperor's desire, rank- gods. ed among the gods, and statues and temples were erected to him in several cities.

Adrian In the mean time, *Adrian* retired to *Tibur*, (now *Tivoli*), retires to where, as *Tiberius* had done before at *Capreae*, he gave himself up to all manner of lewdness; and a bloody flux having soon after reduced him to a very low state, he abandoned where he himself to his natural cruelty, which he had restrained till abandons then, ordering many illustrious persons to be arraigned and himself to executed under various pretences, and others to be privately lewdness murdered. Among the former were his brother-in-law *Servianus*, and his great nephew *Fusus*, who, he pretended, and cruelty. had formed a design of seizing the empire. To palliate his cruelty, he used to lament the unfortunate condition of princes, who, he said, were never thought to be in danger till they were killed. He was some time in suspence whom

He adopts he should adopt in the room of *Verus*, but at last pitched *Titus An-* upon *Titus Antoninus*, on condition that he should adopt *M.* *Antoninus*. *Verus*, called afterwards *M. Aurelius*, and *L. Verus*, the son of the deceased prince of that name. Soon after

Death of this adoption, which displeased many, the empress *Sabina* death of the em- died, and was, by *Adrian's* order, ranked among the gods; pres *Sa-* though he had either poisoned her, or, by his ill usage, forced her to lay violent hands on herself.

Trajan's *Adrian* bore his illness a long time with firmness and im- patience; but at last, being tormented with violent pains in every joint of his body, and these, as well as the dropical humour, increasing daily, he grew quite furious, and in his rage put several senators to death, and ordered *Antoninus* to take care that some others, whom he named, were ex- illness. ecuted. But that good-natured prince warned them of their danger, and advised them to keep out of the way, which accordingly they did, and were saved. In the mean time, *Adrian*, racked with excruciating pains, wished for death to end his misery, and often called for a dagger and for poison, promising impunity, and offering a great reward to whoever should bring him either; but nobody would do it. Having

Adrian.

one day by chance found a dagger, he was going to stab himself with it, when one of his domestics wrested it out of his hand. He then commanded his chief physician to give him poison ; but this last chose rather to kill himself in his presence, than obey his command. In this condition *Adrian* removed He re-
to *Baiae* in *Campania* ; and there, neglecting the advice of his moves to physicians, and living without any rule, eating and drinking *Baiae*, whatever he liked best, hastened his death. Just before he where he expired, he composed and recited some remarkable lines, in- dies.quiring of his soul, *Whither it designed to go?* He died at *Baiae*, on the tenth of *July*, after having lived sixty-two years, five months, and seventeen days ; and reigned twenty years and eleven months, wanting one day. His body was burnt at *Puteoli*, and his ashes conveyed to *Rome*, and de- 138. posited in the magnificent mausoleum which he had built for himself.

Adrian's cruelties had provoked the public hatred to such a degree, that the senate were for annulling all his acts ; and, nate are at first, unanimously opposed *Antoninus*'s demanding for him for annulling his the same honours which had been decreed to former emper- ors : but on his remonstrating, that they could not condemn acts, but the memory of *Adrian* without annulling his adoption, and deify him degrading him from the empire ; the respect and veneration at the re- which they all had for him prevailed ; especially when they quest of saw a great number of persons appear, who were thought to have been murdered, but had been saved by *Antoninus* ; and *Antoninus*. divine worship was accordingly decreed a prince whom all abhorred. *Antoninus* built a magnificent temple to him at *Puteoli*, and instituted games, priests, and sacrifices, to his honour.

No prince, perhaps, ever raised so many public and pri- His build- vate edifices as *Adrian* ; for he built in most cities of any ings. note, especially at *Athens* ; and *Greece* was full of his edifices, bridges, and aqueducts ; of which, one of the most famous was that in *New Athens*, a city built entirely at his expence in the island of *Delos*: At *Rome*, he rebuilt the *Pantheon*, the temple of *Neptune*, the square of *Augustus*, the baths of *Agrippa*, and an infinite number of other edifices. His pa- lace at *Tivoli* was a stupendous structure, as appears by the remains of it now in the hands of the *Roman* Jesuits. He built a new bridge over the *Tiber*, now called the bridge of *Saint Angelo*, and near it his own mansoleum, which we have already spoken of, more like a castle than a tomb, and at present the only fortress of *Rome*, now called *Castel Sant'An- gelo*. *Carthage*, *Jerusalem*, two cities in *Spain* ; *Mursa*, now *Eszek*, in *Pannonia* ; *Stratonice*, in *Macedon* ; *Palmyra*, in *Sy- ria* ; and *Necocæsaræa*, in *Pontus*, for some time bore his name, and were either built, repaired, or peopled by him ; as were also, *Adrianopolis*, in *Thrace* ; *Adriane*, or *Adrianopolis*, in *Lybia Cyrenaica* ; *Antinopolis*, in *Egypt*, called also *Adriano-* polis ;

Adrian. *polis*; *Adrianothena*, in *Mysia*; and *Adriane*, in the same province.

His regulations, with respect to the army, the court, and the tribunals of justice, were still observed in the end of the fourth century. He was the first who employed the *Roman* knights in the quality of secretaries, and committed to them the care of his domestic affairs; other emperors having employed only their freedmen in such offices. The *Romans* had many private manufactures, or work-houses, where they kept great numbers of people, especially slaves, at work. These houses were like to many prisons, to which masters sent such of their slaves as had disengaged them, and even kept them there in chains. Many, to avoid being enlisted, or punished for their crimes, concealed themselves in these work-houses; the owners of which were likewise thought to seize passengers and strangers, slaves or freedmen, and shut them up, and make them work, without their being ever afterwards heard of. To remedy these abuses, *Adrian* suppressed all work-houses that did not belong to the emperor or the public.

His character.

Adrian was a man of most extraordinary parts, and had some great virtues, but alloyed with no less vices. He was endowed with a memory almost beyond belief. He could repeat by heart a whole book, however difficult and intricate the subject of it was, after having once read it: he knew the name of every soldier in the army, and remembered the names of all the old soldiers, who had ever served under him, though they had been long disbanded. He excelled in every branch of learning, and was, without comparison, the best orator, poet, grammarian, philosopher, and mathematician of his time; well skilled in physic, and acquainted with the virtues and properties of most herbs and minerals. He was an excellent painter, and the best musician of the age he lived in. He even applied himself to the study of judicial astrology and magic, in which he had far too much belief. He would, at the same time, write, dictate to several secretaries, give audience to his ministers, and discourse with them about affairs of the greatest importance; for no man was better acquainted with his domestic affairs, than he was with those of the whole empire. He was a great favourer of learned men, and his court was constantly crowded with philosophers, orators, poets, mathematicians, &c. for whom he always shewed a particular esteem, and took pleasure in disputing with them, and challenging the poets by extemporary verses, at which he had an extraordinary talent. Having one day excepted against an expression used by *Favonius*, that philosopher modestly yielded, though he might have produced sufficient authorities for his expression; which seeming strange to his friends, *Do you think*, said *Favonius* pleasantly, *that I will pretend to be more learned than one who has thirty legions at his beck?*

The

The beginning of his reign afforded many instances of his clemency and good-nature; but he afterwards caused several persons to be unjustly put to death: whence some writers extol him as a most merciful prince, whilst others represent him as naturally inclined to cruelty, but often forgiving injuries through fear of suffering the fate of *Caligula*, *Nero*, and *Domitian*. *Tatianus* advising him to put to death three persons, who, he said, would not fail to raise disturbances, and of whom two had actually conspired against him: Adrian answered, That it would be highly unjust to punish any one for a crime which he was only likely to commit. He freely forgave those who had injured him while he was a private person; and one day meeting one of them after he was emperor, he told him, That he had escaped by his promotion to the empire. He allowed every one free access to him, and seemed never better pleased than when they spoke to him freely, or admonished him of his faults. He was courteous and affable to all, conversed familiarly with his friends, and visited them, nay even his freedmen, when indisposed, twice or thrice a day, comforting them in their sickness, and assisting them with his counsels. He was assiduous and impartial in the administration of justice, had always an high respect for the senate and magistrates, and narrowly inquired into the conduct and behaviour of his ministers, discharging them when guilty of the least misdemeanor. He allowed his freedmen no power; and such as pretended to have any, in order to gain by that means wealth or credit, he punished with the utmost severity. He was an enemy to all pomp and parade, would never suffer the senate to attend him but upon business, and, out of *Rome*, laid aside the state of an emperor. His liberality knew no bounds; and, where-ever he went he left behind him marks of a magnificence truly great and princely. He is said never to have seized unjustly the property of any man; nor would he ever receive legacies left him by persons he did not know, or by such of his friends as had children. He revived and restored the ancient military discipline, which had been decaying ever since the time of *Augustus*.

He is generally blamed by the ancients as too inquisitive, and prying into every one's secrets, though they no way concerned him; as addicted to the most infamous pleasures, and abandoned to all manner of superstition; which was the chief cause of his persecuting the *Christians*, whom he looked upon as enemies to his gods. He gave ear to flanderers, and believed every tale they told him, even against his best friends; to which was owing, that all those whom he had most favoured, and raised to the highest honours, were in the end disgraced, treated by him as enemies, and either put to death or banished. He took great delight in hunting, and loved his dogs to such a degree, that he built them tombs, and wrote himself their epitaphs. He was the first emperor who let his beard grow, to cover some scars

Adrian. which disfigured that part of his face. Upon the whole, he was endowed with great virtues, which were strangely allied with as great vices; but in his government and administration he was admirable, and the empire received vast advantages from his establishments, which produced a peace and security far more lasting than could have been expected from so degenerate a republic.

Among the writers who flourished at this time, we must reckon *Adrian* himself; for he published several works both in prose and verse. Of the philosophers, *Epicetetus* was by far the most renowned. *Plutarch*, *Suetonius*, *Florus*, *Arrian*, *Philo*, &c. graced his reign.

A N T O N I N U S P I U S.

Antoninus *TITUS ANTONINUS*, who succeeded *Adrian*, was surnamed born at *Nismes* in *Languedoc*, of a very ancient family, but the *Pious*. not distinguished early with preferments at *Rome*; his grandfather *Titus Aurelius Fulvus*, being the first consul of the *Aurelian* family, which was that of *Antoninus*. His father was likewise honoured with that dignity, and universally esteemed on account of his extraordinary accomplishments and integrity.

We know so little of the actions of this great prince, *Julius Capitolinus*, who wrote his life, being but a very indifferent historian; and what *Dion Cassius* said of him being lost long since; that we can only give a general idea of his reign.

His engaging behaviour towards all his relations, even from his infancy, induced many of them to leave him their estates; by which means he became extremely rich. He discharged the offices of *quaestor*, *prætor*, and *consul*, with great reputation. *Adrian*, before he adopted him, made him one of his council, and transacted nothing without his advice. Upon the death of that prince he was immediately declared emperor, without the least opposition. He was then turned of his fiftieth year.

His first care was to free all those whom *Adrian* had condemned in his last sickness, and not executed; declaring that *Adrian* would have done the same, if he had recovered. This, together with his obtaining for that prince the same honours which had been conferred upon the very best of emperors, and his continuing all the magistrates and officers in their former stations, was what, according to some writers, made the senate decree him the glorious surname of *Pius*. Others think that this title was given him for the great care he took of his aged father-in-law; and others again say, it was in reward

ward for his natural sweetness of temper, and the extraordinary respect he shewed on all occasions for religion and its ministers, *Pausanius* thinks he deserved not only this title, but likewise that which was given to *Cyrus*; namely, *the father of mankind*; in consideration of his paternal care of all men. He was likewise honoured with the title of *Augustus*, and of *high pontiff*; and his wife *Faustina*, with that of *Augusta*. He refused many other honours which the senate offered him; and, among the rest, the title of *father of his country*; which, however, he accepted the following year.

He was no sooner seated on the throne, than he lessened most of the imposts and tributes, and strictly enjoined his receivers to levy them without any rigour; saying, *That he had rather be poor, than have his coffers filled at the expence of an oppressed people.* He disposed of the greatest part of his private estate, which was very great, in favour of indigent citizens; and when the empress *Faustina* repined at his generosity, he told her, *That a prince ought to have no private interest, no private property, nor any thing in view but the public welfare.* He suppressed several pensions which *Adrian* had granted to useless persons; saying, *That he could not bear to see the state devoured by those who were of no service to it, but lived in idleness upon the labours of others.*

In the second year of his reign, he married his daughter *Marries Annia Faustina* to *M. Aurelius*, whom he created *Cæsar*. *Faustina* About the same time one *Celsus* revolted in *Dacia*, or *Germany*: to *M. Au-* but all we know of this affair, is, that the empress was *relius*. greatly displeased with *Antoninus*'s clemency towards his enemies. Soon after, *Faustina* died; and, notwithstanding the dissolute life she had led, was ranked among the gods, and honoured with divine worship, temples, sacrifices, statues of gold and silver, &c. The emperor was not unacquainted with her irregular conduct, but did all he could to keep her disorders concealed from the public.

The next year the *Brigantes* in *Britain* revolted, but were soon reduced by *Lollius Urbicus*, governor of that province, *gantes re-* who deprived them of great part of their country, subdued *volt*, and the more northern nations, and built a new wall between the *are re-**Firths of Forth and Clyde*. For the victories gained by *Lol-*duced. *lius, Antoninus* was honoured with the surname of *Britannicus*. The following year, *Antoninus* gave the manly robe to *Lucius Verus*, whom he had adopted at the request of *Adrian*, and who was now entered into the fifteenth year of his age. On this occasion, he assumed the consulship for the fourth time; *M. Aurelius Cæsar*, the second time consul, being his colleague. Shortly after this, some disturbances were raised in *Germany* and *Dacia*; but were soon suppressed by the governors of those provinces. The *Alani* too, attempting to invade the *Roman* territories, were driven back into their own country.

Antoninus *Antoninus*, highly pleased with the conduct of *M. Aurelius*, invested him with the tribunitian and proconsular power; consulted him in all affairs of moment, often followed his advice, and suffered him to govern as if he had been his partner in the sovereignty: but as the conduct of *L. Verus* was very different from that of *M. Aurelius*, the emperor treated him in quite another manner; neither giving him the title of *Cæsar*, or any other peculiar to the apparent heir of the empire.

L. Verus. Several of the following years of *Antoninus*'s reign are barren of events, and afford nothing remarkable, unless it be the extraordinary union of the consuls of one of these years, *Quintilius Condianus*, and *Quintilius Maximus*. They were brothers, both very learned, both rich, and both experienced in civil and military affairs. They acted on all occasions as if they had not been two, but one person. They governed the provinces together, the one being lieutenant to the other; were consuls together; wrote to the emperor, received answers, judged causes, published books, in common; and were in the end unjustly condemned and executed together by order of the emperor *Commodus*.

He stops the persecution against the Christians In the fifteenth year of *Antoninus*'s reign, *Justin Martyr* published his first apology for the *Christians*, and presented it to the emperor, to his adopted sons, and to the senate. The emperor was so moved by it, and by the informations which he received from other quarters, that he wrote a letter to the whole province of *Asia*, in favour of the distressed *Christians*, concluding it with these words: *If any one, for the future, shall molest the Christians, and accuse them, merely on account of their religion; let the person who is arraigned be discharged, though he is found to be a Christian, and the accuser be punished according to the rigour of the law.* At the same time he wrote in behalf of the *Christians* to the *Athenians*, *Thessalians*, *Larissians*, and all the *Greeks*. These letters put a stop to the persecution for the present; but it broke out anew under his successor *M. Aurelius*.

Several calamities Year of Rome 903. In the following year, the *Tiber*, overflowing its banks, laid the lower part of *Rome* under water. The inundation was followed by a fire, which consumed part of the city; and a famine, which swept off great numbers of its inhabitants, notwithstanding all the care which the good-natured emperor took to have corn brought from even the most distant provinces. The same year the cities of *Narbone* in *Gaul*, and *Antioch* in *Syria*, and the principal square at *Carthage*, were greatly hurt by fire; but *Antoninus* soon restored them to their former condition. This year *L. Verus* discharged the office of *quaestor*, and the following year he was raised to the *consulship*. The year after, the cities of *Cos* and *Rhodes*, with several others in *Lycia* and *Caria*, were overturned by an earthquake: but *Antoninus* restored them to their former lustre, and made good the losses of the inhabitants.

The remaining years of this emperor's reign are quite *Antoninus* barren of events. In the last of it, *M. Aurelius Cæsar*, the third time, and *L. Verus*, the second, were consuls; when *Antoninus* was seized with a violent fever at *Lorium*, one of his country-seats, which put an end to his life on the seventh of *March*, after he had lived seventy-three years, five months, and fifteen or seventeen days; and reigned twenty-two years, seven months, and twenty-six days. When he found death approaching, he sent for the captains of the prætorian guards, and the chief officers of the court, and in their presence confirmed the adoption of *M. Aurclius*, and recommended the empire to him, without taking the least notice of *Lucius Verus*. He then ordered the golden image of *Fortune*, which always stood in the emperor's bed-chamber, to be removed to that of *M. Aurclius*. He left his paternal estate to his daughter, and legacies to all his friends and domestics; and, though he died in an advanced age, he was as much lamented by all his subjects, as if he had been snatched off in the bloom of his youth. His remains were deposited in the stately mausoleum of his predecessor *Adrian*, and the ranked senate ranked him among the gods, and decreed him a temple, among the priests, sacrifices, and annual games. He is of Christ 163.

Antoninus is justly extolled by all the ancients for his many virtues. He was naturally of a sweet mild temper, ever inclined to mercy, even to the most wicked. He was affable and obliging to all, and easy of access even to the meanest of his subjects, especially if they came with any just complaint against his officers or ministers. He was an utter enemy to all pomp and ostentation. His accession to the empire made no alteration in him. His table was rich, without extravagance; and frugal, without meanness. He never courted the favour of the people, but seemed rather to despise popular applause. He never flattered others, nor suffered any one to flatter him. His observance of the laws and ceremonies of the *Romans*, was very strict and sincere; and his behaviour at all public acts of religion, such as shewed a profound respect for the Deity. As he never admitted any to his friendship till he knew them well, he was unalterably constant in his attachment. During his whole reign of three and twenty years, he is said never to have done any one thing that favoured of cruelty, or ill nature, or that could give the least just motive of offence to any person; nor ever to have removed such as discharged their office to the satisfaction of the people, unless they themselves desired it. He was unboundedly generous with his own money, but sparing of that of the public: whence, at his death, his private coffers were found empty, but the Exchequer full. He avoided war as much as possible, and was often heard to say, *That he had rather save one citizen, than destroy a thousand enemies*.

Among the writers who flourished under this prince, were *Justin*, the historian, *Appian*, and *Ptolemy* the astrologer.

MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS.

*Marcus
Aurelius
Antoninus.*

*His ex-
traction,*

THE reign of *Marcus Aurelius* is, by the ancients, commonly called the golden age; for this prince made good the saying of *Plato*, which he often repeated, *That states would be happy when princes were philosophers*. He was of the Annian family, which some writers derive from *Numa Pompilius*, the second king of *Rome*. His grandfather, originally of the province of *Boetica* in *Spain*, was the first *Roman* senator of this family. His father was raised to the rank of a patrician by *Vespasian*, made governor of *Rome*, and twice honoured with the consulship. His mother was *Domitia Calvilla*, or *Lucilla*, the daughter of *Caius Julius Tullus*, who had also been twice consul. *Aurelius* was born in *Rome*, during his grandfather's second consulship, in the year of *Christ* 121. His first name was *Catilius Severus*, which was that of his mother's grandfather: but his father dying, he was adopted by his grandfather *M. Annius Verus*, and took his name. When he was adopted by the name of *Antoninus*, he took the name of *Ælius Aurelius Verus*, the name of *Aurelius* being peculiar to the family of *Antonius*, and that of *Ælius* to the family of *Adrian*, into which *Antoninus* had been adopted. Upon his accession to the empire, he laid aside the name of *Verus*, and took that of *Antoninus*; without which, *Julius Capitolinus* tells us, *That neither the people nor soldiery could, for upwards of an hundred years, look upon any one as truly emperor; so great was their veneration for Antoninus Pius*. But historians generally distinguish him from his predecessor, either by the praenome of *Marcus*, or the surname of *Philosophus*.

*and edu-
cation.*

He was brought up with great care by the emperor *Adrian*, in his palace, under the greatest men of that age in every branch of literature: and we are told that *Adrian* would have adopted him, had he not been too young. He studied philosophy under the celebrated *Sceptist Sextus of Chaeronea*, *Plutarch's* nephew, and other masters; eloquence under *Herodius Atticus*, and *M. Cornelius Fronto*; and the law under *L. Volusius Metianus*, the most learned civilian of that age. *M. Aurelius* is said to have excelled in all these branches of learning; but his favourite study was philosophy, and particularly that of the stoics, among whom he entered himself when he was but twelve years old; wore their habit, and practised all their austeries; lying on the ground, fasting, and abstaining from several meats. His respect and veneration for those who had instructed him, was so great, even after he was emperor, that he raised *Junius Rusticus*, who was one of them, twice to the consulship, and prevailed on the senate to erect him a statue. He shewed no less regard for his other preceptors, setting up their images in gold in his closet, visiting

ing their sepulchres, and adorning them with flowers. Tho' *Aurelius.*
 he was naturally of a strong constitution, he impaired his
 health by his close application to study, and the austeries
 which he practised, to such a degree, that he became very
 feeble and infirm: his stomach, in particular, was greatly
 weakened by fasting; to remedy which, he used to take
 every day a preparation of treacle, made up by the celebrated
Galen. However, as he led a very regular life, he lived al-
 most to the age of sixty, applying himself all that while to
 busines with greater assiduity than any of his predecessors had
 done. He had an aversion to all public shews and diversions,
 being naturally grave and serious: but out of complaisance to
 the people he now and then appeared at them; but would
 read, write, or talk to his ministers about busines all the
 while. When he was but sixteen, he made a present of his
 paternal estate to his sister; saying, *That his grandfather's was*
enough for him. *Adrian,* as we have observed, adopted *An-*
toninus Pius on condition that he shoud adopt *M. Aurelius,*
 then eighteen years old; and *L. Commodus,* who was only in
 the seventh or eighth year of his age. At the same time *Adrian*
 appointed *M. Aurelius* quæstor for the ensuing year; and after
 the death of that emperor, *Antoninus* gave him in marriage
 his daughter *Annia Faustina.*

Upon the death of *Antoninus*, who had declared *M. Aure-* Is made
lius his successor, the senate insisted that this last should take emperor.
 upon him the sovereignty; but took no sort of notice of *L.*
Verus, who was likewise *Antoninus*'s son by adoption, but en-
 tirely abandoned to all manner of debauchery, and more in-
 clined to tread in the steps of *Nero* and *Caligula*, than to imi-
 tate the virtues of *Antoninus* and *Aurelius*. *Antoninus*, who
 saw this, had not so much as given him the title of *Cæsar*.
 However, *M. Aurelius* immediately declared him not only Declares
Cæsar, but *Augustus*, and his partner in the empire; so that *L. Verus*
Rome now saw herself, for the first time, governed by two his partner
 sovereigns at once. They were both consuls together this in the sove-
 year, and *Aurelius* gave *Lucius* the name of *Verus* instead of reignty.
Commodus, and assumed himself that of *Antoninus*. The two
 emperors governed with great mildness and unity, and their
 administration was such that none had occasion to repent the
 los of *Antoninus*. To render this union the more lasting,
Aurelius betrothed his daughter to *L. Verus*; and on that
 occasion, great addition was made to the number of children
 who were supplied with corn at the public expence.

The happiness which *Rome* and the whole empire enjoyed The hap-
 under these two sovereigns, was interrupted in the beginning pines of
 of the following year by a dreadful inundation of the *Tiber*, the empire
 which destroyed a great part of *Rome*, carried away vast interrupt-
 numbers of people and cattle, and laid the neighbouring ed by ma-
 country under water to a considerable distance. This inun- ny cala-
 dation was followed by earthquakes and conflagrations in mities.
 several

Aurelius. several provinces, and a general infection of the air, which produced such numbers of insects, that what the flood had spared was devoured by them, and a pestilential disorder and famine ensued in *Rome*. The emperors did what they could to alleviate these calamities, ordering corn from all parts, and making good the losses of individuals as far as in their power. At the same time, the *Parthians* declared war, the *Catti* made irruptions into *Germany* and *Rhætia*, and the *Britons* began to revolt. *Calpurnius Agricola* was sent against these last, and *Avidius Victorinus* against the *Catti*: but what success they had, we know not. *L. Verus* marched in person against the *Parthians*, whilst *Aurelius* staid at *Rome*. Great disturbances happened likewise at the same time in *Armenia*, occasioned probably by *Vologeses*, the son of *Cosyhoes*, king of the *Parthians*. *Severinus*, governor of *Cappadocia*, having entered *Armenia* at the head of several legions, was there attacked by the *Parthians*, and cut off, with all his army, not a single man escaping the general slaughter.

L. Verus marched against them. *Vologeses*, elated with this victory, entered *Syria*, and committed dreadful ravages there, and in *Cappadocia*, which he likewise invaded, after having defeated *Cornelianus*, who commanded in *Syria*. *Aurelius* hoped that a military life would give his colleague *Verus* a distaste to the idle amusements and debaucheries of the town, and for that reason chiefly sent him against the *Parthians*. But *Verus* had proceeded no farther than *Canosa* when he was seized with a violent distemper, occasioned by his debaucheries on the road; and when he recovered of it, though he pursued his journey, passing over into *Greece*, and from thence into *Asia*, *Pamphylia*, and *Cilicia*, yet he stopped at every place upon the road that could afford him any diversion; and arriving in *Syria* when the year was far spent, he took up his abode at *Antioch*, and there abandoned himself to all manner of lewdness; while *S. Priscus*, *A. Caius*, *M. Verus*, *Saturnius*, *Fronto*, and *Tatianus*, who commanded under him, and were all men of great experience, carried on the war. All we know of this war, is, that, though it lasted four years, the emperor *Verus* never quitted his pleasures to appear, even once, at the head of his army, which consisted of the flower of the Roman troops; that his lieutenants performed great exploits in *Armenia*, *Syria*, *Mesopotamia*, *Media*, and upon the banks of the *Tigris*; that they besieged *Edesa*; gained many signal victories; and gave the *Parthians* a total overthrow at *Europa*, a city of *Syria*, on the *Euphrates*.

They are totally defeated.

Whilst *L. Verus* wallowed in debauchery at *Antioch*, *Aurelius*, by his own example, and several wholesome laws, endeavoured to reform the manners of the *Romans*, and to reclaim the vicious by gentleness, rather than severity. The people now enjoyed all the blessings of liberty, and were, in fact, as free under him, as their ancestors had been in the best

best times of the republic. He paid a greater deference to *Aurelius*.
the senate than even *Antoninus* had done, referring to them
the decision of causes which belonged to his own tribunal,
and undertaking nothing without their approbation, saying,
That it was more reasonable for him to follow the advice of so many wise men, than for so many wise men to follow his. He ne-
ver failed attending the senate, delivering his opinion there
like a private senator. He administered justice in person,
with great assiduity and impartiality; heard with patience
all complaints against his ministers; and, so far as was con-
sistent with equity, sent no one away dissatisfied. He suf-
fered no criminal to be condemned or executed, till he him-
self had examined the charge with great attention, and heard
what the accused could say in his defence. He was natu-
rally merciful, but punished enormous crimes with great
severity. The instances of his clemency are innumerable;
but those of his severity very few.

The next year, *Verus*'s lieutenants reduced *Armenia*, and *Armenia*
reduced.
restored that kingdom to *Sohemus*, who, upon his being ex-
pelled by *Vologeses*, had retired to *Rome*, where he had been
made a senator, and honoured with the consulship. For
this conquest, the title of *Armenicus* was decreed to both the
emperors, who likewise assumed that of *Imperator*. The
following year, *M. Aurelius* sent his daughter *Lucilla* into
Syria, to be married there to *L. Verus*, to whom she had
been betrothed for some time. The year after this, *Vologeses*
having attacked the *Romans*, at the head of a numerous ar-
my, was intirely defeated by *Verus*'s lieutenant *Cassius*, who,
pursuing his victory, advanced to *Ctesiphon*, the capital of
Parthia, took that city, laid the palace of the *Parthian* mo-
narchs in ashes, and made himself master of *Edeffa*, *Babylon*,
and all *Media*. The city of *Seleucia* on the *Tigris* opened its
gates to him, and received the *Romans* as friends: but ne-
verthelefs *Cassius* ordered the inhabitants, to the number of
four hundred thousand souls, to be massacred, and the city
to be utterly demolished. For these successes the senate
bestowed on *L. Verus*, though he had never stirred from *thians ut-*
Antioch, the glorious title of *Conqueror of the Parthians and terly de-*
Medes. The next year, *L. Verus* returned to *Rome*, and feasted.
entered the city in triumph, with *M. Aurelius*, who took
his children with him in the triumphal chariot. The title
of *Parthicus* was decreed to both emperors, and both assumed
that of *Father of their country*. *L. Verus* begged that the title
of *Cæsar* might be conferred on *Commodus* and *Annius Verus*,
the two sons of *M. Aurelius*, which was accordingly done.

The return of *L. Verus* proved fatal to the whole world; A general
for he carried the plague into all the provinces thro' which plague,
he passed; so that the infection spread not only over all *Ita-*
ly, but extended to the most distant countries which had any earth-
communication with the *Romans*. The plague was followed quakes,
by a dreadful famine, earthquakes, inundations, and other *&c.*
calamities;

Aurelius. calamities ; and at the same time the *Marcomanni*, one of the most warlike nations in *Germany*, having drawn into their alliance the *Sarmatians*, *Suevians*, *Quadi*, *Hermonduri*, *Narisci*, *Victovali*, *Roxolani*, *Basternæ*, *Costoboci*, *Alani*, *Vandalī*, *Jazyges*, and all the other barbarous nations which bordered on the *Roman* dominions, from *Gaul* to *Illyricum*, invaded the empire. This war, which the historians of those times call one of the greatest that *Rome* ever sustained, was

Both emperors take the field. judged to be of such importance, that both emperors, after having offered innumerable sacrifices to the gods, and implored their assistance by all sorts of ceremonies, hastened to *Aquileia*, to make the necessary preparations, and early the next spring took the field. The enemy, struck with terror at their approach, re-passed the *Danube*, put to death the authors of the war, and sent ambassadors to the emperors to make their submissions, and ask pardon for having disturbed the peace of the empire. *Verus*, who had quitted the diversions of the city with great regret, was thereupon for returning immediately to *Rome*; but *Aurelius*, suspecting the sincerity of the barbarians, would not agree to that till he had fortified *Aquileia* with new works, and provided with great care for the safety of *Italy* and *Illyricum*. *Aurelius* judged rightly; for the very next year the war broke out again, and the *Romans* gained a signal victory over the *Marcomanni*, *Quadi*, *Sarmatians*, and *Dacians*; and the year after, the *German* nations in general took the field with such numerous forces, that both emperors left *Rome*, and returned to *Aquileia*, in the very depth of winter, with a design to attack the enemy early in the spring: but the plague beginning to rage there with great violence, they thought it adviseable to hasten back to the metropolis. As they were on

L. Verus dies. the road in the same coach, *L. Verus* was seized with an apoplexy, near *Altinum*, and died three days after, having

Year of Rome 919. His body was conveyed to Rome, where Aurelius caused it to be interred with great pomp, and prevailed upon the senate to rank him among the gods.

Aurelius, now sole emperor, applied all his thoughts to the carrying on of the war against the *Marcomanni*; and we find that his lieutenants gained some advantages over that formidable enemy in the very beginning of the next year; for he took the title of *Imperator* soon after the death of *Verus*. However, the *Marcomanni* soon returned to the charge, and falling upon a detachment commanded by *Vindex*, captain of the *prætorian* guards, cut him and most of his men to pieces. After this, they approached the *Roman* territories, where they were met by the flower of the troops of the empire, and a bloody battle ensued, in which these last were intirely defeated, and put to flight, after having lost twenty thousand men. The barbarians pursued them to the very walls of *Aquileia*, and entered *Italy* itself, destroying all

all with fire and sword, and committing every where dreadful devastations. As the plague, which still raged in most parts of the empire, had greatly weakened the army ; slaves, gladiators, and all sorts of people were admitted among the troops, and *Aurelius* even prevailed upon some mercenary Germans to serve against their countrymen. By this means a considerable army was soon raised ; but as money was wanting to pay them, and defray the other charges of so dangerous a war, *Aurelius*, rather than burthen his people with new taxes, exposed to public sale the furniture of the palace, the gold and silver plate, pictures, and statues belonging to the crown, and even his wife's robes and jewels. The sale lasted two months, and produced such an immense sum, as enabled the emperor not only to bear the vast expense of this war for five years, but also to relieve the people with an extraordinary largess, at a time when provisions were exceeding dear. Just before *Aurelius* left Rome, he lost his second son *Annius Verus Cæsar*, who died in the seventeenth year of his age : and about this time he married his daughter *Lucilla*, the widow of *Verus*, to *Claudius Pompeianus*, who was originally of *Antioch*, and the son of a private Roman knight, but a person of extraordinary merit, wisdom, and integrity, which the emperor ever preferred to wealth and nobility.

The account which the ancients have left us of this war with the *Marcomanni* and their allies, is very succinct and confused. The barbarians, say they, laid waste several provinces of the empire, and defeated great armies. The *Marcomanni* and the *Vandals* made themselves masters of *Pannonia*. The *Cæstobochi* over-ran *Greece*, and advanced as far as *Elatea*, a city of *Phocis*, committing horrid ravages every where. However, they were at length overcome by *Aurelius*, who, during the whole of this bloody and destructive war, gave innumerable instances of the greatest prudence and intrepidity. The *Marcomanni*, *Quadi*, *Sarmatians*, and *Vandals*, were forced to abandon *Pannonia*, and retire beyond the *Danube*, after being terribly defeated. The *Jazyges* too were defeated twice ; first in *Pannonia*, and the second time as they were crossing the *Danube* on the ice. *Pompeianus*, the emperor's son-in-law, who commanded a body of troops, desired to have *Pertinax* joined in the commission with him : *Aurelius* readily complied with his request, though he had, not long before, upon some complaints, deprived *Pertinax* of an employment which he had in *Dacia*. *Pertinax* behaved so well in his new commission, that the emperor admitted him into the senate ; and finding afterwards that the complaints against him were groundless, raised to repair the injury he had done him, he honoured him with the consular ornaments, and appointed him governor of *Iar* dignified *Rhætia* and *Noricum*, from whence he drove the *Ger-* ty.

mans,

Aurelius. mans, who had broken into that province, for which he was raised to the consular dignity.

While the *Romans* were still engaged in the war with the *Marcomanni*, another broke out in *Egypt*, the robbers and shepherds of that country, who were very numerous, having taken up arms, at the instigation of their priests, and committing dreadful disorders. They were headed by one *Isidorus*, a man of great resolution and intrepidity; and being joined by great numbers of *Egyptians* from all parts, they defeated the *Romans* in a pitched battle, over-ran the whole country, and would have made themselves masters of *Alexandria* itself, had not *Cassius*, the same who had signalized himself in the *Parthian* and *German* wars, found means artfully to sow divisions among them, by which he at last obliged them to lay down their arms. *Cassius* then marched into *Armenia* and *Arabia*, where he performed great exploits; but the particulars of them have not reached us. At the same time, the *Moors* over-ran the greatest part of *Spain*, and committed horrid ravages in that country: but at length they were driven out by *Aurelius*'s lieutenants. *Severus*, who was afterwards made emperor, was at that time *quaestor* of the province of *Bætica*.

Aurelius and his army in great danger.

In this war with the *Marcomanni*, *Aurelius* very narrowly escaped being cut off with his whole army. The enemy, who were posted on the other side of the river *Gran*, in the country of the *Quadi*, beyond the *Danube*, galled the *Romans*, by means of their archers and slingers, to such a degree, that the emperor thought it adviseable to pass the river and dislodge them; which was accordingly done, with great slaughter on both sides. The *Marcomanni* retiring, drew the *Romans*, who advanced with more courage than caution, into a defile, among barren mountains, quite destitute of water. The *Romans*, closing their ranks, defended themselves with great bravery, and repulsed the enemy, who thereupon gave over the attack, seized the avenues, and blocked them up on all sides. Thus pent up, wearied with fatigue, spent with their wounds, exposed to the burning heat of the sun, and tormented with excessive thirst, they made several attempts to open themselves a way through the midst of the enemy, but in vain. In this distressful situation, *Aurelius*, more affected with the sufferings of his men, than his own, flew through all the ranks, endeavouring to comfort them, and rouse their courage: but officers, as well as soldiers, began to abandon themselves to absolute despair, and looked upon themselves as irretrievably lost;

Is saved by a shower of rain and a great storm.

when, on a sudden, clouds gathered in the air, the sky was overcast, and, to their inexpressible joy, rain fell in great plenty, which the fainting soldiers received, holding their mouths, helmets, and bucklers up to heaven, as they are represented on the famous pillar of *Antoninus* at *Rome*. In this

this posture the barbarians fell upon them ; and, as they were more eager to quench their thirst, than to repulse the enemy, they must all have been cut in pieces, had it not been for a violent storm of hail, attended with prodigious thunder and lightning, which discharged itself upon the barbarians as they advanced against the *Romans*, who, now somewhat refreshed, attacked them with such fury, that they cut in pieces all who resisted them, put the rest to flight, and took great numbers of prisoners. These circumstances seem to us sufficiently wonderful, without heightening the description of this battle, as almost all historians have done, so as to make an absolute miracle of it, by saying, That if any of the fire chanced to fall upon the *Romans*, it did not burn, or even seem hot to them, and was immediately extinguished ; and that the rain which fell upon the barbarians was so far from overcoming the flames which consumed them, that, on the contrary, it doubled their violence, as if it had not been water, but oil. For this victory *Aurelius* was proclaimed emperor the seventh time, and the empress *Faustina* was honoured by the senate with the title of *Mater Castrorum*, or *The mother of armies*. Notwithstanding this great loss, the barbarians continued the war above a year longer, till at last, quite overpowered by *Aurelius*, who would have reduced the countries of the *Marcomanni* and *Sarmatians* to *Roman* provinces, had he not been interrupted by the revolt of *Cassius*, they resolved to abandon their native soil, and settle elsewhere. *Aurelius*, being informed of their design, prevented them from putting it in execution, laid waste their fields, and cut off their communication with the neighbouring nations ; so that famine soon constrained them to sue for peace. It was granted to the *Quadi*, who, with their ambassadors, sent back all the Roman deserters, and thirteen thousand prisoners, whom they had taken during the war : but they soon broke it, joined with the *Marcomanni*, *Jazyges*, *Buri*, *Narisci*, and several other nations, of whom we find no farther mention in history, and attacked the *Romans*, by whom they were again entirely defeated. After this victory, most of the German nations sent ambassadors, offering to submit on such terms as the conqueror should think fit to impose upon them. The *Marcomanni* were ordered not to settle within five miles of the *Danube* ; and the *Jazyges* were to retire still farther from that river. These last, who were a very powerful and warlike people, had taken above an hundred thousand prisoners in this war, whom they now set at liberty, and likewise furnished *Aurelius* with a body of eighty thousand horsemen, of whom he immediately sent five thousand into *Britain*, where the *Romans* were threatened with a new war. The *Buri*, *Narisci*, and other German nations, obtained a peace upon easier terms than they would have done, had not the emperor been in haste to quell the revolt of *Cassius*. The *Quadi*,

Aurelius. Quadi alone seem to have continued in arms till the reign
of *Commodus*.

Avidius Cassius, who, as we observed before, had distinguished himself greatly in the wars against the *Parthians* and *Sarmatians*, was, at the time of his revolt, governor of *Syria*. Taking advantage of *Aurelius's* being fully employed in the *Marcomannic* war, and, it is said, of a report which was spread of that emperor's death, he caused himself to be proclaimed in his room, and soon became master of all the countries beyond mount *Taurus*, and of *Egypt* itself, the governor of which declared in his favour. Several foreign princes and nations espoused his cause, but none with more ardour than the *Jews*. *M. Verus*, governor of *Cappadocia*, was the first who informed the emperor of this revolt. *Aurelius* concealed it for some time; but when he found it divulged by public fame, he acquainted his soldiers with it in a very judicious and modest speech, only complaining of the ungrateful return which *Cassius* made him for the kindness he ever had, and should ever have for him, notwithstanding his revolt, as he hoped to shew, as soon as he had brought him to a sense of his duty. Nor did *Cassius*, on his side, utter any injurious reflections against *Aurelius*; but only charged him with neglecting the most important affairs of the state, to attend to the study of philosophy, and with suffering, through an excess of goodness, many disorders which it was incumbent upon him, as emperor, to correct.

Aurelius, having terminated the war with the *German* nations, as we have related above, set out for *Illyricum*, with a design to pursue his march from thence into the East, and meet *Cassius*, declaring, *That he was ready to resign the empire to him, if it should be thought expedient for the public good, which alone was what induced him to sustain so many daily toils and incessant labours*. But he was not advanced far on his march, when news was brought him, that *Cassius* had been killed by some of his own men: and when the rebel's head was brought him soon after, he expressed great sorrow, turned his eyes away, and caused it to be honourably interred, complaining, that he had been robbed of an opportunity of

Aurelius's shewing his mercy. *Aurelius* himself would neither try, imprison, nor condemn, any senator concerned in this affair, but referred the whole to the senate, at the same time requesting of them, for their honour, said he, as well as his, that no senator or person of distinction might be put to death, or punished any way, on account of this revolt; but that it might be said, that such only perished in this rebellion, as were killed in the tumult of the war. The senate complied with this request, and returned him thanks for the regard he had always shewn even to the most undeserving members of their body. As for the children of *Cassius*, *Aurelius* took them under his protection, forbid any one to reproach them with the misfortunes of their family, and raised them

them to great preferments. He gave the government of Syria to *M. Verus*, on whose bravery he could depend, and appointed his son-in-law *Pompeianus* consul for the following year; which nomination the senate, in their answer to the emperor's letter, confirmed, at the same time, begging of *Commodus* him to return to *Rome*, to invest his son *Commodus* with the tribunitial power. The latter part of this request he com- plied with; but we do not find that he returned to *Rome*, or, if he did, he staid there but a very short time; for we are told, that, immediately after the death of *Cassius*, he went into the East, and took with him his son *Commodus*, *Aurelius* and his wife *Faustina*, which last died suddenly in a village called *Halala*, at the foot of Mount *Taurus*. She was a woman of an abandoned life, unworthy of such a father as *Faustina Antoninus*, or such a husband as *Aurelius*, whom some did not dies. believe to be the father of *Commodus*.

Aurelius, arriving in the East, freely forgave all the cities and communities there, which had sided with *Cassius*, except *Antioch*, the inhabitants of which having distinguished themselves above all others by their zeal for that rebel, and their hatred to him, he deprived of all their privileges, suppressed their public assemblies, and took from them their shews and spectacles, which they were extremely fond of. But his anger being soon appeased, before he left *Syria*, he restored them to their former condition, and even condescended to visit them. From *Syria* he passed into *Egypt*, where he not only forgave, but enriched with several privileges, the city of *Alexandria*, which had likewise sided with *Cassius*. Having visited most of the chief cities in the East, and given every where innumerable instances of his humanity and good-nature, he went to *Athens*, where he was initiated in the *Eleusinian* mysteries, and after conferring many favours on that city, and establishing in it professors of all the sciences, with handsome allowances, to be paid out of the exchequer, he returned to *Rome* with his son *Commodus*, whom he named consul for the ensuing year, though he was at that time but sixteen. Soon after, he honoured him with the title of *imperator*, which he himself assumed for the eighth time, probably for some victory gained over the Germans by *Pertinax*, whom he had appointed governor of Illyricum. After this, both he and *Commodus* entered *Rome* in triumph, distributing, on this occasion, among the people as many pieces of gold a-head, as he had been absent years. At the same time, he exhibited most magnificent shews, though he himself took no pleasure in such diversions. The next year, *Commodus* was honoured by the senate with the title of *Father of his country*, and by the emperor with that of *Augustus*; on which occasion *Aurelius* remitted whatever was owing by private persons, either to the emperor, or to the exchequer, ever since the time of *Adrian's* forgiving all such debts. *Aurelius* continued all this year at

Aurelius. Rome, and reformed several abuses, partly by his example, and partly by wholesome laws. He could not suppress the combats of gladiators, without disobliging the people; but, as he was an enemy to all cruelty and bloodshed, he took from them their sharp swords, and allowed them only blunt ones, in the nature of our foils, saying, *That they might display their skill equally well with them.*

The Marcomanni. The next year, the *Marcomanni* and their confederates having renewed the war, *Aurelius* resolved to march against them in person, with his son *Commodus*. But, before he left

Rome, he married *Commodus* to *Crispina*, the daughter of *Buttius Præsens*; and repairing to the senate, desired leave to take out of the public treasure the necessary sums for carrying on the war, saying, *That an emperor had nothing of his own, not even the palace he lived in; but that all belonged to the senate and people.* He then went to the capitol, where he declared upon his oath, *That, since his accession to the empire, no senator had been put to death by his order; that such as had perished in the rebellion, had been killed without his knowledge; and that he would have spared them all, Cassius himself not excepted, had it been in his power so to do.* In this expedition

Aurelius gained a signal victory over the *Marcomanni*, *Hermunduri*, *Quadi*, and *Sarmatians*; for which both he and his son *Commodus* took the title of *Imperator*. Historians tell us, that the consequence of this battle must have been the total reduction of all *Germany*, and the different nations inhabiting it, had not *Aurelius* been prevented by death from completing so great a work.

His death. He died the following year, either at *Sirmium*, now *Sirmich*, in *Slavonia*, or at *Vendobona*, now *Vienna*, in *Austria*, authors are not agreed which, after

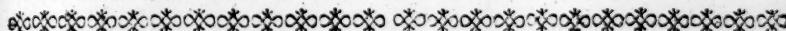
Year of Rome 929. of Christ. having lived fifty-eight years, ten months, and twenty-two days, and reigned, from the death of *Antoninus Pius*, eighteen years, and ten or eleven days. Two days before he died, he recommended his son *Commodus* to the army, and conjured his friends to assist him with their advice. We need not say how great was the concern of the senate and *Roman* people for the loss of so good an emperor. His ashes were conveyed to *Rome*, and deposited in the *Mausoleum of Adrian*.

He is ranked among the gods. He was immediately ranked among the gods, and held in such veneration, that *Julius Capitolinus* says he was, in his time, that is, in the reign of *Domitian*, still worshipped in most families, among their domestic gods; and whoever had not some image or statue of him in his house, was looked upon as a sacrilegious person.

His character. He was, without doubt, one of the greatest and best princes that ever swayed a sceptre. His only fault was too much goodness; for though he rewarded the good and virtuous with great generosity, he was not severe enough to the vicious and wicked; whence some governors of provinces, presuming upon his gentleness, plundered, and often with impunity, the people committed to their care. He has been blamed

blamed for winking at the monstrous excesses of his wife ; *Aurelius.*
and indeed some of his friends once advised him to divorce her ; but he answered, *If I divorce her, I must return her her dower, that is, the empire, which I received of her father.* The emperor Julian prefers him to *Cæsar*, to *Augustus*, and to all the other princes who had reigned till his time ; but at the same time finds fault with him for bequeathing the empire to his vicious son *Commodus*, and not to his son-in-law *Pompeianus*, who was a person of extraordinary parts, and well qualified for so great a trust.

The Meditations of *Aurelius*, which have reached our times, are highly commended by all the ancients, as an epitome of the best rules that human reason or philosophy can suggest for the conduct of a virtuous life. As this emperor was a great encourager of learning, many eminent writers, especially philosophers, flourished in his reign. The most eminent of these were *Lucian*, *Crescentius*, *Celsus*, *Demonax*, *Alexander*, the two *Sextuses*, *Numenes*, *Hermogenes*, *Ariphides*, &c. few, or none, of whose works we have, except those of *Lucian*, which are deservedly admired for the elegance and purity of the stile, but filled with impious and atheistical sentiments.



C H A P. II.

From the Death of M. Aurelius, to the Death of Alexander, when the Empire was first transferred, without the Consent of the Senate.

C O M M O D U S.

CO**M**MODUS was the first emperor who was born in *Commodus* his father's reign, and the second who succeeded his emperor, father in the empire, to which he was raised when he was little more than nineteen years of age.

A few days after his father's death, he went to the camp, He patch- attended by all the chief officers, and there, after a plausi- es up a ble and popular speech to the soldiers, presented them with peace the usual donative. That done, he was for returning imme- with the diately to *Rome*, to enjoy the diversions of that city : but his *German* friends, and particularly his brother-in-law *Pompeianus*, with nations, much difficulty prevailed upon him to stay a little while in *Pannonia*, where, impatient to be able to give a loose to his desires, he patched up a peace with the *Marcomanni*, *Quadi*, and other *German* nations, even purchasing it of some of them

Commodus them with very large sums. He then hastened to *Rome*, where he was received with all possible demonstrations of joy, and honoured with a triumph, the surname of *Pius*, and all the marks of distinction that had ever been conferred upon the most deserving princes.

Advanta- He had not been long upon the throne when he took the title of *Imperator* for the fifth time, on account of some advantages gained by his lieutenants *Albinus* and *Niger*, over the barbarians who dwelt beyond *Dacia*. He took it again, soon after, for the sixth time, with the surname of *Britannicus*, for a great victory gained by *Ulpian Marcellus* over the *Caledonians*, who had passed the wall which parted them from the *Romans*, and committed dreadful devastations.

He dis- For a little while *Commodus* had listened to the advice of his father's friends and counsellors; but now, thinking himself qualified to govern without so many tutors about him, as he expressed it, he dismissed them all, and took, in their room, either the companions of his debauchery, or such as were recommended by them. *Pescennius Niger* was preferred

to the command of the armies in *Syria*, at the recommendation of the wrestler *Narcissus*; and many others were raised to great employments by means of the emperor's freedmen, slaves, concubines, &c. whose behaviour drew upon the young prince the hatred and contempt of the senate, for which he, in return, put many of them to death, under various pretences. His sister *Lucilla*, seeing him adhorred by

A conspi- all the honours belonging to it; formed a conspiracy against him, with a design to place in his room a person whom she was thought to love above her brother, and her husband *Pompeianus*. She drew into this conspiracy *Claudius* his sister *Pompeianus*, to whom she had betrothed her daughter, *Quadratus*, and many other senators of distinction; and it was

and others agreed, that they should fall upon him as he passed through a narrow passage which led to the amphitheatre, and that *Pompeianus* should give him the first blow. Accordingly, they attacked him at the appointed place; but *Pompeianus* shewing him, instead of striking at once, the naked dagger, and crying out, *The senate sends thee this*, the guards had time

who are to rescue the emperor, and seize the conspirators, who were all put to death. *Lucilla* was banished to the island of *Capreae*, where she was afterwards murdered privately by her brother's order. This same year, the empress *Crispina*

was likewise confined to the same island, and there murdered by the emperor's command, for imitating him in his debaucheries. *Commodus* was thought to be put upon the wicked measures he was now pursuing, by *Anterus*, his favourite freedman, who had a great ascendant over him; for which reason, the captains of the guards caused him to be killed

killed by one *Cleander*, who afterwards became prime minister. The emperor was greatly concerned for his death; and being informed that *T. Paternus*, one of the captains of the guards, was privy to it, he caused him to be assassinated a few days after, with *Salvius Julianus*, to whose son the daughter of *Paternus* had been betrothed. The same year, Several several persons of consular rank, among whom were the two persons of *Quintilius*, whom we mentioned before, in the life of *Antoninus*, were falsely accused of treason, condemned, and executed. *Sextus Condianus*, the son of *Maximus*, who had been consul, and was a young man of extraordinary parts, was condemned, with his father and uncle, but escaped, by causing a report to be spread that he was dead; but some attesting that he was still alive, numbers, who had never seen him, were accused of having concealed him, and, upon that charge, were either banished or put to death. *Æmilius Junctus*, and *Attilius Severus*, were both banished in their consulship, and with them many senators and knights of great distinction.

The next year, the emperor's favourite minister *Perennis*, who was captain of the prætorian guards, and an excellent peror's commander, but disliked by the troops on account of his prime minister great severity, was accused of aiming at the empire, and, by *Commodus*'s command, cut in pieces by the soldiery, together with his wife, his sister, and two of his sons. To his eldest led, with son, who commanded the army in *Illyricum*, and knew nothing of what had passed, the emperor wrote an obliging and chil-letter, enjoining him to come to *Rome* with all possible ex-pedition, to receive new marks of his esteem and affection for him and his father: but he had no sooner entered *Italy*, than he was murdered by the soldiers who attended him.

Perennis was succeeded by *Cleander*; for the emperor himself was so taken up with his pleasures, that he could not succeed bestow one moment on the affairs of the state, not even so much as to sign his letters. *Cleander* was by birth a *Phrygian*, and originally a slave, having been sold as such in *Rome* by auction, which was the usual way of selling slaves in those days. He belonged first to *M. Aurelius*, and afterwards to *Commodus*, who married him to *Demostacia*, one of his concubines, brought up the children he had by her in the palace, gave him his liberty, and appointed him his chamberlain. Having, by the death of *Perennis*, ingrossed all the power to himself, he abused his authority in the most flagrant manner, publicly selling offices, provinces, public revenues, public justice, and the lives of men both innocent and guilty; but none dared to complain of him: even the prince's brother-in-law, *Antistius Burrhus*, was, for taking that liberty, accused by *Cleander* of aspiring to the empire, and put to death, with all who espoused his cause, or attempted to defend him. Among these were *Ebutianus*, captain of the guards, in whose room *Cleander* persuaded

Commodus the emperor to substitute him and two others, whom he named to him. Upon the death of *Perennis*, that employment had been given to one *Niger*; who held it only six hours; another enjoyed it only five days, and several others not so long, the timorous emperor changing the captains of his guards almost daily and hourly; and most of them lost their lives with their employment.

The war of the deserters under the conduct of *Materius*, happened the next year. A common soldier, by name *Maternus*, having fled from his colours, grew in a short time so powerful, by the great numbers of other deserters and banditti who flocked to him from all parts, that he over-ran and plundered great part of *Gaul* and *Spain*, and committed such havock, that it was thought adviseable to send an army against him. *Maternus*, being reduced to great straits, divided his men into

several small bands, who passed the imperial troops unobserved, and, by different ways, marched them privately into *Italy*, with a design to murder *Commodus*, during a festival

183. which was kept annually in honour of the mother of the gods, and then to seize the empire for himself. They all arrived at *Rome* undiscovered, and some of them had already mixed with the emperor's guards, when others of his own party betrayed him. He was immediately seized and executed; and his death put an end to the disturbances which some of his followers had begun to raise in other provinces. A dreadful plague raged violently at *Rome* this and the two or three following years.

The next year *Commodus* gave out, that he designed to visit *Africa*, and, under that pretence, exacted from his subjects very considerable sums, which he afterwards spent in revels in and about *Rome*, without stirring any farther. A great part of the capitol, several libraries, and numbers of other buildings, were, this year, burnt down by lightning; and, at the same time, the city was afflicted with a dreadful famine, occasioned, some say, by *Cleander*, who, having now nothing less than the sovereignty in view, bought up underhand all the corn, in order to raise the price of it, and afterwards gain the affections of the soldiery and people by distributing it among them. Others say, that *Papirius Diurus*, whose province it was to see the city supplied with provisions, contributed towards the famine, in order to make the people rise against *Cleander*, who now began to

Part of the capitol burnt. Rome affected with a famine. The people rise against Cleander, and obtain his death.

act in a more arbitrary manner than ever. Whichever of these was the case, the people did rise against him, put to flight the praetorian horse, which he had called in to his assistance, pursued him to the palace, and there insisted on his death in so peremptory a manner, that the emperor, quite terrified, was obliged to order his head to be struck off, and given to them, before they could be appeased. His wife, his children, and most of his creatures were mangled at the same time, and their bodies, as well as his, treated with

with the utmost ignominy, dragged through the streets, and *Commodus*, then thrown into the common sewers. *Pertinax* was recalled from *Britain*, whither he had been sent, and charged with the care of supplying the city with provisions, in the room of *P. Dionysius*, who was put to death.

The following year, *Severus* was appointed commander of *Commodus* the troops in *Illyricum*; and *Pertinax* was sent into *Asia* with gives an the character of proconsul; from whence he was recalled the unbound next year and made governor of *Rome*, and *Didius Julianus* ed loose to was sent to *Asia* in his stead. And now *Commodus*, filled with his cruelty jealousies and suspicions, by reason of the several conspiracies which had been formed against him and his ministers, abandoned himself to unbounded cruelty and bloodshed. Among the multitudes of all ranks and conditions who were massacred this year, were *Petronius Mamertinus*, who had married one of his sisters; his son *Antoninus*; *Annia Faustina*, cousin-german to *M. Aurelius*; *Sulpicius Crassus*, proconsul of *Asia*; and six consulars, in one day. All the relations of *Avidius Crassus*, whom we spoke of in the last reign, however distant, were burnt alive.

Shortly after this, the magnificent temple of *Peace*, built by *Vespasian*, and enriched with all the spoils and ornaments of the temple of *Jerusalem*, was burnt down to the ground, *Peace*, and together with all the houses near it, and a great number of stately edifices; among the rest, the temple of *Vesta*, and *Vesta*, con part of the imperial palace, to which the vestals fled with the statue of *Pallas*, which was supposed to have been brought from *Troy*, and had never before been exposed to public view. The conflagration lasted several days; and *Commodus*, on this occasion, returned from the country where he was when the fire broke out, and exposed his own person in order to encourage others to exert themselves in extinguishing the flames, which was at last done by a sudden and violent shower of rain. This year the *Roman* troops were defeated by the *Saracens*, of whom this is the first mention we find made in history. About this time, *Commodus* appointed *Clodius Albinus* governor of *Britain*, with leave to him, says *Julius Capitolinus*, to assume the title of *Cæsar*, and the ornaments peculiar to that dignity. But *Albinus* prudently declined that honour, fearing to be involved in the ruin of *Commodus*, which he apprehended to be near at hand.

The remaining part of this emperor's life, as related by *Dim. Cæsus* and *Herodian*, who were eye-witnesses of it, mainder was a continual series of follies and extravagancies; his whole of this time being spent in public shews, in which he himself was a principal performer. He excelled particularly in shooting with the bow: as an instance of his dexterity at which, we are told, that, at a combat of wild beasts, a panther having seized a man, and being ready to devour him, *Commodus* let fly an arrow at the beast with so much skill and force, that

Commodus the panther fell dead to the ground before the man received any hurt. He had often appeared on the public stage in the *Amazonian*, and other fantastical dresses. The former, in particular, he was very fond of, because it was that in which he first saw his favourite concubine *Marcia*, when he fell in love with her. But now he was not ashamed to enter the lists with the gladiators, or to act and dance in the theatre quite naked : and not satisfied with these follies, he resolved to appear, on the first day of the next year, as consul, and at the same time as gladiator : to which end, he ordered the two consuls elect to be murdered. This design he imparted to *Marcia* the day before it was to be put in execution. She, *Lætus*, captain of the guards, and *Eclectus*, his chief chamberlain, did all they could to dissuade him from it, but to no purpose ; for, instead of yielding to their intreaties, he flew into a violent passion, and threatened to make them repent their daring to oppose his will. They thereupon, terrified with his menaces, and no longer able to bear his cruelties and follies, resolved immediately to poison him ; and accordingly *Marcia* administered the dose on his return from bathing. Being soon after seized with a heavy slumber, he retired to refresh himself with sleep ; and *Eclectus*, laying hold of that opportunity, ordered the company to retire, hoping, by that means, to conceal the cause and manner of his death ; but *Commodus*, awaking very soon, was seized with a violent vomiting, and, suspecting that he had been poisoned, began to threaten all about him with immediate death : upon which, the conspirators, fearing lest he should void the poison, and escape, sent in haste for his great favourite *Narcissus*, the famous wrestler, who, being gained by great promises, threw himself upon the emperor, and, seizing him by the throat, strangled him. His body was privately conveyed away and buried in the fields ; but was afterwards taken up by *Pertinax*, who succeeded to the empire, and deposited in the monument of *Adrian*. The conspirators gave out that he died of an apoplexy. Such was the miserable end of *Commodus*, after having lived thirty-one years and four months ; and reigned twelve years, nine months, and fourteen days. He was, as *Lampidius* says, a prince who lived only for his subjects mischief and his own shame. Both the *Aelian* and *Aurelian* family were extinguished in him, as the *Julian* was in *Nero*, and the *Flavian* in *Vespasian* ; the three former, monsters of mankind.

He is murdered.
Year of Rome 940.
of Christ

183.

The instances of this tyrant's cruelty would be too long to mention here. He put to death many innocent persons, instead of those who were guilty, suffering these last to escape, if they had but money to give him ; and if any person wanted to be revenged of an enemy, by bargaining with *Commodus* for a certain sum, he was allowed to inflict death, or any other punishment. He commanded a person to be cast to the wild beasts

beasts, only for reading the life of *Caligula* in *Suetonius*, because he himself happened to be born on the same day as *Caligula*. Another he ordered to be thrown into a burning furnace, because he had made his bath too warm. His cruelty was odd and whimsical, as well as monstrous: for, seeing one day a very fat man pass by, he immediately cut him asunder; partly to try his strength, in which he excelled all men; and partly out of curiosity, as he himself owned, to see his entrails drop out at once. He took pleasure in cutting off a foot, or putting out an eye, of such as he met in his rambles through the city; telling the former, by way of raillery, after he had thus maimed them, *That they now belonged to the nation of the monopodii*; and the latter, *That they were now become luscinii*; alluding to the word *luscinia*, a nightingale, and *luscus*, one eyed. Some he murdered, because they were negligently dressed; others, because he thought them too spruce. He pretended a great skill in surgery, particularly at letting blood: but sometimes, instead of easing by that means those whom he visited, or who were prevailed upon to recur to him, he cut off, by way of diversion, their ears and noses. He assumed the name and habit of *Hercules*, appearing publicly in a lion's skin, with an huge club in his hand, and ordering several persons, though not guilty of any crime, to be disguised like monsters, that, by knocking out their brains with his club, he might have a better claim to the name of the great destroyer of monsters. In short, the shedding of blood seemed to be his chief diversion.

Two actions of his, however, merit great applause. The first, his establishing a company of merchants, and a fleet for conveying corn from *Africa* to *Rome*, when any misfortune should befall the fleet that transported it from *Egypt*: and the second, this: One *Manilius*, who had been secretary to *Avidius Cætius*, and privy to his conspiracy, having made his escape, and concealed himself since his death, was apprehended in the reign of *Commodus*, to whom he offered to discover many things of great importance: but *Commodus* not only would not hear him, but burnt all his letters without opening any one of them. This, indeed, happened in the very beginning of his reign, when he followed the advice of the wile counsellors whom his father had placed about him.

His death was no sooner known, that the senate assembled His statues and declared him a public enemy; loaded him with curses; pulled ordered his statues, with which he had filled the city, to be down, and pulled down and broken; his name to be razed out of all his acts public inscriptions; and demanded his body, that it might be dragged through the streets; and when they were told, *That it was buried*; they desired to know, *who had presumed to pay that honour to a gladiator, a parricide, a more cruel and bloody*

Commodus bloody tyrant than Nero or Domitian; and immediately annulled all his acts. Though he was thus detested, yet the emperor *Severus* styled himself his brother; caused him to be ranked among the gods; appointed priests and sacrifices to his honour; and ordered his birth-day to be observed with great solemnity.

P E R T I N A X.

Lætus and
Ecleætus offer the
empire to
Pertinax;

THE moment *Commodus* was dead, and his body carried away, *Lætus* and *Ecleætus* repaired immediately to the house of *Publius Helvius Pertinax*, and offered him the empire, as the person whom they judged the most worthy of it. *Pertinax* was then in bed, it being past midnight; and, not knowing that the emperor was dead, or hearing them enter, suspected that they were sent by *Commodus* to kill him. However, he ordered his servants to let them in, and, without rising from his bed, or betraying the least concern, told them, *That he had long expected to fall a sacrifice to the tyrant*; and bid them strike, and put their orders in execution. *Lætus*, admiring his intrepidity, told him, *That the tyrant was dead, and that they were come to offer him the empire*. *Pertinax*, doubting the truth of this, sent some of his friends to inquire into the fact; and upon their returning, and assuring him that it was so, he went to the camp of the prætorian guards, with *Lætus*, their captain, who presented him to the soldiers, telling them, *That, Commodus being dead of an apoplexy, he brought them a new emperor, the most deserving person in all the senate; and who, he was sure, would be received with great joy by all the armies of the empire*. *Pertinax* then addressed them, and in his speech promised to each soldier three thousand drachmas; which would have more than satisfied them, had he not, very unreasonably, added, *That by their means he hoped to reform several abuses*: from whence they concluded, that he designed to restore the ancient discipline, and deprive them of many privileges which had been granted them by *Commodus*. This occasioned an universal discontent: however, some few having saluted him emperor, the rest followed their example, swore allegiance to him, and, after the usual sacrifices, crowned him with laurel, and accompanied him to the senate, where he was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy. *Pertinax* then earnestly entreated them to consider his old age, and to chuse one more able to discharge the important trust of sovereign, and better qualified by his nobility and birth for so high a station; naming to them, in particular, *Atilius Glabrius*, who had been twice consul.

consul: but *Glabrio*, and all the rest, declaring that they *Pertinax*. would have no other prince but him, he was forced to yield; and the senate saluted him with the title of *Augustus*, and decreed him all the other titles peculiar to the imperial dignity, who accepted that of *Father of his country* not excepted, which was never before given to any prince on the first day of his reign. At against his wife *Flavia Titiana*; and that of *Cæsar* to his son. But he could not, by any means, be prevailed on to accept the honour for his wife, whose conduct he disliked; and as to his son, he told the senate, *That he should enjoy the title they had decreed him when he deserved it.*

Pertinax was now in the sixty-eighth or sixty-ninth year of His birth his age. His father, who had either been a slave himself, or was the son of an enfranchised slave, got his living by making charcoal. However, he had taken care to give his son an education which enabled him to keep a grammar-school in *Rome*: but that not answering his expectation, he betook himself to a military life, and served first in *Syria*, in the reign of *Antoninus Pius*, as a common soldier; but was soon raised to the rank of a centurion; in which post he distinguished himself so greatly under *Lucius Verus*, in the *Parthian* war, that he was rewarded with the command of a cohort in *Syria*; from whence he was sent into *Britain*; from thence to *Mæsia*, and from thence to *Germany*, where he commanded the *Roman* fleet. From *Germany* he was sent into *Dacia*, and there, upon some false information, deprived of his employment, which *Capitolinus* says was that of governor of that province, by *M. Aurelius*; who, being soon after convinced of his innocence, created him a senator, honoured him with the ornaments of *praetor*, and gave him the command of the first legion: with which he did such eminent services, recovering *Rhætia* and *Noricum* in one campaign, that *M. Aurelius* made him consul. He was afterwards sent into *Syria* against *Cassius*, and from thence to *Illyricum*, where he had the command of the army: after which he was appointed governor of the two *Mæsias*, then of *Dacia*, and lastly of *Syria*; which post he held till the reign of *Commodus*, when he returned to *Rome*, and was ordered by *Perennis*, who then governed with an absolute sway, and who suspected all men of merit, to retire to *Liguria*, his native country, where he lived three years in a kind of exile. After the fall of *Perennis*, *Commodus* sent him into *Britain*, where he restored discipline among the troops, which were ready to revolt. He was recalled from thence at his own request, and, upon his return, charged with the care of supplying the city with provisions; then appointed proconsul of *Africa*; and, lastly, governor of *Rome*; which employment he held when *Commodus* was killed. He was, according to *Dion Cassius* and *Herodian*, who were his cotemporaries, and personally acquainted with him, every way qualified for the high post to which he was now

Pertinax. now raised. He was brave, affable, assiduous to business, grave without moroseness, mild without indolence, prudent without craft, exact without affectation, frugal without avarice, and great without pride or ostentation.

His character. The exchequer having been quite exhausted by *Commodus*, he ordered all the gold and silver statues of that emperor, which had been pulled down by order of the senate, to be melted and turned into money; and sold by auction all his concubines and catamites, his horses, arms, gold and silver plate, rich furniture, and equipages; among which, we are told of chariots so contrived, as to shew the hour, and measure the way. By this means, he paid the prætorians what he had promised them, discharged several debts contracted by *Commodus*, and gave a largess to the people. At the same time he restored to the lawful owners whatever had been taken from them by *Commodus*; recalled such as had been banished for pretended treason; abolished several taxes, and publicly declared, *That he would not accept of any legacies or inheritances from such as had children, or lawful heirs of their own;* saying, *That he had rather be poor, than wallow in riches dishonestly acquired.*

The prætorian guards mutiny.

This conduct gained him the affections both of the senate and people; but the prætorian guards, highly exasperated at his endeavouring to curb their licentiousness, and restore the ancient discipline, murmured loudly against him; and, after attempting twice to set up another emperor, positively declared they would no longer obey or acknowledge *Pertinax*. In this they were stirred up underhand by their commander *Lætus*, who at first had been so zealous for *Pertinax*; but now, not thinking his services sufficiently rewarded, in order to exasperate the incensed soldiery still more, caused several of the mutineers to be publicly executed; pretending, that he therein obeyed the emperor's orders.

About 300 of them enter the palace,

The sedition increased daily, and at last rose to such a height, that about three hundred of the mutineers suddenly left the camp, passed through the streets of *Rome* with their drawn swords, and went directly to the palace, which they entered without opposition; the emperor's freedmen and officers either running away through fear, or treacherously opening the gates to them. The first notice *Pertinax* had of it was by his wife, who, running into his apartment in a great fright, told him, that the prætorian guards had revolted, and were already in the palace: whereupon he dispatched *Sulpicianus*, his father-in-law, whom he had appointed governor of *Rome*, to appease the tumult in the camp; and ordered *Lætus* to stop those who had entered the palace: but *Lætus*, instead of obeying, hid his face, that he might not be known, and retired to his own house. As the mutineers still advanced, some of the emperor's friends, who had remained with him, advised him to conceal himself, till the people, who loved him, could come to his assistance. But this

this he refused to do, saying, *To save his life by flying, would Pertinax be unworthy of an emperor.* He therefore resolved to meet them, thinking that, awed by his presence, they would return to a sense of their duty. Accordingly, he appeared unexpectedly before them, and, without betraying the least fear or concern, asked them, *Whether they, whose duty it was to defend their emperor, were come to betray and murder him?* At the same time, he represented to them the heinousness of their crime, and the ignominy it would cast upon their memories, with such energy, that many of them, moved by his words, began to sheath their swords. But one *Tausius*, a Tongrian, darting his javelin at the emperor's breast, and crying out, *and kill The soldiers send you this,* the rest fell on with great fury, and *Pertinax* pierced him with many wounds. *Pertinax* made no resistance, but, covering his head with his robe, and calling on *Jupiter the Avenger*, received their blows. *Eiectus*, who alone remained with him to the last, and endeavoured to defend him, was killed by his side. The assassins cut off his head, and carried it upon the point of a spear in triumph to the camp; whither they retired in great haste, before the people could assemble, who, they knew, would not fail to revenge the death of a prince whom they so tenderly loved. Such was the unfortunate end of *Pertinax*, after a reign of eighty-seven days. His head and body were interred with great solemnity by his successor *Didius Julianus*. His memory was afterwards honoured with a still more magnificent Honours funeral by *Septimus Severus*, who, with the title of emperor, paid him took the surname of *Pertinax*; punished with great severity after his all those who had been accessory to his death; disbanded the death. prætorian guards, and caused him to be ranked among the gods. The day of his accession to the empire, and his birthday, were celebrated for many years after.

DIDIUS JULIANUS.

SULPICIANS, who, as we observed before, had been sent to the camp of the prætorians, to appease the tumult, had not been long there when the murderers of *Pertinax* arrived with the head stuck upon a spear. To these assassins of his son-in-law, *Sulpicianus* applied for the empire, and offered them money for it: but they, resolved to make the most of it, got upon the ramparts of the camp, and publicly proclaimed, *That the empire was put up to sale, and should be given to the highest bidder.* When this infamous proclamation was first brought to *Rome*, *Didius Julianus*, the richest

Julianus. richest man in the city, was entertaining some of his friends at a banquet, who, in the midst of their jollity, advised him, as he had more ready-money than any man in *Rome*, not to lose the opportunity of making so valuable a purchase. *Julianus*, ravished with the dazzling prospect of riches and empire, hastened to the camp, where finding *Sulpicianus* already bargaining with the soldiers, he told them, *That his competitor would not fail one day to revenge the death of his son-in-law*; and, *that he would not only enter into a written engagement to restore all things to the condition they were in under Commodus, but would immediately give them more money than Sulpicianus could offer*. The licentious soldiery, pleased with this, let them bid upon each other, *Sulpicianus* in the camp, and *Julianus* at the gate; till the latter, rising at once from five thousand drachmas a man, to six thousand two hundred and fifty, silenced the other, was admitted into the camp, and proclaimed emperor, on condition that he should forgive his competitor. At the same time the troops begged him to take the name of *Commodus*, which he did.

He is acknowledged by the senate, but openly cursed by the people.

After the usual ceremonies, the prætorian guards, to the number of about ten thousand, accompanied him in battle-array to the senate. The people did not offer to oppose his march; but no acclamations were heard; and some, who were at a distance, even uttered invectives against him. As for the senators, those who were most grieved to see him emperor, were the most forward in congratulating him: and among these was *Dion Cassius*, the historian, as he himself owns. His speech to the senate was very short and remarkable: *You want, said he, an emperor; and I am the fittest person you can chuse.* This, backed with the powerful argument of an army ready to support him, made the senate immediately declare him emperor, and invest him with the tribunitial and proconsular powers. From the senate he repaired to the palace, where the senators and *Roman* knights waited upon him the next morning, and were received with great courtesy. He then returned to the senate, to thank them for his promotion, and went with them to the capitol, to offer the usual sacrifices; the senators, who attended him, striving to shew great joy in the height of their grief. But the people, strangers to dissimulation, openly loaded him with curses and reproaches, and even discharged showers of stones at him, wishing aloud, as he was sacrificing in the capitol, *That he might never obtain any favours of the gods.* He endeavoured to appease them with great promises; but they answered boldly, *That they scorned to receive any thing from such an usurper and parricide.* Upon this, to disperse them, for they had quite stopped up the way, he ordered his soldiers to fall upon those that were nearest; which they did, and killed or wounded several of them. This exasperated the people to such a degree, that they all took arms, and in the circus,

where

where the emperor assisted at the public games, renewed *Julianus*. their curses and imprecations both against him and the prætorian guards, imploring aloud the assistance of the other armies and generals, and particularly that of *Pescennius Niger*, who then commanded the troops in *Syria*. *Spartian* tells us, that *Julianus* bore all this with great patience, and during his short reign, gave many instances of an extraordinary sweet temper. He appointed his son-in-law *Repentinus* captain of the prætorian guards, and, to please the soldiery, re-established many things which had been appointed by *Commodus*, and abolished by *Pertinax*.

M. Didius Severus Julianus, who was now raised to the empire, was descended from the celebrated civilian *Salvius Julianus*, who flourished under *Adrian*, and compiled the *Perpetual Edict*. *M. Aurelius*, who had a great affection for him, created him first quæstor, then edile, afterwards prætor, and gave him the command of the twenty-second legion, then quartered in *Germany*. Not long after he appointed him governor of *Belgic Gaul*, where he repulsed the *Cauci*; for which service he was honoured with the consulship. At the expiration of that office, he was sent into *Illyricum*; where he distinguished himself so well against the neighbouring barbarians, that he was made governor of Lower *Germany*; from whence he was recalled to *Rome*, and charged with the care of supplying that city with provisions. *Commodus*, on a suspicion of his being privy to the conspiracy of *Salvius Julianus*, his uncle by the mother, confined him for some time to the city of *Milan*: but afterwards, not only discharged him, but preferred him to the government of *Bitynia*, and after that to the consulship, in which he had *Pertinax* for his colleague, whom he succeeded in the proconsulship of *Africa*. All authors agree, that he was immensely rich. *Dion Cassius* says he was covetous, a glutton, an extremely bad speaker, and a lover of riot and confusion: and *Herodian*, that he was generally despised on account of his disorderly life; and that he thought of nothing but his pleasures and diversions. Both these writers were his cotemporaries.

Julianus was now in the 57th year of his age, and tho' the people had so openly testified their abhorrence of him, he began his reign with as much severity, as if the empire had descended to him by right of inheritance, and he had been sure of the hearts of all his subjects; giving himself up to ease and indolence, and troubling himself very little about public affairs. This hatred of the people against *Julianus*, and their great desire of a change, gave *Niger*, then in *Syria*, a fair opportunity of promoting his own interest, which he did not doubt to effect, being a man of years, experience, and reputation; one who had held great offices and governments, shewn his valour on several occasions, and gained the love of the people by the fame of his wisdom and clemency, and the report of his imitating *Pertinax* in his life and manners.

With

Julianus. With these qualifications, he easily prevailed upon his army in *Syria* to proclaim him emperor in opposition to *Julianus*, and was acknowledged as such by all the eastern nations.

Percennius Niger proclaimed emperor in the East, and Severus in Illyricum. About the same time, *Septimius Severus*, who was generally allowed to be the most active, vigilant, laborious, and enterprising man in the whole empire; equal to the greatest commanders of ancient times, but a great dissembler, and always ready to sacrifice every thing to his interest and ambition; was saluted emperor by the army in *Illyricum*, which he commanded. The troops in *Gaul* likewise swore obedience to him immediately after; and their example was followed by all the armies, provinces, and cities in *Europe*, except the city

Year of Rome 941. of *Byzantium*. *Severus* then wrote to *Albinus*, governor of *Britain*, who, he knew, was in a condition to thwart his designs, a most obliging letter; wherein he declared his intention of adopting him, and gave him the title of *Cæsar*; which *Albinus* assumed with great pomp, at the head of his army. After this, exhorting his men to revenge the death of *Pertinax*, who was once their successful general in *Illyricum*, he began his march towards *Rome*.

Severus declared a public enemy.

Julianus received the news of these two revolts nearly at the same time. That of *Niger*, who, instead of advancing, remained at *Antioch*, indulging himself in luxury and pleasure, gave him little concern: but *Severus*'s attempt filled him with such terror, that he repaired immediately to the senate, and caused him to be declared an enemy to his country, and likewise his soldiers, if they did not abandon him within a limited time. Deputies were also sent by the senate, to persuade the soldiers to quit *Severus*, and join *Julian*: but they, instead of executing their commission, joined *Severus*, and encouraged his soldiers to pursue their march and revenge the death of *Pertinax*. Among these deputies were, *V. Catulinus*, who was appointed by *Julianus* to supersede *Severus*, and take upon him the command of his troops; and one *Aquilius*, a centurion, the chief minister of the cruelties of *Commodus*, who was ordered to dispatch *Severus* as soon as his soldiers had deserted him. At the same time the prætorian guards were ordered to their arms, and the marines were sent from on board the fleet at *Misenum*. By this means a great body of men was soon assembled: but as they had been long accustomed to idleness, they scarce knew how to use their arms, and shewed great backwardness to make head against the enemy, who advanced with long marches, were received every where with loud acclamations, and plentifully supplied with all sorts of provisions. *Julianus*, finding he could not depend upon his troops, ordered his palace to be fortified, as if he could have maintained himself there after losing every thing else; and at the same time commanded *Marcia* and *Lætus*, the chief authors of the death of *Commodus*, to be murdered; not doubting but they favoured *Severus*. He likewise sent a great many assassins, to try if they could by any means

He advances towards Rome.

means murder *Severus*; and caused an incredible number of *Julianus*. children to be inhumanly butchered, in order to make use of their blood in the abominable mysteries of magic.

In this extremity, *Julianus*'s friends advised him to march immediately against *Severus*, and stop his passage over the Alps: but *Julianus*, incapable of such a resolution, only sent some of his troops into *Umbria*, where, instead of defending the passes, they declared for *Severus*, who entered *Italy* without opposition, and with the same ease made himself master of several important cities, particularly *Ravenna*, and of the fleet then there. This so terrified *Julianus* that he assembled the senate, and, by one of his ministers, desired them, in his name, to send out the vestals to meet the enemy, and intreat them to retire: but this proposal being rejected, as no less ridiculous than ineffectual, he went in person to the senate, and desired that a decree might be passed, declaring *Severus* his partner in the empire. This was readily agreed to, and *Tullius Crispinus*, captain of the prætorian guards, was directly dispatched with the decree to *Severus*, who not only refused the proffered association, but ordered *Crispinus* to be cut in pieces, upon a suspicion of his having private orders to kill him. To complete *Julianus*'s misfortunes, the prætorian guards, who had raised him to the throne, now forsook him, and agreed not to oppose *Severus*, on his promising them impunity, provided they delivered up to him those who had murdered *Pertinax*. *Julianus*, thus abandoned by all, shut himself up in the palace, with his son-in-law *Repentinus*, and one of the captains of the guards. In the mean time the prætorians, having seized such of their comrades as had been any way concerned in the death of *Pertinax*, acquainted therewith the consul *Silius Messala*, who immediately assembled the senate, and a decree was passed, by which *Julianus* was deprived of the empire, sentenced to death, *Severus* declared emperor, and *Pertinax* ranked among the gods. This decree was carried to *Severus* by some of the chief men in the senate, who intreated him, in the name of the rest, to hasten his march to *Rome*: and at the same time a band of soldiers was sent to the palace, to put to death *Julianus*, whom they found drowned in tears, and ready to resign the empire if they would spare his life. His head was struck off by a common soldier, and his body exposed to public view. Such was the end of *Didius Julianus*, after a reign of only two months and six days: for which he wasted his immense estate, ruined his reputation, and ignominiously lost his life. *Severus*, upon his arrival at *Rome*, delivered his body to his wife and daughter, by whom it was interred in the tomb of his ancestors.

Severus
declared
emperor,
and *Julia-*
nus put to
death.

S E V E R U S.

An hundred senators deputed to meet *Severus*. *SEVERUS* received the news of his competitor's death when he was yet some days journey from *Rome*: however, he continued his march in the same order as before, encamping every night, as if he had been in an enemy's country. As he approached nearer, the senate deputed an hundred of the most distinguished of their body, to congratulate him upon his accession to the empire, and assure him of their obedience. He received them at the head of his troops, and ordered them to be searched, as if he had suspected their fidelity; but afterwards entertained them with great civility, and made them considerable presents. Drawing nearer to the city, he sent orders thither for the execution of all those who had any hand in the death of *Pertinax*; and likewise for the other soldiers of the guards to meet him without their arms, and in the attire which they wore when they attended the emperor in great solemnities. His orders were obeyed; the guards imagining they were sent for to attend the emperor's entry. When they were arrived in the camp, *Severus* sent them word to wait till he was at leisure to receive and harangue them: and in the mean time gave private orders to his own troops to surround them. He then ascended his tribunal, and, after severely reprimanding them for the murder of *Pertinax*; for selling the empire by auction, to the eternal ignominy of the *Roman* name; and for afterwards abandoning, like cowardly traitors, *Julianus*, whom they themselves had chosen; told them, *That no punishment could be equal to the enormity of their crimes*; *that, nevertheless, he granted them their lives*; but commanded them immediately to quit all their military badges, and retire an hundred miles from *Rome*; solemnly declaring, *That whoever of them should be found within that distance of the city, should be irretrievably put to death*.

His entry into Rome. *Severus* entered *Rome*, attended by all his troops under arms, and with the standards of the prætorian guards reversed. He came to the gate on horseback, and in his military habit; but there took his gown, and made his entry on foot, accompanied by the senators in their robes, with crowns of laurel on their heads; which the people likewise wore, who, on this occasion, were all clad in white. After visiting the capitol, and the usual temples, he retired to the palace; but the soldiers spread themselves all over the city, and committed great disorders, threatening to plunder the houses of those who refused them any thing. This warlike entrance gave the people great dislike to the new emperor. The next morning *Severus* went to the senate, attended by his troops under arms; but he had scarce begun to speak, when he was interrupted by tumultuous cries of his soldiers without,

without, who demanded of the senate a large sum, which, they said, was their due, because the same had been formerly given to the troops that attended *Augustus* to *Rome*. The senate was struck with terror, and the emperor himself could not help betraying some fear. However, he went to them, and, with some difficulty, pacified them with a promise of two hundred and fifty drachmas a man, instead of two thousand five hundred, which they demanded. Then, returning to the senate, he excused himself for having assumed the title of emperor without their consent; promised to tread in the footsteps of *M. Aurelius* and *Pertinax*; and not only solemnly swore to observe all the laws, and particularly that no senator should, for any crime whatever, be put to death in his reign, without being first tried and condemned by the senate; but even obliged the senate to pass a decree, declaring such emperors as acted otherwise, and those who obeyed them therein, public enemies. This gave great satisfaction to the generality of the senators; but the most discerning, and those who knew his dark and reserved temper, his falsehood and dissimulation, gave no credit to his fair promises; but, on the contrary, looked upon him as a second *Tiberius*. However, they unanimously conferred upon him all the titles peculiar to the imperial dignity, and confirmed his grant of the title of *Cæsar* to *Albinus*. He then gave an extraordinary largess to the soldiers and people, and inrolled the emperor *Pertinax* among the gods with greater pomp and solemnity than had ever been seen before on the like occasion.

Severus was about forty-seven years of age when he was His ex-made emperor. He was born at *Leptis*, in *Africa*; but his traction ancestors had been *Roman* knights, and afterwards admitted and pre-into the senate: for he was nephew, by his father, *M. Septimius Geta*, to two consuls, *M. Agrippa*, and *Septimius Severus*. He studied the law, but made no great figure at the bar. *M. Aurelius* admitted him into the senate, and appointed him governor of *Sardinia*; from whence he was sent to *Africa* in quality of lieutenant to the proconsul. On his return from thence he was created prætor, and after his prætorship preferred to the command of the fourth legion, then in *Syria*. He was afterwards made governor of the country of *Lyons*, and from thence removed to *Pannonia*; which province he governed with proconsular authority, as he did afterwards that of *Sicily*: after which he was raised to the consulship, and then appointed commander of all the troops in *Illyricum*. He married *Julia*, a native of *Emesa*, in *Syria*; by whom he had, *Bassianus*, commonly called *Caracalla*; another son, named *Geta*; and two daughters.

He had no sooner entered upon the empire, than he set He chuses about reforming several abuses in the city; chose new guards new in the room of those he had cashiered, and four times as ma-guards. ny; seized upon all the children of those who had commands, or were in authority, in the East, or in *Asia*, and detained

Severus. detained them as pledges for their father's loyalty; and made the senate proscribe all the friends and adherents of *Julianus*, of whom all that were discovered were executed without mercy. He then supplied the city with great plenty of corn, and made such excellent regulations in that respect, that there never was any want during his whole reign.

Sets out
against
Niger,

who is de-
feated and
slain.

The city
of *Byzan-*
tium ta-
ken and
destroyed.

Having thus settled affairs in *Rome*, and given the necessary orders for securing the provinces, he set out with a prodigious army against *Niger*, who, now roused from his lethargy, made great preparations to resist him. A skirmish happened near *Perinthus*, afterwards called *Heraclea*, which ended to the advantage of *Severus*, to gain whose favour, the senate thereupon declared *Niger* a public enemy, together with *Æmilianus*, then proconsul of *Asia*, a man of extraordinary talents, and great experience, who sided with *Niger*, and who, the next year, was defeated, taken, and put to death. The remains of the vanquished troops fled to *Niger*, who was then at *Antioch*, from whence he marched against *Severus*. Both armies met near the city of *Iffus*, on the very spot where *Alexander the Great* first conquered *Darius*. The battle was exceeding bloody; and though *Niger* did all that an able general could do, he was totally defeated, with the loss of twenty thousand men, and forced to fly. Some of *Severus*'s men overtook him, cut off his head, and carried it to *Severus*, who, after ordering it to be shewn to the inhabitants of *Byzantium*, sent it to *Rome*. *Severus* was not present at either of these battles, nor do historians tell us where he was at that time: but thus much we know, that he punished without mercy all such as had sided with his competitor, putting them to death, and seizing their estates; and such cities as had furnished him with money, though they had been absolutely forced to it, he obliged to pay him four times as much. He then passed the *Euphrates*, and reduced the *Osrhoenians*, *Adiabenians*, and *Arabians*, the two former of which, taking advantage of the late disturbances, had murdered the *Roman* soldiers left among them, and shaken off the yoke; and the latter had either revolted, or joined *Niger*. He likewise made war upon the *Parthians*, but did not bring them under subjection. The *Scythians* were preparing to attack him, and had already begun their march, but were deterred from pursuing their designs by a storm, in which three of their chiefs were struck dead with lightning. In the beginning of the next year, *Byzantium*, by far the strongest, greatest, and most wealthy city of *Thrace*, was forced, by famine, to surrender, after a three years siege. *Niger* had seized it at the first breaking out of the war, and *Severus* laid siege to it as soon as he arrived in *Thrace*. All the magistrates and soldiers were put to the sword; the inhabitants stripped of their effects, and sold for slaves; the walls levelled with the ground, and all the buildings laid in ashes. *Severus* sent an account of these successes

successes to *Rome*, and at the same time ordered *Niger's* *Severus*. wife and children to be put to death, and their estates confiscated.

Peace being now established in the East, *Severus* began to consider how he might secure the empire to his family ; to which end he resolved to destroy *Albinus*, whom he had caused to lull him asleep with the title of *Cæsar*, while he was employed against *Julianus* and *Niger*. *Albinus* was as much beloved, as *Severus* was hated, and the affair required dispatch. However, not thinking it adviseable to declare himself an open enemy to one who had not given him the least provocation, he had recourse to treachery, and sent assassins, who, under pretence of delivering him a letter, had secret orders to murder him. *Albinus* having discovered their design, assembled a mighty army, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor in *Britain*, and passed over into *Gaul*, where he was emperor joined by several persons of great distinction. Upon the first news of this revolt, *Severus* hastened from the East into *Spain*, and *Gaul* : but before he could arrive there, several skirmishes had happened between the troops which had declared for him in that country, and those of *Albinus*, and had generally ended to the advantage of this last. While he was upon his march, he gave the title of *Cæsar* to his eldest son, making him quit that of *Bassianus*, and stile himself thenceforth *M. Aurelius Antoninus*. In the mean time, the senate declared *Albinus* a public enemy : and *Severus*, having passed the *Alps* in the midst of winter, approached *Lyons*, where *Albinus* had staid, with a design to enter *Italy* early in the spring. A battle was fought in the neighbourhood of that city, one of the most sharp and bloody recorded in history ; the *British* legions, which *Albinus* had brought with him, being no way inferior, either in courage or experience, to those of *Illyricum*. It ended in the defeat of *Albinus*, whose army, no longer able to keep the field, fled to *Lyons*, whither they were pursued by the conquerors, who, entering the city with the fugitives, first plundered it, and then laid it in ashes. *Albinus*, who had concealed himself in a house on the *Rhone*, finding no means of escaping, killed himself. *Severus* beheld with pleasure the dead body of his competitor, rode over it several times, making his horse trample it under foot ; and left it before his tent till it was half putrefied, and torn in pieces by dogs, and then ordered it to be thrown into the *Rhone*. The head was cut off, and sent to *Rome*. *Severus* at first, pardoned his wife and children ; but soon after caused them to be massacred, and their bodies to be thrown into the river. All his friends, and most distant relations, without distinction of sex or age, and most of the great men of *Gaul* and *Spain*, who had shewn any attachment to *Albinus*, underwent the same fate, and all their estates were confiscated ; by which means *Severus* amassed an immense treasure, enriched his soldiers, and, at his death,

Severus. left his children greater wealth than any prince had done before him. The cities that had declared for *Albinus* were soon reduced, and their inhabitants punished, some with death, and some with forfeiture of their estates.

Severus then set out for *Rome*, leading with him his victorious army. His approach filled the city with terror; the more so, as when he sent the head of *Albinus* to *Rome*, he wrote a letter to the senate, in which, after reproaching them with ingratitude, and taxing them with affection to his rival, he extolled the conduct and government of *Commodus*, and told them, *He sent them Albinus's head, that they might thereby know they had provoked him, and see with their own eyes the effects of his resentment.* The day after his arrival he went to the senate, and read a speech filled with bitter invectives against the partizans of *Albinus*; produced several letters which he had seized among that general's papers; commended the cruelties of *Sylla*, *Marius*, and *Augustus*, as necessary precautions; ascribed the ruin of *Pompey*, and the death of *Cæsar* to their unseasonable clemency; and ordered *Commodus* to be ranked among the gods, and an annual festival to be instituted to his honour. He then returned to the palace, and filled *Rome* with massacres and bloodshed. In a few days, forty-two senators, most of whom had been consuls or prætors, were sacrificed to his fury; and, if we may believe *Herodian*, none of any order escaped his rage, whose birth or riches gave them any power in the senate, or the provinces. After he had spent some months at *Rome*, and there cut off all that gave him the least umbrage, he set out for the East, with his two sons *Caracalla* and *Geta*, with a design to make war upon the *Parthians*, who had made themselves masters of great part of *Mesopotamia*. Upon his arrival there, the *Parthians* retired back into their own country. He then proceeded to *Selencia* and *Babylon*, both

He goes
into the
East, to
make
war upon
the Par-
thians.

Takes
Seleucia,
Babylon,
and *Ctesi-
phon*.

Year of
Rome 949.
of Christ

197.

which places he took without opposition, the enemy having abandoned them. From thence he advanced to *Ctesiphon*, the metropolis of *Parthia*, which he took after a painful siege, and gave up to be plundered by his soldiers, who put all the men to the sword, but spared the women and children, whom, to the number of an hundred thousand, they sold for slaves. For these advantages the senate decreed him a triumph, and the title of *Parthicus Maximus*. The next year he attacked the city of *Atra* twice, but was obliged to abandon his enterprize, after having lost a great many men, and most of his engines of war. He spent the following year in searching after, and putting to death, such of *Niger's* friends as had not yet been discovered; on which occasion numbers were condemned, especially if they were rich, or nobly born. After this, he gave the manly robe to his eldest son, though he was then but fourteen years old, and named him consul with himself for the following year, in

which he went into *Arabia*, and from thence into *Palestine*, where

where he published an edict, forbidding, under the severest *Severus.* penalties, the subjects of the empire to embrace either the *Jewish* or the *Christian* religion ; which gave rise to the fifth *The fifth general persecution.* From *Palestine* he passed into *Egypt*, general visited all the cities and curiosities of that country, and then persecuti- went to *Alexandria*, from whence he returned to *Rome*, on. where he distributed among the soldiers and people a much greater largess than any prince had given before. He like- wise treated them with most magnificent shews, which lasted seven days ; at the end of which he gave the manly robe to his second son *Geta*, and married his eldest son *Caracalla* to *Plautilla*, the daughter of his chief favourite and prime mi- *Caracalla nister Plautianus*, who, from a very mean descent, had raised married himself to such a height of power, that even the emperor's to the brother, and the empress herself, feared him. His enor- mous abuse of this power was still worse ; for he condemn- ed, banished, and even put to death, whoever gave him the *tianus*. least umbrage, let them be never so illustrious, without so much as consulting the emperor, or letting him know it. Great The senators and soldiers swore by *the fortune of Plautianus* ; power of public vows and sacrifices were offered for his safety, as if that mi- he had been emperor ; *Rome* was filled with his statues, mostly erected by the authority of the senate ; his table was better served than that of the emperor, and his equipage far more magnificent : and as all favours were conferred thro' his channel, his house was constantly crowded with suitors of all ranks, to whom he was harder of access, than even the emperor. His riches were so immense, that *Dion Cassius* says, he gave his daughter upon her marriage as much as would have been a sufficient dower for fifty queens. He was captain of the guards, and consul this year. But this great elevation served only to accelerate his ruin : for *Caracalla*, unable to bear the imperious temper of his wife *Plautilla*, and hating both her and her father *Plautianus*, openly de- clared, *That if ever he obtained the sovereign power, they should both feel the effects of his resentment.* *Plautianus* being told of this, resolved to be beforehand with him ; not doubting but that, if he was removed, he should be able to seize the empire for himself, as *Severus* was now advanced in years, and greatly troubled with the gout. In the mean time, the emperor's brother *Geta* being taken ill, desired to see *Severus* before he died, and represented to him so strongly the un- justifiable conduct of his favourite minister, that the em- peror began to look upon him with a jealous eye, and by degrees lessened his overgrown authority. Upon this, *Plau- tianus* resolved to make use of the power he still had left ; and, by the murder of the emperor's son, to secure the sovereignty to himself. His design being discovered, he was sent for to the palace, and as he was entering the empe- ror's room, *Caracalla* rushed upon him, snatched his sword He is from his side, which he wore as captain of the guards, and murdered ordered

Severus. ordered those who were present to dispatch him, being prevented by the emperor from doing it himself.

As the empire now enjoyed a profound peace, *Severus* was at leisure to reform many abuses, which he did accordingly, making several laws equally just and necessary. He chose for governors of the provinces men of unblemished characters, and appointed captain of the guards, in the room of *Plautianus*, the celebrated civilian *Papinianus*; for at this time the chief province of that officer was to decide law-suits with the emperor, or in his name. But in the midst of this tranquility his cruelty still prevailed; and the following year was remarkable for the death of many illustrious senators, inhumanly butchered by his command.

The *Britons* revolted the next year the *Britons* revolted, and committed dreadful ravages in the territories which the *Romans* possessed in their island. *Severus* thereupon resolved to go over thither in person, and took with him both his sons, after investing *Geta*, the youngest of them, with the tribunitial power, and conferring upon him the title of *Augustus*, which he had given three years before to *Caracalla*; so that there were now three *Augustuses* at a time, which had never happened before.

Severus passes over into *Britain*. *Severus* spent the first winter after his landing in *Britain* in the southern parts of the island, from whence he pursued his march, the next spring, to the most northern coasts, laying the country waste, and putting all to fire and sword; insomuch, that the *Caledonians* were in the end obliged to purchase a peace, by yielding up part of their country, and delivering up their arms. But for the particulars of this expedition, and the wall which *Severus* built from sea to sea, to part the *Roman* territories from those of the North *Britons*, not subject to *Rome*, the reader is referred to our history of *England*.

Caracalla attempted first to murder, and afterwards to depose his father in *Britain*, but miscarried in both: however, the grief which this unnatural behaviour of his son gave him, increased his distemper so much, that it soon brought him to the grave. Finding his end approaching, he cried out, *I have been all that a man can be, and find it nothing*. He then ordered the urn to be brought, in which his ashes were to be inclosed, and laying his hand upon it said, *Little urn, thou shalt contain one, for whom the whole world was not big enough*. After this, he sent for his two sons, and ordered the speech of *Micipsa* to his children, in *Sallust*, to be read to them, exhorted them to concord and unity, and recommended to them, to enrich the soldiers, and gain their affection, without caring whether they were beloved or hated by the rest of their subjects. As his pains increased, especially in his feet, he called for poison; but no one daring to administer it to him, he is said to have glutted himself with coarse meats, which, for want of digestion, soon put

an end to his life. He died at *York*, on the fourth of *February*, in the year 211, after having lived sixty-five years, nine months, and twenty-five days, and reigned seventeen years, eight months, and three days. His body was burnt at *York*, His death and his ashes conveyed by his two sons to *Rome*, where he was ranked among the gods. He was certainly a person of extraordinary parts ; but all his good qualities were quite eclipsed by his excessive cruelty, and insatiable avarice. The exchequer, which he found quite empty, was exceeding rich when he died ; and the public granaries were stored with corn enough to supply the city for seven years. It was said of him, after his death, if *Spartian* is to be credited, as it had been formerly said of *Augustus*, *That he ought never to have been born, or never to have died* ; so great were his cruelties, and so excellent his regulations.

C A R A C A L L A.

SEVERUS was succeeded by his two sons *Bassianus* and *Caracalla* *Geta*, who were born of two mothers, the former of *Martia*, and *Geta* and the other of *Julia*. *Bassianus* is most commonly known emperors. by the name of *Caracalla*, a *Gaulish* word for a kind of cas-sock used in *Gaul*, which he first introduced among the *Romans*. In his infancy he was mild and sweet tempered, but abandoned himself to all manner of cruelty as he grew up, and proved in the end a most inhuman tyrant. *Geta*, on the contrary, in his tender years, seemed as void of humanity as his father ; but afterwards became so mild and affable, that he was the darling both of the soldiery and people. They shewed, from their childhood, an utter aversion to each other, and were continually quarrelling, even in their diversions. This antipathy increased as they advanced in years ; and the moment *Severus* was dead, *Caracalla* solicited the army to exclude his brother ; but they rejected his suit, and proclaimed them both emperors. *Caracalla* immediately concluded a shameful treaty with the *Britons*, and he and his brother set out for *Rome*, with their mother *Julia*, who used every endeavour to reconcile them, but in vain ; for *Caracalla* attempted to murder *Geta* on the road ; and this attempt increased their animosities to such a degree, that *vours to* they thenceforth marched with separate guards, and watched each others motions as carefully as if they had been declared enemies.

Upon their arrival at *Rome*, after performing the obse- Their ar- quies of their deceased father with great solemnity, they di- rival at vided between them the palace, which, *Herodian* says, was *Rome*. larger

Caracalla larger than any city in the empire, *Rome* excepted. *Caracalla* soon attempted again to murder *Geta*, the consequence of which was an almost open war between the two princes, and the loss of many lives. *Julia* did all she could to reconcile them; and *Caracalla*, feigning to yield to her desires, invited his brother to an interview in her chamber, where some centurions, whom he had suborned, and privately concealed in an adjoining room, rushed in, and killed *Geta* in his mother's arms. *Geta* was then under three and twenty years of age, and *Caracalla* about twenty-four. *Caracalla* fled directly to the camp of the prætorians, where, pretending that a conspiracy had been formed against his life, he, by degrees, let the soldiers know that he was sole sovereign, and now able to bestow upon them what wealth and honours he pleased, as an earnest of which he immediately doubled their pay, already very high, and added a largess of two thousand five hundred drachmas a man, which he gave them leave to take that instant out of the public treasury. He then told them, *That his brother Geta had attempted to murder him, but had lost his life in the attempt*: upon which the soldiers saluted him sole emperor, and declared the unhappy *Geta* a traitor and a public enemy. By this extravagant largess *Caracalla* spent in one day, what *Severus* had been eighteen years heaping up, by innumerable murders and unjust confiscations.

Caracalla
goes to
the senate

Caracalla passed all that night in the camp, and the next day went to the senate, with a cuirass under his robes, and guarded by all his troops, some of whom he even placed among the senators, for his greater security. He then made a speech, wherein he endeavoured to blacken *Geta*, and justify himself; and, after instancing *Romulus*, and some others, who had revenged with death injuries offered them by their brothers, he concluded with giving leave to all that were in banishment to return home. From the senate he returned to the palace, where he gave orders for the dead body of his brother to be interred with great magnificence, and prevailed upon the senate to rank him among the gods.

*Causes
Geta to be
ranked a-
mong the
gods.*

He then vented his fury upon many illustrious persons, whom he disliked, under pretence of their being friends to *Geta*, among whom was the celebrated civilian *Papinian*, whose crime was, his having refused to compose a speech for *Caracalla*, to justify the murder of *Geta*. When the emperor pressed him to it, he answered with great firmness,

*Caracal-
la's cru-
ties at
Rome.*

It is not so easy a thing to justify a parricide, as to commit it; and it is a second parricide to defame an innocent person, after having taken away his life. *Caracalla*, provoked at this answer, ordered his head to be immediately struck off. A daughter of the emperor *M. Aurelius*; *Septimius Severus Afer*, the son of *Geta*, brother to the late emperor *Severus*; *Pompeianus*, who had been twice consul, and was grandson to the emperor *M. Aurelius*; *Helvius Pertinax*, son to the emperor of that name;

name ; and *Lætus*, one of *Caracalla's* most intimate friends, *Caracalla*
 fell, among numbers of other illustrious persons, victims to
 his rage, which extended to the enemies as well as the
 friends of *Geta*. Even those of the vestal virgins who had
 pitied *Geta*, were ordered to be strangled. In short, no sex,
 rank, or age escaped his cruelty. The people were loaded
 with enormous taxes, and often put to death merely for his
 diversion. No prince ever employed more iniquitous means
 of raising money, or squandered it away with more prodi-
 gality, and always upon those who least of all deserved it,
 such as, his guards, buffoons, players, gladiators, &c. He
 was author of the famous law, by which all the free subjects
 of the empire were declared *Roman* citizens.

Finding himself generally hated at *Rome*, he resolved to His expe-
 leave the city, and, after the example of *Adrian*, to visit all dition a-
 the provinces of the empire. Accordingly, in the third year gainst the
 of his reign, he went into *Gaul*, where he exercised as great *Catti* and
 cruelties as he had done at *Rome*, and, in consequence thereof, *Alemanni*.
 soon became as much despised there. The next year he re-
 turned to *Rome*, but made only a short stay there, the *Catti*
 and *Alemanni*, whom we now find mentioned for the first
 time in history, and several other *German* nations, having
 taken up arms, and made incursions into the *Roman* domi-
 nions. *Caracalla* marched against them, and in that expedi-
 tion shewed himself a better soldier than commander ; for,
 though he behaved with great courage, and even challenged
 the bravest of the enemy to a single combat, yet, for want of
 conduct, he was obliged to purchase a peace with large sums.
 This was no sooner known, than all the nations of *Germany*
 threatened him with war, if he did not give them mo-
 ney too. Intimidated by these menaces he agreed to pay
 them yearly stipends, and by that means reduced himself to
 such freights, that he was obliged to coin false money, to
 be circulated at home, whilst all the good gold and silver
 was sent abroad. When he concluded this shameful treaty
 with the deputies of the barbarians, he suffered no one to
 be present except the interpreters, whom he immediately
 caused to be put to death, lest they should divulge what
 had passed : then giving out, that all the enemies had sub-
 mitted, he took the title of *Germanicus* and *Alemannicus*.
 The next year, he left *Germany*, and marched into *Dacia*,
 where he gained some small advantages over the *Getæ*, and He passes
 from thence pursued his rout through *Thrace*, and, crossing over into
 over into *Asia*, went to *Pergamus*, to pay his devotions to *Asia*.
 the god *Æsculapius* ; from thence to *Ilium*, to view the re-
 mains of *Troy*, and the tomb of *Achilles* ; and from *Ilium* to
Nicomedia, where he spent the winter ; always obliging most
 of the senators to attend him in his journeys, to defray his
 charges, and build for him, wherever he staid any time,
 theatres, circuses, and other places of diversion ; and dress-
 ing after the manner of the countries he passed through, in
 order

Caracalla order to gain the affections of those people. Leaving *Nicomedia* the next year, he went to *Antioch*, where he was received with extraordinary magnificence, and from whence he wrote to the senate, telling them, *That he knew they did not approve of his conduct, but that he neither valued nor feared them so long as he had an army at his command.* He there wanted to pick a quarrel with the *Parthians*, who were then distracted with civil wars among themselves: but on their complying with his demands, and thereby removing all colour for a war, he bent his mind upon the reduction of *Osrhoene* and *Armenia*, though the kings of both those countries lived in perfect amity with the *Romans*. Full of this design, he invited them both to *Antioch*, as friends and allies of *Rome*, and, without even assigning a reason for it, caused them to be arrested and imprisoned. The consequence of this was, that *Osrhoene* immediately submitted, and was reduced to a *Roman* province: but the *Armenians*, resenting the insult, totally overthrew the *Roman* army, which was commanded by one *Theocritus*, a comedian; for such were the people whom *Caracalla* preferred to the most important offices of the state.

Treacherously imprisons the kings of *Osrhoene* and *Armenia*.

Orders a general massacre at *Alexandria*.

His infamous treachery towards the *Parthians*.

From *Antioch* the emperor went to *Alexandria*, where, to punish the people of that city for some lampoons they had published against him, on occasion of the death of *Geta*, he gave private orders to his troops, who were dispersed all over the city, to fall upon the inhabitants in the night-time, to plunder their houses, and put all to the sword. His orders were executed with a barbarity hardly to be expressed; and the butchery continued all the next day, that he might have the pleasure of beholding it from the temple of *Serapis*, where he had passed the preceding night. When the soldiers were tired with slaughter, he stripped the city of all its privileges, suppressed its celebrated assembly of learned men, ordered all strangers to quit the place, and that such as had escaped the general massacre, who were but very few, might not have the satisfaction of seeing one another, he cut off all communication of one street with another, by walls built for that purpose, and guarded by his soldiers. Notwithstanding this disaster, *Alexandria* soon recovered its splendor after his death, and continued to be the second city of the empire.

From *Alexandria* the tyrant returned to *Antioch*, with a design to make war upon the *Parthians*; and, in order to have a pretence for quarrelling with them, he sent an embassy to *Artabanes* their king, desiring his daughter in marriage, which he doubted not would be refused. However, *Artabanes* complied with it; suffered him to enter his dominions; ordered all his governors to receive him with the utmost magnificence; and went himself to meet him, attended by the chief nobility of the kingdom, and a numerous body of guards, all unarmed. But *Caracalla*, with a treachery

treachery hardly to be matched, ordered his soldiers to fall upon the defenceless multitude, of whom they killed a prodigious number. The king himself had the good fortune to escape, which so enraged the perfidious monster, that he wreaked his fury on all the countries through which he passed on his return to *Syria*, from whence he sent a boasting account of this expedition to the senate, who, though they knew full well what had passed, decreed him a triumph, and the title of *Parthicus*, which was what he most of all desired.

The next year, *Macrinus*, captain of the guards, incensed at the ill treatment he had received from *Caracalla*, and particularly at his rallying him as a coward, and threatening him with death ; having gained over several of the officers, who, like him, were weary of the tyrant, resolved to be revenged of him. An opportunity soon offered : for, as the emperor was going on horseback, with only a small retinue, from *Edeffa*, to visit a temple of the moon at *Carthæ*, being obliged to alight to ease nature, and all withdrawing, except a single domestic, as he was going to mount again, *Martialis*, one of the conspirators, ran hastily up to him, and gave *Caracalla* him such a stab in the throat, that he expired immediately. This was done so suddenly, that *Martialis* returned to his horse, and mixed with the crowd, before any one knew what had passed : but when the emperor's death was known, a *Scythian*, who belonged to the guards, seeing him with a bloody dagger in his hand, which, in his confusion, he had forgot to hide, and thence concluding him to be the author of the murder, shot him through with an arrow. Such was, in the thirtieth year of his age, and after a reign of six years, two months, and four days, the end of this monster, who, in all respects, most resembled *Caligula*. His mother *Julia*, with whom, some say, he carried on an incestuous commerce, starved herself to death soon after.

MACRINUS and DIADUMENUS.

THE sudden death of *Caracalla* caused some confusion among the soldiers, who were three days in suspense which they should elect in his stead, *Audentius* or *Macrinus*. But on the fourth, they chose the former, who, considering the unsettled state of the empire, wisely declined the sovereignty, and resigned it to *Macrinus*, who readily accepted it, and, after making a flattering speech to the soldiers, and giving them a considerable largess, nominated his son *Diadumenus* his associate in the empire, gave him the surname of *Antoninus*,

Macrinus Antoninus, as well to remove all suspicion of his having been concerned in the murder of *Caracalla*, who was likewise called *Antoninus*, as to please the *Romans*, by whom that name was held in great veneration ; and then wrote letters to the senate and people, acquainting them with the manner of his election, and desiring their approbation of it ; assuring them, with many solemn oaths, that he was not guilty of the death of *Caracalla*. The senate, without much considering his merit, confirmed the election, and likewise his nomination of his son *Diadumenus*, to be his partner in the sovereignty.

Opelius Macrinus was a native of *Cæsarea* in *Mauritania*, now *Algier*, and of very mean extraction. Favour had raised him to the office of prætorian præfect, from which treason and chance now promoted him to the empire, in the fifty-third year of his age. The senate at *Rome* loaded the memory of *Caracalla* with curses and infamy ; but very shortly after, the troops under *Macrinus* absolutely insisted on his being deified, which both the emperor and the senate were forced to comply with ; so great was the authority which the army had now usurped.

The *Romans*, defeated by the *Parthians*, with whom *Macrinus* concludes a peace. Soon after the election of *Macrinus*, *Artabanes*, king of the *Parthians*, resolving to retaliate the injuries he had received from *Caracalla*, invaded the *Roman* territories with a powerful army. *Macrinus*, just, but naturally timid, endeavoured to appease him by sending back all the prisoners taken by *Caracalla*, and with them ambassadors to propose a peace, on terms equally honourable to both nations. But *Artabanes* making much higher demands than *Macrinus* could comply with, two battles were fought, in which the *Romans*, now quite effeminated and enervated, were defeated with such loss, that *Macrinus*, not daring to venture a third engagement, purchased a peace with fifty millions of drachmas. However, the senate decreed him the surname of *Parthicus*. The *Armenians*, whom *Caracalla* had likewise provoked, were appeased by his restoring their king *Tigranes* to the throne, and giving him the lands they had formerly possessed in *Capadoccia*.

He makes several good laws. *Macrinus* then returned to *Antioch*, where he made several excellent laws, and endeavoured, as much as he could, to reform numberless abuses. Among other things, he made adultery capital, and punished with death such informers as could not make good their accusations. When they did, they had the usual reward, that is, the fourth part of the offender's estate ; but at the same time they were declared infamous. His severity against real criminals was great ; but he was very merciful and clement in what concerned only himself : for a conspiracy being discovered against him, he not only pardoned three of the chief accomplices, but continued them in their employments. These were some of this emperor's virtues ; but he was not without his faults ;

faults ; for, as he himself was of a mean descent, he not *Macrinus* only preferred to the highest posts persons of his own condition, though, generally speaking, void of merit, but displaced those who were nobly born. This greatly indisposed His faults. the nobility against him. The soldiery were not less incensed, on account of his excessive severity towards them : and, to heighten their resentment, they were now informed, that he had been the chief author of the murder of *Caracalla*. These motives determined them to revolt, and chose another emperor in his room, which they did the following year. This revolution was brought about chiefly by the contrivance of *Mæsa*, sister to the late empress *Julia*, a woman of great courage, subtilty, and policy, and immensely rich. Ever since the death of *Caracalla* she had been confined to a city of *Phœnicia*, called *Emessa*, not far distant from *Antioch*, or from *Macrinus's* army. This woman had two daughters, *Sœmis* and *Mammæa*, the former of whom had a son named *Bassianus*, fourteen years of age ; and the latter another, called *Alexianus*, two years younger. *Bassianus* was high priest of the temple of the sun at *Emessa*, and thence called *Heliogabulus*, which, in the *Phœnician* language, signified a priest of the sun. The Roman soldiers, who went frequently to that temple, took a great liking to him, on account of his graceful person and behaviour. The artful *Mæsa* observing this, gave out, that *Heliogabulus* was the son of *Caracalla*, and that she would amply reward those who should espouse his cause. The soldiery thereupon invited her and her grandson to their camp, and upon their arrival, proclaimed *Heliogabulus* emperor, by the name of *M. Aurelius Antoninus*, and invested him with all the ensigns of sovereignty.

The news of this revolt was a thunder-clap to *Macrinus*, *Macrinus* who, with his son-in-law, marched out of *Antioch* at the head defeated of the praetorian bands. The two armies met on the con- and put to fines of *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, and a bloody battle ensued, in death. which *Macrinus* was defeated, and, with his son *Diadumenus*, Year of fled towards *Parthia*. They were both overtaken and put to Rome⁹⁶. death. *Macrinus* reigned fourteen months wanting three of *Christ*, days.

214.

HELIOGABALUS.

IMMEDIATELY after the death of *Macrinus*, *Heliogabulus*, by the advice of his grandmother *Mæsa*, wrote a letter acquainting them with what had passed, and desiring their confirmation of his election. His emperor.

Heliogabatus.

His character.

His request was granted, no one daring to oppose him; tho', at the same time, the government of *Macrinus* was liked much better. Having settled the affairs of the East, with the assistance of *Mesa* and her favourites, the new emperor set out for *Rome*; but was obliged to stay some time in *Bithynia*; where he gave such flagrant proofs of his strong propensity to every kind of vice, as plainly shewed what was to be expected from him. He was but fourteen years of age when he was declared emperor; but, even in that early dawn of life, superlatively profligate, impious, lewd, inhuman, effeminate, and prodigal; exceeding even *Nero* and *Caligula*, and all the tyrants that ever disgraced a crown. His grandmother, *Mesa*, a woman of great parts and experience, did all she could to keep him within some bounds, but in vain; for he despised her, and listened only to the wicked counsels of his mother *Soemis*, and of such as flattered him in his crimes. His whole reign was a continued series of such shocking infamies, abominable lewdness, and unheard of debaucheries, as, were we to enter into a detail of them, would make the reader blush to see, as it would us to write them. Though he did not reign quite four years, he married, in that short time, six wives. One of them was a vestal virgin, whom he soon put away, but afterwards took again, saying, *That, as she was a priestess, and he a priest, he hoped to have by her an offspring worthy of the immortal gods.* He turned his palace into a public brothel, filling it with prostitutes for whoever came; and soon after he drove them out, and took in a herd of infamous catamites; of which number he himself was; having been publicly married, first to *Aurelius Zoticus*, one of his officers; and afterwards, to *Hierocles*, a slave. In short, he was so lost to all sense of shame, that he made no scruple of satisfying, even his most unnatural lusts, in public; and in the face of the whole Roman people.

His prodigality was as boundless as his lust; for, in the short time that he reigned, he reduced all the subjects of the empire almost to beggary, and left the exchequer quite empty at his death. When he went abroad, all the way between his chamber, and the place where his chariot waited for him, was strewed with gold dust. All his table, chairs, chests, &c. were of pure gold. Though his clothes were exceeding costly, and beset with jewels, he never wore the same suit twice, nor ever put on again a ring which he had once used. He was constantly served in gold plate; but every night, after supper, presented to his guests and attendants what had been used that day. He often distributed among the people and soldiery, not only corn and money, as the other emperors had done, but gold and silver plate, precious stones, and tickets intitling them to immense sums, which were instantly paid. He filled his fish-ponds with rose-water: and the *naumachia*, where the sea-fights were exhibited, with

with wine. His banquets were extravagant beyond belief; his favourite dishes being tongues of peacocks and nightingales, and the brains of parrots and pheasants. He fed his dogs with the liver of geese, his horses with raisins, and his wild beasts with partridges and pheasants. His cruelty was equal to his lewdness and prodigality. Before he left Syria, he put to death several persons of distinction, both in the East and at *Rome*; as he did likewise in *Bithynia*, where he passed the winter of the first year of his reign.

Early the next spring, *Heliogabalus* arrived at *Rome*, where, though already hated by every one, he was received with his grand-great demonstrations of joy. The next day he went to the mother a senator, and taking with him his grandmother, placed her senator, next to the consuls, ordered her name to be set down among and insti-those of the other senators, and appointed, that she should tutes a se-vote as the rest, and be consulted in all matters of import-nate of ance. For his mother, he instituted a senate consisting only women. of women, and declared her their president. The subject of their debates was to settle the dress, visits, ceremonies, ranks, &c. of the *Roman* ladies. He then set about building a magnificent temple in the suburbs of *Rome*, and establishing a worship in it to his god *Heliogabalus*, or the *Sun*; preferring him to *Jupiter* and all the gods of the *Romans*, who, he said, were but the servants of his god: at the same time declaring, that no other should be adored at *Rome*, or elsewhere. To this end, he stripped all the other temples of their ornaments; and that his god might not be without a companion, he married him to the image of *Pallas*, which had been kept locked up for many ages with great devotion: but this match displeasing him soon after, he declared, that his god did not like so martial a wife; and therefore divorced him, and married him to *Urania*, saying, *It was much more proper to marry the sun and the moon together.*

In his second consulship, he took for his colleague one *Eu-* *Adopts* *tychanus*, a freedman, and a noted buffoon: and the next *Alexianus* year, through the persuasions of *Mæsa*, who foresaw that and cre-the *Romans* would not long bear with such a prince, he ates him adopted his cousin *Alexianus*, and declared him *Cæsar*, tho' *Cæsar*. he was then but twelve, or at most thirteen years old. The young prince took the names of *Alexander* and *Severus*. *Heli-* *gabalus* treated him, for some time, in a very friendly manner; but finding that the excellent youth could not be pre-vailed on to follow his courses, and that he was more beloved by the people and soldiery than himself, he repented his hav-ing adopted him, and gave orders to those about him to dis-patch him. Finding this impracticable, through the great care and circumspection of *Mamæa*, mother to young *Alex-ander*; and of the emperor's grandmother *Mæsa*; he ordered the senate to annul the adoption, and sent assassins to murder him. The prætorian guards being informed of this, flew to the palace, and would have put *Heliogabalus* himself to death

Heliogabalus.

had he not softened them by promising to abandon to them all his debauched companions, to redress all their grievances, and to lead a quite different life for the future.

The soldiers mutiny,

and kill
Heliogabalus.

The next year, pretending to be reconciled with *Alexander*, he made him his colleague in his third consulship: but, being still determined to get rid of him, he ordered all the senators to quit the city, lest they should thwart his designs; and then, shutting *Alexander* up in the palace, gave out, that he was suddenly taken ill, and was almost past recovery. This report he spread on purpose to sound the soldiery; who, the moment they heard it, ran to arms, and demanded to see *Alexander*. The emperor thereupon conducted him to the camp, where he was received with loud acclamations of joy, whilst no sort of notice was taken of *Heliogabalus*, who, provoked therat, ordered those who had applauded *Alexander* to be punished as traitors. The rest, incensed at this, rescued them from the executioners, and crowded tumultuously about the emperor, with dreadful menaces; which so terrified him, that he attempted to save himself by flight, while those who attended him endeavoured to disperse the multitude. A fray ensued, in which *Heliogabalus's* people were defeated and cut to pieces. He himself retired, during the scuffle, to one of the privies of the camp, where he was soon discovered, and murdered by the enraged soldiery, with his mother *Sejanis*, who had fled thither with him, and held him the whole time in her arms. Both their heads were cut off; and after their bodies had been ignominiously treated by the populace, and dragged through the city, that of *Heliogabalus* was thrown into the *Tiber*, with a weight fastened to it, to prevent its being taken up and buried. Such was the deserved end of *Heliogabalus*, the most wicked and debauched of all the *Roman* emperors, in the eighteenth year of his age, after he had reigned three years, nine months, and four days. The senate immediately ordered the name of *Antoninus*, which he had assumed, and most shamefully disgraced, to be erased out of all the public records, and inscriptions of his reign; and at the same time passed a decree, making it capital for any one to attempt to introduce women into the senate.

A L E X A N D E R.

Alexander
declared
emperor.

HELIOGABALUS was no sooner dead, than his cousin *Alexander*, then in the fourteenth year of his age, was proclaimed emperor by the soldiery, and conducted from the camp to the senate, where he was received with all possible demon.

demonstrations of joy, and honoured with the titles of *Augustus*, of *Father of his country*, and all the other marks of distinction peculiar to the imperial dignity. He was the son of *Julia Mammæa*, and a native of the city of *Acra* in *Phœnicia*, where he was born in a temple consecrated to *Alexander* and the Great; which was his reason for his taking the name of *Alexander* when he was adopted by *Heliogabalus*. His father, *Genesius Marciarus*, a *Syrian*, dying when he was very young, his mother brought him up with great care, putting about him such only as were thoroughly qualified to instruct him, and form his morals. He was a perfect master of the *Greek* tongue; well, though not quite so much, acquainted with the *Latin*; skilled in all the branches of polite learning, and in painting, singing, music, &c. He was mild, humane, and generous, even from his infancy: and made it his study to please and oblige every one.

As soon as he came to the empire, he chose, by the advice of his mother *Mammæa*, and his grandmother *Mæsa*, both women of great experience and extraordinary parts, and to whom he paid an entire deference, sixteen senators for his council, all men of known probity, and long versed in public affairs; and undertook nothing without their advice. The first year of his reign was wholly taken up in re-forming the many enormous abuses which had prevailed in the court under his predecessor. With this view, he banished all the freedmen, slaves, eunuchs, players, and buffoons, who had borne any sway in the late reign; and put, in their room; persons of blameless characters and known integrity. He then reformed, in the like manner, all the public offices, punishing severely those who had misbehaved and oppressed the people.

The next year, he married *Sulpitia Memmia*, daughter of *Sulpitius*, a consular. As the whole empire enjoyed, at this time, a profound peace, nothing remarkable happened the two following years; but the year after, *Artaxerxes*, having utterly ruined the *Parthians*, and re-established the *Persian* empire, advanced, at the head of a mighty army, against the *Romans*, with a design to recover the provinces which had formerly belonged to the *Persian* empire. Many of the *Romans* quartered in *Mesopotamia* joined him, and he might easily have over-run that country, and *Syria*, had he not, on his march, attacked the city of *Atra*; before which he lost such numbers of men, without being able to reduce it, that he was obliged to return back to his own country. In the sixth year of *Alexander's* reign, the prætorian guards, being provoked against their captain *Domitius Ulpianus*, for endeavouring to restore discipline among them, murdered that officer in the emperor's presence.

The next year, the soldiers mutinied in several provinces. The troops in *Mesopotamia* revolted, murdered their general, and mutiny.

Alexander and went, in great numbers, over to the *Perians*; and those in *Syria* proclaimed emperor one *Taurinus*, who, rather than accept the sovereignty, drowned himself in the *Euphrates*. At *Rome*, the prætorian guards attempted to raise one *Antoninus* to the empire; but he, declining it, withdrew into the country, and never after appeared in the city. But *Ovinius Camillus*, a senator, descended from one of the most illustrious families in *Rome*, studying to gain the affections of the soldiery, in order to raise himself to the empire by their means, *Alexander* was no sooner informed of his private practices, than he sent for him to court, and thanked him for offering to take upon him so great a burthen, styled him his colleague, took him with him to the senate, allotted him an apartment in the palace, caused him to be attired in a far more pompous habit than his own, and treated him in every respect as his partner in the empire. A war against the *Germans* breaking out about this time, which required the emperor's presence, *Alexander* offered the command of the army to *Camillus*; and on his declining it, desired he would, at least, share with him the fatigue and the glory of that expedition. Accordingly, they both set out from *Rome* on foot; but *Camillus*, who was not inured to a military life, being tired after five miles march, *Alexander* begged he would pursue his journey on horseback; which he did for two days; when the emperor, perceiving that he could not bear even that fatigue, ordered a chariot to be provided for him; which so mortified *Camillus*, that he begged leave to resign the empire and return home. *Alexander* granted his request; assuring him, before they parted, that he might live in safety where he pleased. *Camillus* retired to his country-seat, and there remained unmolested during the reign of *Alexander*, but was put to death by his successor, for what reason we know not. The *Germans* were overcome by *Varius Macrinus*, governor of *Illyricum*; as were also this year some who had rebelled in *Mauritania* and *Armenia*, by *Furius Celsus* and *Junius Palmatus*, who were both rewarded with the consular ornaments.

The following year, the emperor entered upon his third consulship; in which *Dion Cassius*, now the second time consul, was his colleague. *Dion's* known severity to the soldiers, if they neglected the least part of their duty, made the prætorian guards begin to mutiny, and press the emperor to put him to death, as soon as they saw him appear in *Rome*, imagining that he had been recalled from *Pannonia*, of which he was governor, on purpose to command them. But *Alexander*, without hearkening to their unjust demand, honoured him wth his friendship, and loaded him with favours. However, fearing lest the soldiers might insult him if he appeared in *Rome* with the ensigns of the consular dignity, he advised him to pass the time of his consulship in the country; which

he

he accordingly did, and soon after obtained leave to withdraw *Alexander* to *Bithynia*, his native country, where he ended his days in quiet and retirement.

In the tenth year of *Alexander's* reign, *Artaxerxes* unexpectedly invaded the *Roman* dominions at the head of a prodigious army, ravaged *Mesopotamia*, and advanced to the very *Roman* confines of *Syria*. The emperor thereupon sent ambassadors to him, with a letter, exhorting him not to engage the two empires in a dangerous war, without provocation, and putting him in mind of the victories gained over the eastern nations by *Augustus*, *Trajan*, *Verus*, and *Severus*. But *Artaxerxes*, puffed up with his successes, despised the remonstrances of *Alexander*, and pursued his ravages in *Mesopotamia*; laid siege to *Nisbis*, and, entering *Cappadocia*, destroyed all with fire and sword. Upon this, *Alexander* resolved to march against him in person, and accordingly left *Rome* in the beginning of the next year, and, towards autumn, arrived at *Antioch*, from whence he sent a second embassy to *Artaxerxes*, but with no better success than before; the haughty *Persian* only deriding him for his peaceable temper. *Alexander* then prepared in earnest for war, and took the field at the head of a numerous army, observing, in all his marches and motions, such strict order and discipline, that his camp seemed a well-governed city, his soldiers citizens, and his officers senators. He was soon met by *Artaxerxes*, whose army was the greatest that had ever been seen in those parts; consisting of an innumerable multitude of foot, an hundred and thirty thousand horse, eighteen hundred armed chariots, and seven hundred elephants, bearing towers on their backs, filled with archers, after the *Persian* manner. A battle ensued, in which *Artaxerxes* was entirely defeated, and forced to fly; and all *Mesopotamia* was again brought under subjection. *Alexander* then returned to *Antioch*, with a design to pursue the war with fresh vigor the following year: but being informed, in the mean time, that the *Germans* had taken up arms, and invaded the *Roman* dominions; and that *Artaxerxes* had disbanded great part of his army for want of provisions, he returned to *Rome*, which he entered in triumph; and from thence marched into *Gaul* with his victorious troops, to stem the torrent of the northern nations, who had passed the *Rhine* and the *Danube* in great numbers: but the enemy retired upon his approach.

In the mean time, the legions quartered in *Gaul*, having been long accustomed to idleness and all manner of debauchery, began to murmur at the severity with which *Alexander* endeavoured to reform their discipline. Their discontents were fomented under hand by one *Maximin*, a *Goth*, whom *Alexander*, for his valour, had preferred to the command of a body of *Pannonians*. The emperor was then at, or near, *Mentz*, and had but a slender guard with him. *Maximin*, resolving to lay hold of this opportunity to kill him, not

Alexander doubting but the troops under his command would, in that case, proclaim him emperor, communicated his design to some of the most resolute of his men, who, animated with the hopes of great preferment, readily engaged to put it in execution, and immediately set out for the place where the emperor then was, which they contrived to reach about an hour after noon, when those who attended him were withdrawn to refresh themselves, according to the *Roman* custom, with a short sleep after dinner. They no sooner appeared, than the few soldiers who were upon guard, probably gained over before-hand by *Maximin*, fled. *Mammæa*, alarmed at the unexpected tumult, ran out, attended by the captains of the guards, to appease it : but the assassins, after murdering both her and them, rushed with their drawn swords into the emperor's tent, who, being unarmed and left quite alone, threw his mantle over his face, and fell beneath their blows, without uttering a single word. Such was the unfortunate end of *Alexander Severus*, in the twenty-seventh year of his age, after a noble and prosperous reign of thirteen years and nine days. If we except *Julius Cæsar*, whose ambition overwhelmed him ; and *Pertinax*, whose ruin was owing to his avarice ; this was the first good emperor of *Rome* who died an unnatural death : and this may justly be imputed to the corruptions of *Heliogabalus*, as that of *Pertinax* may to those of *Commodus*.

Alexander
is assas-
inated.

His char-
acter.

No prince was ever more regretted than *Alexander*, to whom, and his mother *Mammæa*, the senate directly decreed divine honours, temples, priests, &c. He was one of the best and wisest princes that ever swayed a sceptre ; and, had he lived longer, would have intirely reformed those abuses which, after his death, involved the empire in endless calamities. He was sparing of the public money, liberal of his own, kind and generous to all good men, but an irreconcileable enemy to the wicked. His deference to the senate was extremely great ; and his care in the administration of justice such, that he never decided any cause without first consulting his council. He gave the important office of captain of the guards to none but senators, nor ever preferred to any employment people whom he did not think the best qualified to discharge the trust reposed in them. He was an enemy to all pomp and shew ; eased the people of many heavy taxes, and erected several useful public buildings for them at his own expence : to which we may add, that he was himself a man of learning, and a great encourager of the learned.

C H A P. III.

From the Death of Alexander, to the Captivity of Valerian, when the Empire was usurped by Thirty Persons at once, commonly called the Thirty Tyrants.

M A X I M I N.

THE murder of *Alexander* occasioned a great confusion in the army; during which, the *Pannonian* troops declared their commander, *Maximin*, emperor; and the rest, seeing no one oppose him, followed their example, and took the usual oaths to him, after he had solemnly declared, *That he had not been accessory to the death of Alexander*. He immediately named his son *Maximin Cæsar* and *Augustus*, invested him with the tribunitial and proconsular power, and made him his partner in the sovereignty. The senate, to whom he sent directly an account of his accession to the empire, not daring to oppose the choice of the soldiery, confirmed it. He himself was a *Thracian*, his father a *Goth*, and his mother an *Alan*. His extraction was very mean, but his stature gigantic, being eight feet and an half tall, and with traction, all well shaped and proportioned. The ancients relate wonderful things of his strength; such as, drawing a loaded wagon which two oxen could not move, his tearing up trees by the roots, crumbling pebbles between his fingers, &c. and he is said to have been as bold as he was strong. *Phalaris* and *Bufris* did not surpass him in cruelty. He was, in his youth, a shepherd, or herdsman; but he soon left that employment, and listed himself in the *Roman* army. The emperor *Severus* made him one of his guards, and *Caracalla* raised him to the post of a centurion. Upon the death of that prince he quitted the army, being unwilling to serve under *Macrinus*, who had murdered him, and retired to his own country: and when *Heligabalus* came to the empire, he offered his service to him, and was made a tribune. *Alexander* created him a senator, gave him the command of a new-raised legion, and, upon the breaking out of the *German* war, charged him with the care of disciplining the new levies, consisting chiefly of *Pannonians*.

He was no sooner raised to the empire, than he gave an unbounded loose to the most execrable cruelty; inhumanely degrading, banishing, and murdering, all who had been raised by *Alexander*, or who had known his own parents, or any of his family, of whose meanness he was now ashamed. This bloody disposition was greatly heightened by a conspiracy of *Magnus*, a consular, of an illustrious family, and great merit,

Maximin rit, who, with several of *Alexander's* old soldiers, agreed to break down the bridge which that prince had built over the Rhine, after *Maximin* had passed it, and abandon him to the enemy. But the conspiracy being discovered, all those whom *Maximin* only suspected of having been privy to it, were massacred, to the number of four thousand. A few days after this, the *Ostrogoths*, who served in the army, and had always been greatly attached to the late emperor, no longer doubting that he had been murdered by *Maximin's* orders, openly revolted, and proclaimed *T. Quartinus* emperor, much against his will. But soon after, one *Macedo*, who had been the chief author of the revolt, murdered *Quartinus*, while he was reposing in his tent, and carried his head to *Maximin*, who, for his reward, ordered him to be executed for rebelling against his prince, and betraying his friend.

Maximin
gains
several
victories
over the
Germans,
Dacians,
and *Sar-*
matians.

The next year, *Maximin* entered *Germany* at the head of a mighty army; ravaged the country far and wide; gained several victories, and carried off a prodigious booty, and an incredible number of prisoners. From *Germany* he marched into *Illyricum*, and from thence led his army into the countries of the *Dacians* and *Sarmatians*; where he gained several victories over those nations, and forced them to submit on such terms as he pleased. His design was to extend the boundaries of the *Roman* empire to the northern ocean; which he would easily have accomplished, says *Herodian*, had he not been interrupted by a civil-war, and great disturbances at home, occasioned by his own unparalleled cruelty and insatiable avarice. He encouraged informers, feigned plots, and condemned, without distinction of quality, sex, or age, all who were accused; seizing their estates, and reducing the richest families in *Rome* to beggary. Not satisfied with this, he began to plunder the temples, and seize the public money in several cities, allotted for the maintainance or diversions of the people. This alarmed the populace and disposed them to a general revolt, which first broke out in *Africa*, where *Gordian*, proconsul of that country, was proclaimed emperor.

The Afri- *Gordian* was descended of an illustrious family, immensely rich, and universally beloved; but as he was at this time upwards of eighty years of age, when the people broke unexpectedly into his house, and saluted him with the title of *Augustus*, he begged of them, with tears, to suffer him to spend the poor remainder of his life in quiet; and to chuse some one more able to deliver the state from the tyranny under which it groaned. However, they persisting in their resolution, he was constrained to accept the ensigns and title of emperor: which he had no sooner done, than, to the great joy of all the *Africans*, he took his son, who bore the same name and had been consul, for his partner. He then went to *Carthage*, from whence he wrote to the people and senate of *Rome*, acquainting them with what had passed, and assuring them,

them that he was ready to resign the empire, which had been forced upon him, if they did not approve of his election. In the decrees which he sent with his letters, and which he ordered to be published, with the approbation of the senate, he gave leave to all exiles to return home, banished informers, promised large sums to the people, and to the soldiery a greater largess than any emperor had ever given.

Upon the receipt of these letters, the senate, with transports of joy, declared the two *Gordians* emperors, and the next two *Maximins* public enemies; offering a great reward to such know-as should kill either of these last, and sentencing to death all their friends and ministers, of whom a dreadful slaughter was instantly made by the enraged multitude; the whole people, son empe-as well as the soldiery at *Rome*, readily acknowledging the rors. *Gordians*, and cursing *Maximin* and his son. The senate, to a man, declared in favour of the *Gordians*; and chose twenty of their body, who had all been consuls, and sent them into different parts of *Italy*, with orders to guard all the passes so closely, that no account of what had passed at *Rome* might be transmitted to *Maximin* before the arrival of *Gordian*.

Maximin, who was at this time in *Thrace*, or *Sarmatia*, having received intelligence of what had been done at *Rome* and in *Africa*, flew into such a rage as can hardly be expressed; beating his head against the wall, tearing his robes, and attempting to kill those about him, and even his son. His friends, with much difficulty, carried him to his room, where cooling by degrees, after spending some days in deliberating with his council about the most proper measures to be pursued, he resolved to assemble his army, and acquaint them with the state of affairs, without seeming to be under any apprehension. He did so; and, after distributing a large sum of money among his soldiers, and promising to divide among them the estates of the senators, and the *African* rebels, he began his march towards *Italy*. While he was upon the road, *Capelianus*, whom he had appointed governor of *Mauritania*, raised a very considerable body of well disciplined troops, and led them to *Carthage*, against the *Gordians*. The inhabitants of that city immediately armed, and, under the conduct of the younger *Gordian*, went out to meet the enemy. A bloody battle ensued, in which *Gordian's* raw and undisciplined troops performed wonders, but were in the end put to flight, and most of them cut to pieces. Death of *Gordian* himself was killed in the field: which, together with the loss of the battle, and the approach of the enemy, reduced the father to such despair, that he strangled himself.

The news of their death threw the whole city into the utmost consternation. However, as they dreaded above all things the return of *Maximin*, and the cruel effects of his resentment, they resolved not to submit to him on any account whatever. The senate therefore chose two new emperors,

Pupienus and *Balbinus*.

A GENERAL HISTORY

Maximin perors, *M. Clodius Pupienus Maximus*, and *Decimus Cælius Balbinus*. The former, was a person of low birth, but extraordinary merit; and the latter, was descended of an illustrious family, very rich, and universally esteemed for his great integrity.

The people mutiny. The new emperors, after being invested with the tribunitial and proconsular power, went, at the breaking up of the assembly, to the capitol. But while they were offering the usual sacrifices, the populace rose, and demanded, with great clamour, a prince of the *Gordian* family. *Maximus* and *Balbinus*, backed by some young knights, attempted to open themselves a way through the crowd, sword in hand, but were in the end obliged to send for young *Gordian*, (the second son of him who killed himself at *Carthage*), then only twelve years old, who was received by the populace with loud shouts of joy, and carried to the capitol, where the senate, to appease them, declared him *Cæsar*. They then immediately set about levying forces, and making the necessary preparations for taking the field against *Maximin*.

Maximus marches against *Maximin*. As most of the provinces had espoused the party of the senate, troops were sent from all parts to reinforce the army of *Maximus*, who, being charged with the conduct of the war, as the more able commander, set out from *Rome* soon after his election, leaving the prætorian guards, and part of the new-raised forces, to defend the city, and awe the populace. At the same time, the senate dispatched the most considerable men of their body into the different parts of *Italy*, with orders to fortify all the cities, arm the inhabitants, and, after laying up what provisions they could in the fortified towns, to destroy the rest, and lay waste the country through which *Maximinus* was to pass.

Maximin enters *Italy*. In the mean time, *Maximinus* pursued his march towards *Italy*, with a prodigious army, and passed the *Alps* without the least opposition. His men, who expected after that toil to be refreshed with all sorts of provisions, were so vexed, when they found the whole country laid waste, and themselves destitute even of necessaries, that they began to mutiny. *Maximin* punished the ringleaders of the tumult with great severity, which served only to exasperate the rest. However he continued his march, and arriving at *Aquileia*, at the head of all his forces, laid siege to that city, which refused to acknowledge him. The *Aquileians* defended themselves with such bravery, that *Maximin's* soldiers soon began greatly to abate of their first ardor. *Maximin*, enraged at this, caused several of his officers to be publicly executed; which so exasperated the soldiers, already inclined to mutiny for want of provisions, that the *Albanians*, that is, those belonging to the camp near *Alba*, took a sudden resolution to rid themselves of the author of so many calamities, and, without farther deliberation, went directly,

at noon-day, to the tent of *Maximin*, killed both him and *Maximin* his son, and cut off their heads, and sent them to *Rome*. With them perished all their chief ministers and friends. He is Thus ended the tyranny of the *Maximins*, after it had lasted murder'd; three years and a few days.

PUPIENUS and BALBINUS.

THE death of so formidable a tyrant as *Maximin*, *Pupienus* gave infinite joy to all men: *Pupienus* and *Balbinus* now continued emperors without opposition. The former, who was at *Ravenna* when *Maximin* was killed, hastened to *Aquileia*, to satisfy the armies there, that of *Maximin* having immediately submitted to the two new emperors. From *Aquileia* he set out for *Rome*, where he arrived with a numerous retinue, and was received at the gates by *Balbinus*, *Gordian*, the senate in a body, and all the people, and conducted in triumph to the palace.

The two emperors governed with prudence and moderation, enacted excellent laws, administered justice with the utmost impartiality, maintained the military discipline with due rigour, paid great respect and deference to the senate, and conducted themselves so well in all things, that they were in a manner adored by the senate and people. But the happiness of their reign was short-lived; for the *Carpi*, a people beyond the *Danube*, passing that river, ravaged the province of *Mæsia*; the *Goths* invaded the *Roman* territories on the side of *Scythia*; and the *Perians* threatened the eastern provinces. It was therefore agreed among the princes, that *Maximus* should march against the *Perians*, *Balbinus* against the *Goths* and the *Carpi*, and *Gordian* remain at *Rome*.

While great preparations were making for these expeditions, the praetorian guards, dissatisfied to see the prince who had been created by the senate so much applauded, and provoked at the invectives daily uttered against *Maximin*, whom they had raised to the empire, began to murmur, and complain that the right of naming the emperors, which had been so advantageous to them, was snatched out of their hands, and transferred to the senate. From murmurs they resolved to proceed to action, and kill the two emperors; an opportunity for which soon offered: for the Capitoline games being celebrated soon after, and most of the emperors' guards and domestics resorting thither, the mutinous soldiery marched strait to the palace, where the two princes were left almost alone, and rushing into their apartment with a fury hardly to be expressed, tore in pieces their imperial robes, dragged them out into the street, and killed them, after they had reigned about one year and two months.

A GENERAL HISTORY

G O R D I A N.

Gordian proclaim- T H E soldiers who had killed the two emperors, retiring to their camp, took with them young *Gordian*, whom they ed empe- proclaimed emperor ; giving out, to appease the populace, ror- that they had killed those whom the people had first rejected, and set up in their room the person whom they had demanded.

His cha- *Gordian* was now about thirteen years of age. He was of racter. a gay temper, comely aspect, and exceeding sweet disposition, which gained him the love of all who approached him. The senate used to stile him their son ; the soldiers, their child ; and the people, their darling. He was fond of study, acquainted with most branches of polite literature, and had all the qualifications necessary to form a good prince ; but, as he wanted experience, and had no one to advise him, in the beginning of his reign he fell into the hands of one *Maurus*, and some other crafty freedmen and eunuchs, who, abusing the confidence he reposed in them, persuaded him to do many things which he ever after regretted. They soon drove all good men from the court, raised to the first employments persons altogether unworthy of them, plundered the exchequer, and did all the mischief which wicked and avaritious ministers are capable of doing.

Gordian marries the daughter of *Misitheus*.

In the second year of this prince's reign, *Sabinianus* revolted in *Africa*, and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor : but the governor of *Mauritania* reduced the rebels to such streights, that they submitted, and delivered *Sabinianus* up to him. What his fate was, we are no where told ; but all his partisans were pardoned. The next year, *Gordian* married *Furia Sabina Tranquillina*, the daughter of *Misitheus*. She was immediately honoured with the title of *Augusta*, and her father, whose great wisdom, integrity, and learning, had made the emperor prefer an alliance with his family to any other, was appointed captain of the guards. *Misitheus* had no sooner taken possession of that important office, than he acquainted *Gordian* with the misdemeanour of *Maurus*, and the base practices of the other freedmen and eunuchs, who were thereupon all discharged, and banished the court. *Misitheus* was one of those few ministers, who have nothing in view but the glory of their prince, and the welfare of the state. *Gordian* respected him as his father, called him such, ordered him to call him his son, and returned thanks to the senate for distinguishing him with the titles of *Father of princes*, and *Guardian of the republic*.

Sapor, king of Persia

The next year, the *Persians*, under the conduct of *Sapor*, son and successor to *Artaxerxes*, reduced all *Mesopotamia*, committed dreadful ravages in *Syria*, and, after taking *Antioch*,

ticoch, threatened to over-run the othe provinces ; most of *Gordian*, the Romans who defended them having, through fear, listed themselves in his army. *Gordian*, after ordering the temple over-runs of *Janus* to be opened, according to the ancient custom, the *Roman* which had been long omitted, and perhaps was never after *man* do-practised, marched against them with a numerous and well disciplined army ; and, taking his rout through *Mæsia*, de-feated in the East in that province the *Goths* and *Sarmatians*, who dis-puted his passage, and obliged them to abandon their con-quests, and return to their respective countries. The *Alani* gained some advantages over him in the celebrated plains of *Philippi* ; but neglecting to improve it, he pursued his march unmolested through *Thrace*, crossed the *Hellespont*, and ar-rived safe in *Asia*, from whence he marched into *Syria*, where, *Gordian* by the wise counsels and directions of *Misitheus*, he defeated the *Persians* in several battles, and obliged the mighty *Sapor*, him, and with his powerful army, to abandon the *Roman* dominions, forces him and retire with shame into his own country, whither he to retire. pursued him as far as *Ctesiphon*. For this victory, the senate decreed a triumph to the emperor, and a triumphal statue to *Misitheus*, which is still to be seen at *Rome*, almost intire. *Misitheus*, to the great grief of the whole empire, died the following year ; and, by his last will, left the *Roman* people his heirs.

The next year, being the sixth of his reign, *Gordian* en- The sol-tered the *Perfian* dominions, in order to pursue the war diers mu-which he had so successfully begun ; when *Philip*, whom he tiny. had raised to the important post of captain of the guards, in the room of *Misitheus*, and made commander in chief, next to himself, of all the forces in the East, aspiring to the so-vereignty, found means, by various artifices, to debauch the minds of the troops, and alienate their affections from *Gordian* to such a degree, that, while the young conqueror was pursuing the advantages of a complete victory he had gained over *Sapor* in *Mesopotamia*, they openly mutinied, and insisted that *Philip* should reign jointly with *Gordian*, as his guardian and governor. The virtuous young emperor, unwilling to shed *Roman* blood, granted them their request, and took *Philip* for his partner in the empire, who, not sa-tisfied with being upon a level with his sovereign, soon be-gan to usurp an authority over him, and to act as if he had been sole emperor. *Gordian*, unable to bear this, attempted to depose him ; but *Philip*'s party prevailing, he was him-self deposed, and forced to fly, after having lived nineteen years, and reigned five years and eight months. Assassins were sent after him, who overtook and killed him, in the farthest borders of *Perfia*.

Gordian
deposed
and mur-
dered.

Year of
Rome 992.
of *Christ*

244.

P H I L I P.

Extracti- **P**HILIP was born in *Bosra*, a city of *Arabia Petreæ*, where his father is said to have been captain of a band of robbers. He was about forty years of age, when he was made emperor, and immediately thereupon declared his son *Cæsar*, and took him, though but seven years old, for his partner in the empire. He then wrote to the senate, acquainting them with the death of *Gordian*, which he falsely ascribed to a natural distemper, and with his own election.

He con- Being desirous to return to *Italy*, he immediately patched up a peace with the *Persians*, and led his army back into *Syria*, from whence he set out for *Rome*, where he was received with the usual demonstrations of joy by the senate and people, whose affections he soon gained by his mild administration, and obliging behaviour.

Defeats The next year he marched against the *Carpi*, who had invaded *Mæsia*, defeated them in two battles, and obliged them to sue for peace, and to return home. The next year was not remarkable for any great event; but the year after, he gave his son the title of *Augustus*, and the tribunitial power, and both princes retained the fasces all this and the following year, in order to celebrate with the greater pomp the thousand year of *Rome*, which began on the 21st of **Year of** **Rome 1000** April of the 248th *Christian æra*, and fifth of Philip's reign. This year too he published an edict, forbidding, under the severest penalties, all manner of unnatural lust, and those infamous practices which had so long been countenanced by the wicked, and tolerated by the good emperors.

Several In the following year, the eastern provinces, no longer able to pay the taxes with which they were loaded, revolted, and proclaimed one *Papianus* emperor: but he was soon killed, and the rebellion thereby suppressed. At the same time, the provinces of *Mæsia* and *Pannonia* revolted, and set up one *Marinus*, a centurion: but he too was soon killed. Philip then appointed *Decius* governor of *Mæsia* in *Pannonia*, which post he accepted much against his will: but he no sooner appeared there, than the soldiers threatened to put him to death, if he did not also accept of the sovereignty. Philip, the moment he was informed of this, marched with all possible expedition, hoping to surprise him: but *Decius* was prepared for his coming, and a battle was fought, in which Philip was defeated, and obliged to retire to *Verona*, where he was killed; which was no sooner known at *Rome*, than the praetorians murdered his son, who was then in their camp. Such was the end of Philip, after a reign of five years and some months. The *Christian* religion was not only tolerated, but encouraged, under this prince, and many are of opinion that he himself was a *Christian*.

DECIUS.

D E C I U S.

UPON the death of *Philip* and his son, *Decius* was acknowledged emperor, first by the soldiery, and afterwards by the senate and people, who had neither strength nor courage to dispute the election of the new prince. He was a native of *Bubalia*, a town of *Sirmium*, in *Lower Pannonia*, and now in the fifty-seventh year of his age. *Rosinus*, *Victor*, and *Vopiscus* give him every good quality, and say he was descended from an illustrious family. He was no sooner vested with the sovereignty, than he declared his eldest son *Cæsar*, and *Prince of the youth*; and soon after bestowed the same titles on his three other sons.

In the very beginning of his reign he raised the most dreadful and bloody persecution that had ever oppressed the church; from the pursuit of which, to the length he otherwise would probably have carried it, he was diverted by the *Goths* invading the *Roman* dominions, and laying siege to *Nicopolis* in *Lower Mæsia*, with seventy thousand men. *Decius* sent against them, at the head of a numerous army, his eldest son, who, falling upon them unexpectedly, killed thirty thousand of them, and obliged the rest to retire beyond Mount *Hæmus*, which parted *Mæsia* from *Thrace*. However, they soon recruited, and returned to the charge, and that with very different success: for *Cniva*, their king, falling unawares upon the *Romans* in the neighbourhood of *Berda*, near the river *Hebrus*, cut their whole army in pieces, and obliged the young prince to save himself by flight into *Mæsia*. *Cniva* then ravaged *Thrace*, and laid waste great part of *Macedon*, where *L. Priscus*, probably brother to the late emperor, commanded at that time, and, instead of opposing, joined the enemy, and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor. Upon the news of this, the emperor *Decius*, who had staid at *Rome* to consecrate the walls of the city, which he had repaired, immediately set out against the enemy, whom he overcame in several engagements, and drove out of the *Roman* dominions, after forcing them to quit the booty they had taken. *Priscus* was declared a public enemy, and slain, but where, or how, history does not say.

Soon after, the *Goths* reunited, and returned in greater numbers than before. *Decius* defeated them again, and reduced them to such streights, that they offered to release all the prisoners they had taken, and relinquish their booty, if he would suffer them to return unmolested. But he, bent upon destroying their whole nation at once, sent *Trebonianus Gallus*, with a strong detachment, to cut off their retreat; and, pursuing them close with the rest of the army, came up with them before they reached the *Danube*, and engaged them.

Decius defeats them
Gains new advantages over them.

Decius. them a second time. The *Goths*, knowing that all was at stake, fought like men in despair. Young *Decius* was killed. His father, seeing him fall, and observing that it struck a great damp upon his troops, without betraying the least concern, cried out, *We have lost but one man; let not, fellow soldiers, so small a loss discourage you.* So saying, he rushed into the midst of the enemy, but was surrounded, overpowered, and killed. The *Goths*, pursuing their victory, made peror and dreadful havock of the disheartened army. Such of the Romans as escaped the general slaughter, fled to the legions killed, and commanded by *Gallus*, who, by pretending a great concern for the death of *Decius* and the defeat of his army, and army cut feigning to march against the barbarians, gained the hearts in pieces. of the soldiers to such a degree, that they immediately proclaimed him emperor.

G A L L U S.

Gallus T H E hasty election of *Gallus* was no sooner notified to emperor. the senate, than they confirmed it; and the new emperor, instead of revenging the death of *Decius*, and the defeat of Concludes his army, immediately concluded a shameful peace with the a shameful *Goths*, suffering them to retire unmolested with all their peace with prisoners and booty, and even engaging to pay them yearly the *Goths*. a considerable sum, provided they continued quiet in their own country. He then declared his son *Volusianus Cæsar*, and returned with him to *Rome*, where he began his reign Persecutes with reviving all the edicts of his predecessors against the the *Christians*, and ordering them to be strictly put in execution. He was scarcely seated on the throne, when a dreadful plague desolated all the provinces of the empire, and was followed by a great famine, and wars in most parts of the *Roman* dominions. *Licinianus* took upon him the title of *Augustus*; but this revolt was soon quashed. The *Goths*, the *Borans*, the *Carpians*, and the *Burgundians*, a people dwelling on the banks of the *Danube*, broke into *Mæsia* and *Pannonia*; the *Scythians* over-ran *Asia*; and the *Perians* laid waste *Syria*, and made themselves masters of *Antioch*.

Emilian, who commanded in *Mæsia*, overcame the barbarians in a pitched battle, and forced them to retire: but, elated with this success, and despising *Gallus*, who minded nothing but his pleasures at *Rome*, while his generals were exposing their lives in defence of the empire, he caused himself to be proclaimed emperor by the troops under his command. *Gallus*, alarmed at this, ordered *Valerian* to march against him with the *Gallic* and *German* legions. But *Emilian*,

Æmilian, without giving him time to assemble his troops, marched directly to *Italy*, and soon arrived at *Interamna* and *Terni*, about thirty-two miles from *Rome*. There he was met by *Gallus* and his son *Volusianus*, at the head of a considerable army ; but the troops of these last, despising their leaders, slew them in the sight of *Æmilian's* army, and killed by *proclaimed him emperor*. Such was the end of the emperor *Gallus*, after he had reigned a year and six months.

Gallus.

Æ M I L I A N.

THE news of the death of *Gallus*, and of his son, was *Æmilian* no sooner brought to *Rome*, than the senate confirmed the emperor. election of the soldiery, and honoured the new prince with the usual titles. He was of a very mean descent, but had served from his youth in the *Roman* armies, and raised himself to the first employments in the state. In the letter which he wrote to the senate, after the death of *Gallus*, he promised to drive the *Goths* out of *Thrace*, and the *Perians* out of *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia*, and to leave the exercise of the sovereign power to the senate, whose lieutenant only he said he would be. In the mean time, the troops which *Valerian* was leading to the assistance of *Gallus*, hearing in *Rhaetia*, that he was dead, refused to submit to the new prince, and proclaimed their own general emperor. *Æmilian's* army being informed of this, and having an higher *Valerian* opinion of *Valerian* than they had of *Æmilian*, killed this proclaim- last to avoid a civil war. He died in the forty-sixth year of his age, after a short reign of three, or, at most, four months. ror.

V A L E R I A N.

THE senate, with great joy, confirmed the election of *Origin Valerian*, and gave his son *Gallienus* the title of *Cæsar*. *Valerian* was descended from one of the most illustrious families in *Rome*; had commanded armies; discharged, with great reputation, the chief employments of the empire, both civil and military; and was greatly beloved and respected by all men, for his integrity, prudence, modesty, and extraordinary accomplishments. He was universally judged worthy of the empire before he attained it, but was afterwards found no way equal to so great a charge. He began his reign with great applause, easing the people of many heavy taxes, enacting several excellent laws, and judiciously preferring

Valerian. none but men of merit : but his want of activity and resolution drew upon the empire the many calamities which befel it in his and his son's reign.

The empire invaded on all sides by barbarians. In the very first year of his reign he made his son *Gallienus* his partner in the empire, which was then threatened on all sides by the barbarians : for the *Germans* and *Franks* committed great devastations in that part of *Gaul* which bordered on the *Rhine*; the *Goths* and the *Carpians* invaded the provinces of *Mæsia*, *Thrace*, and *Macedon*; and the *Perians* over-run *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and *Cappadocia*. *Aurelian*, at that time tribune of a legion quartered at *Mentz*, fell upon the *Franks*, who inhabited the countries now called *Westphalia* and *Hesse*, and defeated them. The next year, the *Germans* were overcome, first by *Gallienus*, and afterwards by *Parthumus*, a commander of great prowess and experience ; and *Aurelian*, who had now the command of the troops in *Illyricum* and *Thrace*, drove the *Goths* out of those provinces, took an incredible number of them prisoners, and pursuing them beyond the *Danube*, laid waste their country, and returned to *Mæsia*, loaded with booty. At the same time *Probus* defeated the *Sarmatians* and the *Quadi*.

The Persians over-run several provinces.

The Scythians invade Asia.

Valerian defeated by the *Perians*, and taken prisoner.

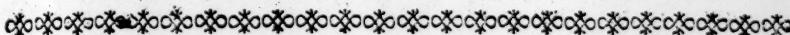
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256.

In the mean while, *Sapor*, king of *Perisia*, seized all *Armenia*, took *Nisibis* and *Charræ* in *Mesopotamia*, ravaged all *Syria*, at the head of a mighty army, and made himself master of *Antioch*. After this, *Sapor* returned to *Perisia* with an immense booty, and appointed governor of the conquered countries one *Cyriades*, who thereupon assumed the title of *Cæsar*, and, soon after, that of *Augustus*, and was acknowledged as emperor by most of the provinces of the East. At the same time, the *Borans*, a *Scythian* nation, crossing the *Euxine* sea, plundered several places in *Bosphorus* and *Pontus*, and proceeded into *Asia*, where they surprized and plundered *Chalcedon*, *Nicæa*, *Apamea*, *Prusa*, and several other cities, and then returned with an immense booty to their own country.

During this, *Valerian*, in hopes of stopping these horrid devastations, had removed from *Rome* to *Byzantium*, and recovered *Antioch*, from whence he marched into *Mesopotamia*, where he met *Sapor*, who had returned, and attacked him : but by the treachery of one *Macrian*, an *Egyptian* magician, who persuaded him to engage in a disadvantageous post, he lost the flower of his troops, and was himself taken prisoner. He was carried in triumph by *Sapor* into *Perisia*, and there treated with the greatest indignity ; the haughty conqueror making him his foot-stool whenever he mounted on horseback. In that abject situation he lived some years ; and after his death, his body was flayed, by *Sapor's* order, and preserved in salt, and his skin was dressed, died red, and exposed in a temple, where, to the eternal ignominy of the *Roman* name, it was shewn to all foreign princes and ambassadors, as a monument of the power of the *Perisan* monarch.

narch. *Valerian* was taken prisoner in the seventieth year of *Valerian.*

He was at first a great patron of the *Christian* religion ; but, by the persuasion of *Macrian*, who told him, that the affairs of the empire would never prosper till the pagan rites were restored, and the religion of the *Christians* utterly abolished, he set on foot a violent persecution, which lasted three years, and is commonly reckoned the eighth.



C H A P. IV.

From the Captivity of Valerian to the Resignation of Dioclesian.

G A L L I E N U S.

GALLIENUS, who had shared the sovereignty with *Gallienus* his father *Valerian*, now remained sole emperor, at the emperor. age of about forty-one ; and, instead of attempting to revenge the cause of his unhappy parent, intirely neglected him, and seemed rather to rejoice at his captivity, which, with the late defeat of the *Roman* army, so encouraged the barbarians, then at war with *Rome*, that they poured on all sides such incredible multitudes into the *Roman* territories, as threatened the empire, and *Rome* itself with utter destruction. The *Alemanni* and the *Franks* over-ran *Rhætia*, entered *Italy*, and advanced as far as *Ravenna*, putting all to fire and sword. The *Quadi* and *Sarmatians* seized great part of *Dacia* and *Pannonia* ; and other barbarous nations, invading *Spain*, made themselves masters of several important places in that province. *Gallienus*, who was then in *Gaul*, flew to the defence of *Rome*, and either drove the enemy out of *Italy*, or they retired upon his approach ; which of the two is not certain. Those who had invaded *Dacia* and *Pannonia*, were defeated by *Regillianus*, and forced to return home.

In the mean time, *Ingenuus* caused himself to be proclaimed emperor in *Pannonia*. *Gallienus* marched immediately against him, and defeated and killed him : but the barbarity with which he used his victory, ordering his soldiers to put all the inhabitants of *Mæsia* to the sword, and strictly enjoining them to destroy all the males, old and young, in every city they came to, so incensed those who had escaped the general slaughter, that they proclaimed emperor *Regillianus*, an excellent officer, and by birth a *Dacian*, who soon ga i great advantages over the *Sarmatians*, but

Gallienus. but was as soon murdered by those who had raised him to the empire. The same year, *Posthumius*, a man of mean extraction, but endowed with extraordinary parts, and great valour, revolted in *Gaul*, and was proclaimed emperor by the troops under his command. *Posthumius* immediately marched to *Cologne*, where he obliged the inhabitants to deliver up to him the sons of *Gallienus*, *Sylvanus* and *Salvius*, who were put to death. He reigned seven years, in the course of which he drove all the *Germans* out of *Gaul*, and governed with such moderation, that he was universally beloved.

The Persians over-run the Eastern provinces. During these disturbances in the West, *Sapor*, king of *Persia*, over-ran most of the eastern provinces, laid waste *Mesopotamia*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and *Cappadocia*, made himself master of *Cæsarea*, and cut in pieces all the inhabitants, to the number of four hundred thousand.

Balista destroys great numbers of them. In the mean time, the *Roman* troops, who had dispersed upon the captivity of *Valerian*, rallied, and chose for their leader *Balista*, a man of great address, intrepidity, and experience in war, who, coming up with the *Persians*, made a dreadful havock of them, stripped them of all the booty and captives they had taken, made many of them prisoners, and, among the rest, the wives of *Sapor*. *Balista* was seconded by *Odenatus*, whose name is famous in the history of those times, for the many victories he gained over the *Persians*, and his saving the *Roman* empire in the East. *Odenatus*, after defeating the *Persians* in a bloody battle, near the *Euphrates*, assumed the title of king of *Palmyra*, and *Gallienus* appointed him commander in chief of all the *Roman* forces in the East, which post he discharged with great fidelity and success. For, the next year, not satisfied with having driven *Sapor* out of the *Roman* dominions, he penetrated into the very heart of *Persia*, in hopes of crowning his other exploits with the deliverance of *Valerian*. While this was doing, *Macrian*, whom *Dionysius* of *Alexandria* calls the chief of the *Egyptian* magicians, a man of mean descent, but great courage and experience in war, immensely rich, and now, from a common soldier, which he once was, raised to the highest posts in the army; found means to gain over *Balista*, and was, by his means, acknowledged emperor by most of the troops in the East, who despised and hated *Gallienus*.

Macrianus emperor. *Valens* proclaimed emperor in *Achaia*, and *Piso* in *Thessaly*. *Macrian* immediately took his two sons for his partners in the empire, appointed *Balista* his captain of the guards, and marched against the *Persians*, whom he defeated several times. He then detached against *Valens*, who had likewise assumed the title of emperor in *Achaia*, *Piso*, who, instead of encountering the enemy, retired into *Thessaly*, and there caused himself to be proclaimed emperor. But he was soon after murdered by some soldiers sent by *Valens*, who was himself slain, a few days after, by his own men.

About

About the same time that *Macrian* usurped the empire in *Gallienus* the East, *Aureolus* was forced, by the army which he commanded in *Ilyricum*, to take upon him the sovereignty : for *Aureolus* the soldiers every where abhorred *Gallienus*, and would obey made em none but emperors of their own chusing. *Aureolus* marched peror in - directly into *Italy*, and made himself master of *Milan*. *Gal-* *Ilyricum*. *lienus*, after various unsuccesful attempts to conquer him, was at last obliged to come to an accommodation with him, and accept of his assistance against *Posthumius*, who had now reigned three years undisturbed in *Gaul*. *Gallienus*, in this expedition, likewise took with him his son *Claudius*, who succeeded him in the empire ; and this war lasted some years, with various success, in the course of which, *Posthumius* took for his colleague *Victorinus*, who, we are told, equalled *Trajan* in bravery, *Antoninus* in clemency, *Nerva* in gravity, *Vespasian* in managing the public money, and *Pertinax* and *Severus* in his care of the military discipline : but his unbridled lust drowned all his good qualities, and rendered him at last so despicable in the eyes of the soldiers, that, after he had defeated one *Elianus*, who had assumed the title of emperor at *Mentz*, on his refusing to give up that city to be plundered by them, they mutinied, and murdered him and his son.

The year of *Gallienus*'s fifth consulship was remarkable for many dreadful calamities which afflicted the *Roman* empire, pire af- besides the civil wars which rent it in pieces. The sun was blited overcast with thick clouds, and a great darkness continued with ma- for several days together, attended with a violent earthquake, ny dread- and a noise like thunder in the bowels of the earth, which ful cala- opened in many places, and swallowed up great numbers of mities. people, with their habitations. The sea broke in upon the continent, and drowned whole cities. A violent plague raged in *Greece* and *Egypt*, and particularly at *Rome*, where it frequently swept off five thousand people a day. The books of the sybils were consulted, and public processions and sa- crifices ordered ; but all to no purpose ; and to all these calamities were added, incursions of the *Goths* in great swarms into *Greece*, and of the *Scythians* into *Asia*. The former, ha- ving made themselves masters of *Thrace*, over-ran all *Ma- cedon*, and were attempting to enter *Achaia*, when *Macrian* coming up with them, in his way, to *Italy*, put them to flight, and forced them to return to their own country. At the same time, the *Scythians* crossing the *Hellefpon*, under the conduct of one *Raspa*, committed dreadful ravages in *Asia*, burnt several cities there, and plundered the celebrated *The Scy- temple of Diana at Ephesus*, so much respected by the pa- thians gans, and so famous for its rich ornaments, and immense plunder wealth. Thus was the destruction of the most famous mo- thetemple numents of paganism begun by the *Goths*, who, after like- of *Diana* wise destroying the poor remains of ancient *Troy*, and the famous *at Ephesus*.

Gallienus. famous *Ilium*, re-passed the *Hellefpon*t, laid waste all *Thrace*, and returned to their own country with an immense booty.

In the mean time, *Macrian*, having settled the affairs of *Syria*, left there his younger son *Quietus*, with *Balista*, to guard that province against the *Perians*, and set out for *Italy*, defeated and killed by *Aureolus*. with his eldest son *Macrian*, at the head of forty-five thousand men, to try his fortune against *Aureolus* in *Illyricum*, and *Gallienus* at *Rome*. He was met by the forces of the former on the borders of *Thrace*, where a battle ensued, in which *Macrian* and his son were killed, and their whole army thereupon submitted to *Aureolus*, who incorporated them with his own troops. *Quietus*, the other son of *Macrian*, was killed at *Emesa* in *Syria*, where he and *Balista* had shut themselves up; and upon his death, *Balista* assumed the title of emperor in that city, where he reigned three years, and was at last killed by a common soldier.

About the same time that *Balista* assumed the sovereignty at *Emesa*, *Æmilian*, commander of the legions in *Egypt*, took upon him the title of emperor, and was acknowledged as such in that country, and particularly at *Alexandria*, where *Gallienus* was detested. He visited in person the most distant parts of *Egypt*, redressed many grievances, repulsed the neighbouring barbarians, and was preparing for an expedition into *India*, when *Theodosius*, a native of *Egypt*, whom *Gallienus* had dispatched against him, overcame him in a pitched battle, took him prisoner, and sent him to *Rome*; where he was, by the emperor's order, strangled in prison, according to the ancient custom of putting captive princes to death.

Gallienus who is put to death. massacres the *Byzantines*.

These disturbances at length made *Gallienus* quit *Gaul* and hasten into the East; where, for what provocation we know not, he wreaked his rage on the city of *Byzantium*, causing the garrison, and all the inhabitants, to be put to the sword, insomuch that not one person was left alive in the place. From thence he returned in triumph to *Rome*; leading with him a great number of mock-captives, dressed like *Goths*, *Sarmatians*, *Franks*, and *Perians*. During this shew, some persons of humour, mixing with the *Perians*, examined them with more than common attention, and seemed to betray great surprise. Being in the end asked, *What they wanted?* We are looking, said they, for the emperor's father: which so incensed *Gallienus*, that he ordered them directly to be burnt alive.

Saturnius assumes the title of emperor, and is murdered. About this time, one *Saturnius*, a man of great parts, and renowned for his victories over the barbarians, assumed the title of emperor; but where, or how long, he reigned, history says not; all we know, is, that he performed great things while he was emperor; and was, on account of his severity, put to death by the same soldiers who had raised him to the empire.

The Iaurians revolt. Shortly after, the *Iaurians* revolted in *Asia-Minor*, and chose for their leader *Trebilianus*, who took upon him the title of

of *Augustus*, and reigned some time in *Isauria* and *Cilicia*; but *Gallienus* was in the end drawn from among the mountains, where he had taken refuge, and defeated and killed. The *Isaurians*, even then, refused to submit to *Gallienus*, whose cruelty they dreaded; and maintained themselves a free people in the very heart of the *Roman empire*, at least till the time of the emperor *Constantine*. *Africa* too set up its emperor, *C. Celsus*, made a man of great integrity, and worthy of the rank to which he was raised: but he held it a very short time, being killed on the seventh day after his election.

In the seventh consulship of *Gallienus*, the brave *Odenatus*, whom *Gallienus* had some time before declared his partner in the empire, entering the *Persian territories*, put all there to fire and sword, overcame *Sapor* in several battles, and made himself master of *Ctesiphon*. But, in the mean time, the *Goths*, entering *Asia* by the *Euxine sea*, over-ran *Lydia*, *Bithynia*, *Phrygia*, *Troas*, *Cappadocia*, and *Galatia*, and carried off an immense booty, and a prodigious number of prisoners. *Odenatus* hastened back to the relief of *Asia*, where he was killed soon after his arrival; but how, or where, historians are not agreed. His wife, *Zenobia*, governed, in the name of her children, with the title of Queen of the East: but she did not, like her husband, keep up a good understanding with the *Romans*, whom, on the contrary, she attacked and defeated under the command of *Heraclian*, who was marching against the *Perians*.

Towards the end of this year, one *Aelianus* assumed the title of emperor at *Mentz*; but was soon overcome by *Posthumus*, who reduced that city, but was killed by his soldiers, because he would not deliver it up to be plundered by them. Some impute his death to *Lollianus*, who had revolted from him, and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor. *Lollianus* reigned in that part of *Gaul* which bordered upon the *Rhine*; while *Victorinus*, whom *Posthumus* had taken for his partner, held the rest of that country. But he did not long enjoy the sovereignty, being murdered, on account of his severity, by his own soldiers, stirred up by *Victorinus*, who, upon his death, became sole master of all *Gaul*; but who was himself shortly after killed at *Cologne*, together with his son. The *Gauls* then set up one *Marius*, originally an armourer, and *Marius* but a man of great valour, and extraordinary strength, who was killed on the third day of his reign, by a soldier who had clared em- formerly worked under him. The assassin ran him through with his sword, telling him, *That it was of his own making*. Upon his death, the troops in *Gaul* proclaimed emperor *Tetricus*, a *Roman senator*, who had been consul, and was then governor of *Aquitain*. He was acknowledged in *Spain* and to the *Britons*, as well as in *Gaul*; and held those provinces, with the title of emperor, till the fourth year of *Aurelian's* reign, when he was taken and led in triumph by that prince. All these

Gallienus. these usurpers in *Gaul* were set up by *Victorina*, the mother of *Victorinus*, who had a great interest in that country, and bore an irreconcileable hatred to *Gallienus*.

Irruptions of the Goths and Heruli, The same year, the *Scythians*, that is, the *Goths*, ravaged a-new the provinces of *Asia*, *Bitkynia*, *Pontus*, and *Cappadocia*, and carried off an immense booty; while the *Heruli*, passing from the *Palus Meotis* into the *Euxine* sea, with five hundred vessels, landed at *Byzantium*, and *Chrysopolis*, now *Scutari*, under the conduct of one *Naulobat*. At the latter of these places they were attacked and defeated by *Venerianus*, who was killed in the engagement. But, instead of returning to their own country, they crossed the *Bosporus*, and surprised and plundered the great and wealthy city of *Cyzicus*, with part of *Asia*, and the islands of *Lemnos* and *Scyras* in the *Archipelago*. They then landed in *Greece*, and burnt *Athens*, *Corinth*, *Sparta*, and *Argos*, and laid waste all *Achaia*; but were in the end defeated with great slaughter by the *Athenians*, under the conduct of *Dexippus* the historian. However, in their retreat, they committed dreadful devastations in *Bœotia*, *Acarnania*, *Epirus*, and *Thrace*. *Gallienus*, who was just then returned from *Gaul*, where he had been making war upon *Lollianus*, leaving *Aureolus* at *Milan*, hastened into *Illyricum*, and falling unexpectedly upon the barbarians there, gave them a total overthrow. *Gallienus* then hastened back to *Italy*, leaving *Marcian* in *Illyricum*, to pursue the war against the *Heruli*; which he did with great success, obliging them to quit their booty, and abandon the *Roman* dominions.

War between Aureolus and Gallienus. What obliged *Gallienus* to return to *Italy*, was, the revolt of *Aureolus*; who, not satisfied with the power he already enjoyed, took advantage of *Gallienus*'s absence, to march with all his troops towards *Rome*, with a design to depose *Gallienus*, and cause himself to be proclaimed sole emperor. *Gallienus*, reaching *Italy* in a few days, came up with him, defeated him in a pitched battle, and obliged him to take shelter within the walls of *Milan*; which *Gallienus* immediately invested. *Gallienus* was killed during this siege; but by whom, and in what manner, authors do not agree. He died in the thirty-fifth year of his age, after he had reigned fifteen years;

Year of Rome 1016 of Christ. seven before, and eight after, the captivity of his father *Valerian*. He was one of the most wicked princes mentioned in history, and is said to have equalled *Nero* in cruelty, and *Heliodobanus* in lewdness. The senate declared him a public enemy, and ordered most of his friends, ministers, and relations, to be thrown headlong down the *Tarpeian* rock: yet, notwithstanding his being universally abhorred, his successor caused him to be deified.

C L A U D I U S , II.

THE death of *Gallienus* occasioned a great tumult among the soldiers, who suspected that he had been murdered; but *Marcian*, by giving them large sums of money, appeased them, and the whole army declared *Gallienus* a tyrant, and proclaimed emperor *Claudius*, who had been proposed to them *Claudius* as the best qualified man in the whole empire to sustain the made em- name and dignity of a *Roman* emperor. The senate immedi- peror. ately confirmed their election with great joy.

Of this emperor's pedigree we know very little, historians His cha- differing greatly upon that subject. Some say he was a na- racter. tive of *Illyricum*, and born in *Dardania*; and according to others, in *Dalmatia*: but, however that may be, all agree, that he was a person of extraordinary valor and great virtue, and that he made several excellent laws, by which the empire was greatly reformed and bettered. He was now about fifty-four years of age.

His election was no sooner confirmed by the senate, than *Aureolus* he attacked *Aureolus* near *Milan*, and, after defeating and defeated taking him, would have spared his life; but the soldiers killed and killed him without his orders. The conquered troops then acknowledg- ed *Claudius*, and marched directly with him against the *Germans*, who had broken into *Italy*, and were advanced al- most as far as *Verona*. He there defeated them in a pitched battle, cut incredible numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to fly precipitately into their own country.

In the beginning of the next year, he set out against the *The Goths*, and other northern nations, who, to the number of *mans* and three hundred and twenty thousand fighting men, besides wo- *Goths* de- men, servants, and children, had invaded the *Roman* do- minions, and committed every where dreadful devastations; laying waste whole provinces, burning cities, and putting all to fire and sword. *Claudius* came up with them, and, notwithstanding their prodigious superiority in numbers, after a long and obstinate battle, gained one of the greatest vic- tories mentioned in history; for no fewer than three hundred thousand of the enemy were killed or taken prisoners; and their fleet, consisting of two thousand sail, was utterly de- stroyed. For this victory, *Claudius* took the surname of *Go- thicus*.

While *Claudius* was thus employed against the barbarians, *Zenobia* having overcome *Probus*, who commanded some reduces troops in *Egypt*, reduced that province, and took and destroyed *Egypt*. *Brucium*, the citadel of *Alexandria*. *Probus*, unable other- wise to avoid falling into the hands of the victorious queen, killed himself. The emperor thereupon resolved to march against her; but was prevented from carrying his design into execu-

Claudius. execution, by a violent plague which broke out in his army, and, after sweeping away prodigious numbers of his men, killed him also at *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, after he had reigned two years and one month. In him centred, the moderation of *Augustus*, the valor of *Trajan*, the piety of *Antoninus*, and all the virtues of the good princes who had reigned before him. Short as his reign was,

The death of *Claudius.* The year of *Rome* 1018 of Christ. 266. he re-established the tottering empire, and restored it to its former lustre. The senate not only bestowed divine honours upon him after his death, but hung up in the place where they assembled a shield of gold, on which his image was engraved: and the people erected to him, at their own expence, two statues; one of gold, ten feet high; and the other of silver, weighing fifteen hundred pounds.

Longinus and *Porphyry* flourished at this time.

AURELIAN.

Quintillus proclaimed emperor, but kills himself. IMMEDIATELY after the death of *Claudius*, the army unanimously proclaimed *Aurelian* emperor: but the confirmation of this election was suspended for some time at *Rome*, by reason of *Quintillus*, brother to the deceased emperor, who, being left commander of a few legions to guard *Italy*, was by them likewise proclaimed emperor; and the senate gladly approved of him, on account of his brother, and his own great virtues and moderation. However, *Quintillus*, finding himself unable to withstand so formidable a rival as *Aureolus*, and resolving to die emperor, rather than return to a private condition, caused his veins to be opened, and, by that means, put an end to his life and reign, seventeen days after his election.

Aurelian, emperor, concludes a peace. Upon his death, the senate readily confirmed the election of *Aurelian*, and honoured him with the title of *Augustus*. He was a native of *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*, of a mean descent, being originally a common soldier, but universally admired on account of his extraordinary strength and courage. From *Sirmium*, where he was saluted emperor by the army, he hastened to *Rome*, and was received there, by the senate and people, with extraordinary demonstrations of joy: but before he could settle affairs in that city, he was obliged to fly back to *Pannonia*, to oppose the *Goths*, who, notwithstanding their late dreadful overthrow, had again broken into that province. *Aurelian* engaged them, and the battle lasted, without any considerable advantage on either side, till night; when the enemy repassed the *Danube*, and the next day sent ambassadors to sue for peace, which *Aurelian* readily granted them,

them. He then led his army against the *Alemanni*, *Juthongæ*, *Aurelian*, and *Marcomanni*, who were preparing to invade *Italy*; and, meeting them in *Vindelicia*, (the present *Bavaria* and part of *Württemberg* with the *Suevia*) he put them to flight, and destroyed vast numbers of *Goths*, and them, as they attempted to repass the *Danube*. Hereupon they subdues sent ambassadors to him, offering to renew their ancient alliance with *Rome*, provided they were suffered to return unmolested into their own country. But *Aurelian*, elated with his victory, would not hearken to any terms. The enemy, driven to despair, resolved thereupon, at all events, to enter *Italy*; and, finding the passes unguarded, advanced as far as *Placentia* before the emperor could come up with them. Then *Aurelian* attacked them, but was put to flight, and utterly defeated, after having lost most of his troops. The barbarians, flushed with their victory, pursued their march, not doubting but they should be able to take *Rome* itself, as the *Goths* had done: but, in the mean time, *Aurelian*, having rallied and reinforced his troops, fell unexpectedly upon the enemy, and gave them a great overthrow. Such of them as escaped this first battle, were slain in two others; one near *Placentia*, and the other in the plains of *Ticinum*; insomuch that they were all cut off to a man.

While the emperor was preparing to return to *Rome*, the *Vandals* passed the *Danube*, under the conduct of two of their kings and several of their princes. *Aurelian* marched immediately against them, overtook them before they could return back to the *Danube*, killed great numbers of them, and obliged the rest to sue for peace; which he readily granted them, upon their delivering to him as hostages the sons of their two kings, and several other persons of great distinction. He then returned to *Rome*, where he punished the authors of several abuses which had happened there during his absence, with such excessive severity, as estranged from him the affections both of the senate and people. Some say, that he was glad of any pretence to condemn the rich, being in great want of money to pay his troops. This year, with the approbation of the senate, he repaired and extended the walls of *Rome*; so that they were now fifty miles in compass.

The Vandals defeated.

The next year, *Aurelian*, having settled the affairs of *Pannonia*, *Italy*, and *Rome*, left the city a-new, and set out for the East, to make war upon the celebrated *Zenobia*, who, to the great disgrace of the empire, had held most of the eastern provinces for several years. This queen, one of the most illustrious women mentioned in history, was equally learned and brave. Upon the death of her husband *Odenatus*, prince of *Palmyra*, and afterwards partner in the empire with *Gallienus*, in whose signal victories over the *Perians* she is said to have had personally a great share, being no less courageous than that brave commander, and equally experienced in military affairs; she arrayed her three sons, *Herennianus*, *Tellius*, and *Vhaballat*, in purple, and caused them to be acknowledged

Year of
Rome 1020
of Christ
268.

Some account of
her.

Aurelian. knownedged by all the eastern provinces as joint-emperors of *Rome*: but as they were under age, she governed, as we observed before, in their name, with the title of *Queen of the East*; and defeated *Gallienus's* general *Heraclianus*; by whose overthrow she remained in peaceable possession of all *Syria* and *Mesopotamia*, to which she added *Egypt*; while *Claudius* was taken up with the *Gothic war*. Not satisfied with these acquisitions, in the reign of *Aurelian*, she seized on a great part of *Asia*, and attempted to reduce *Bithynia*. *Aurelian*, desirous to put an end to her usurpations, ordered all his forces to assemble in *Illyricum*; and, leading his march thro' *Thrace*, defeated several barbarous nations who had invaded that province; passed the *Danube*, and slew *Cannabaud*, a *Gothic* prince, with five thousand of his men. He then entered *Bithynia*, which immediately submitted; and advanced into *Cappadocia*, where he took the city of *Tyana*. From thence he marched to *Antioch*, which he entered in triumph, after defeating the troops of *Zenobia* in the neighbourhood of the capital of *Syria*.

Aurelian kills a king of the Goths, and defeats Zenobia. This victory, however, cost him dear, *Zenobia's* troops behaving with incredible bravery. From *Antioch* he pursued his march to *Emesa*, whither *Zenobia* had retired with her army, consisting of twenty thousand men. Here he defeated her again, and forced her to fly to *Palmyra*, whither he followed her, and laid siege to that city.

Palmyra besieged. Every art of war was tried to reduce the place, but to no purpose. However, during the siege, *Aurelian* defeated the *Perians*, who were coming to the relief of *Palmyra*; and, partly by menaces, partly by promises, prevailed upon the *Armenians* and *Saracens*, who were likewise coming to assist the queen, to join him against her. *Zenobia*, thus disappointed of the expected succours, and despairing of being able to hold out much longer, resolved to withdraw privately into *Perse*, and there solicit in person more powerful supplies. Accordingly she set out, in the dead of night, with a small retinue: but *Aurelian*, being informed of her flight, sent after her, and she was overtaken. Upon her being brought into his presence, he asked her, *What had induced her to take up arms against the emperors of Rome?* To which she replied, with no less intrepidity than address, *That she looked upon him, indeed, who knew how to conquer, as an emperor: but that she had never thought Gallienus, Aureolus, and such as them, worthy of that name.*

Zenobia taken and brought to Aurelian. *Palmyra submits,* *Year of Rome 1021 of Christ* *273.* *Palmyra submitted* soon after; and *Aurelian*, after stripping it of all its wealth, and leaving in it a *Roman* governor and garrison, returned to *Emesa* with the captive queen, and there put to death several persons of distinction who had sided with her; among whom was the celebrated philosopher *Longinus*. As to the queen herself, though the soldiers demanded her death with loud cries, the emperor thought it beneath him to spill the blood of a woman, and therefore spared her, as he also did her youngest son *Vhaballat*. All the eastern and southern

southern nations immediately sent ambassadors to court his *Aurelian*. friendship ; and peace being settled in those parts, he set out for Europe, carrying with him his illustrious captive. He was no sooner gone, than the *Palmyrenes* revolted, murdered all and re-the Romans in their city, and proclaimed *Achilleus*, a relation volts ; of Zenobia, their sovereign. Upon this, *Aurelian* hastened back to *Palmyra*, before the inhabitants had any notice of his march ; took the city, and put all the inhabitants to the sword, without distinction of rank, sex, or age. Before he taken, and quitted the East, *Egypt* revolted, and set up for emperor one all the *Infirmius*, a *Syrian*, immensely rich, remarkably strong, and habitants greatly attached to Zenobia. *Aurelian* marched against him put to the with his usual expedition, took him prisoner, and caused him sword. to be publicly executed.

Having thus quieted the East, he returned to Europe, with a design to recover, and re-unite to the empire, the provinces of *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*, which were still held by *Tetricus*. This was easily effected ; *Tetricus* himself, no longer able to bear the continual disorders and mutinies of his troops, inviting him privately into *Gaul*, and there submitting to him. *Aurelian* then returned to *Rome*, where he was received with *Spain*, and the most pompous triumph the city had ever seen. Zenobia *Britain*, herself, bound with chains of gold, and loaded with immense quantities of pearls and precious stones, among several other united to noble captives, graced the victor's triumph ; and the people the *Roman* were treated with all sorts of shews for several days together. empire.

Aurelian treated his illustrious captives with great humanity and kindness, giving to Zenobia possessions in the neighbourhood of *Tibur*, sufficient to maintain her according to her rank ; marrying her daughters to persons of the first quality in *Rome*, and making her son *Vhaballat* prince of a small territory in *Armenia*. To *Tetricus* he gave the government of *Lucania*; telling him, pleasantly, *That it was more for his reputation to govern a province of Italy, than to reign beyond the Alps.* The descendants, both of Zenobia and of *Tetricus*, lived for some ages after in great splendor in *Italy* and at *Rome*, highly respected and esteemed.

Having now put an end to all foreign and domestic disturbances, *Aurelian* applied himself wholly to the reforming forms of the state : to which end he made several excellent regulations, which gained him the affections of the people, whom he had estranged from him in the beginning of his reign, by his cruelty, to which he was naturally inclined. He increased the quantity of cloaths and provisions which the emperors used to distribute to the people ; and, which gained him the love of every one, remitted whatever was owing by private persons to the Exchequer, publicly burning all the bonds and papers relating to such debts. At the same time he published an act of oblivion with regard to all crimes committed against the state to that day ; and from thenceforth discountenanced all

Aurelian. all informers, and punished, with the utmost severity, such as accused others without being able to make good their charge. He likewise enacted many wholesome laws; by which all public lewdness and irreligion, is said to have been banished from *Rome*. Adultery was made capital, and he would suffer none to keep free-born women for concubines. His domestics, freedmen, and slaves, knew, and did, their duty; and dared not behave with insolence to any one. He built a temple to the Sun, which was one of the most magnificent structures in *Rome*, and enriched it with prodigious quantities of gold and precious stones.

Disturbances in Gaul.

Toward the beginning of the fifth year of his reign, some disturbances happened in *Gaul*, which obliged him to hasten thither. He soon quieted that province; and from thence marched into *Vindelicia*, where he obliged the barbarians, who had made an irruption there, to repass the *Danube*. From thence he went into *Illyricum*, and finding *Dacia* in the hands of the barbarians, and not thinking it worth his while to recover a country he could not keep, by reason of its situation in the midst of so many barbarous nations, he withdrew the *Roman* troops from the few forts they still held beyond the *Danube*; and gave the inhabitants, who were subjects of *Rome*, settlements in *Mæsia* and *Dardania*. The *Goths* possessed themselves of the country which he abandoned.

From *Illyricum* *Aurelian* marched into *Thrace*, with a design to pass the winter there, and lead his army against the *Perians* the next spring: but death prevented him. Historians give us the following account of his end. *Mnestheus*, one of his freedmen and secretaries, being suspected by him of some extortion, and fearing a severe punishment, counterfeited the emperor's hand to a list of the names of the chief officers in the army, and, among the rest, his own; and shewing it to them, told them, *He had found it in the emperor's closet; that they were all doomed to die; and that nothing but some desperate attempt could save them.* They, believing him, a few days after, fell upon *Aurelian*, between *Byzantium* and *Heraclea*, while he was attended only by a small guard, and murdered him, after he had reigned five years, and lived sixty three. His death did not remain unpunished: for the officers who killed him, finding, soon after, that they had been imposed upon by *Mnestheus* threw him to the wild beasts, and built a magnificent temple and tomb to the honour of the deceased emperor, in the place

A conspiracy formed against him.

He is murdered

Year of
Rome 1023
of Christ,

271.

where he had been killed; and all those who had any hand in the murder, were either cut in pieces on the spot by the enraged soldiery, or afterwards put to death by his successors *Tacitus* and *Probus*. He was much regretted by the senate, who, at the request of the army, ranked him among the gods; but more so by the people, to whom his bounties and largesses had been much greater than those of any of his prede-

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predecessors. *Aurelian* is generally styled the *Restorer of the Aurelian empire*, which, after the evils it had suffered by the captivity of *Valerian*, and the indolence of *Gallienus*, began to revive under *Claudius*, and was restored to its former lustre by *Aurelian*. He was brave, prudent, and generous ; but, as His character. his excessive cruelty overbalanced all his virtues, he is justly ranked, not among the good, but the useful princes. He is said to have been the first *Roman* emperor that dared to appear in public with a diadem on his head. Some of the succeeding princes followed his example in that respect ; but that royal ornament was not commonly worn till the time of *Constantine*.

T A C I T U S.

AS all the chief officers in the army had been concerned *Inter-regnum* in the death of *Aurelian*, the soldiers, by whom he was *num.* greatly beloved, not able to prevail upon themselves to name any of them in his room, wrote to the senate, acquainting them with the emperor's death, and referring to them the choice of a new prince. The fathers, by the advice of *Tacitus*, who was then prince of the senate, and, as such, spoke first, fearing the disturbances that might ensue, if the army did not approve of their choice, desired that the troops would nominate whom they liked best. These reciprocal compliments were exchanged three times between the senate and the army ; and the empire thereby remained near eight months without an head, no usurper starting up all that time, nor any disturbances happening either at *Rome*, or in the provinces. The barbarians, indeed, taking advantage of the *inter-regnum*, began to put themselves in motion. The *Germans*, *Franks*, *Burgundians*, and *Vandals*, broke into *Gaul* ; the *Goths* threatened *Illyricum* ; and the *Perians* were preparing for war.

The senate thereupon, finding it now absolutely necessary *Tacitus* to give the empire a sovereign, and the army still refusing to chosen name one, sent for *Tacitus*, who, on its being rumoured emperor. some time before, that they intended to chuse him, had withdrawn to his estate in *Campania*, and lived there two months in retirement, desiring him to be at their meeting on the 25th day of *September*. Accordingly he attended, and on his appearing in the senate-house, the whole assembly, with one voice, saluted him emperor. He endeavoured to excuse himself, on account of his great age, for he was then seventy-five ; but they all conjured him, by the love he bore his country, not to decline the office they had decreed him.

Tacitus. him. *Tacitus* thereupon yielded, and his election was joyfully confirmed by the senate and people.

His character. All we know of the origin of this emperor is, that he acknowledged *Cornelius Tacitus*, the celebrated historian, for his kinsman ; that he had been consul, and was, as we observed before, at the time of his election, prince of the senate. He was a man of learning, mild, an enemy, to all pomp, and a great admirer of the manners of the primitive *Romans*. When he was created emperor, he gave his whole estate, which was immense, to the public, and what money he had by him to the soldiers. He was temperate and regular, careful of the public money, and impartial in the administration of justice.

*Joy of the senate for right of creating emperors, and highly satisfied with him they had now chosen, ordered public processions, vowed hecatombs, appeared in white garments, feasted their friends, and wrote letters to all the states and cities in alliance with *Rome*, acquainting them, that they were at length restored to their former authority, and that their ambassadors were now to apply to them.*

Hedefeats the barbarians. The new prince had scarce taken possession of the sovereignty, when news was brought him, that incredible numbers of barbarians were advancing through *Colchis*. He thereupon immediately left *Rome*, and passed into *Asia*, where he defeated them, and obliged them to return into their own country. He passed the winter in *Cilicia*, and was preparing to return to *Rome*, when, according to some writers, he was seized with a fever, which, in a few days, put an end to his life : but, according to others, he was killed by his own soldiers. He died at *Tarsus*, after a short reign of about six months. Upon his death, his brother *Florianus*,

His death. whom he had appointed captain of the guards, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, and was acknowledged in all the provinces of *Europe* and *Africa* : but the legions in the East declared for *Probus*, whom *Tacitus* had appointed their commander, and the two armies meeting, *Florianus* was killed by his own men, who immediately after joined *Probus*.

Year of Rome 1024 of Christ

272.

P R O B U S.

Probus emperor. UPON the death of *Florianus*, the armies every where proclaimed *Probus* emperor, and the senate readily confirmed their election, honouring the new emperor with the usual titles, and vesting him with the tribunitial and proconsular power ; for they all entertained the highest opinion of him : and indeed,

and indeed, if *Vopiscus* is to be credited, they were right in *Probus*. so doing ; for he was one of the best and greatest princes that ever swayed a sceptre. He was an excellent commander, an able statesman, a friend to virtue, an enemy to vice, His character, generous, affable, good-natured, and, in short, endowed with every good quality desirable in a prince. He was a native of *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*, the son of a gardiner, entered into the army when very young, and raised himself by his merit to the highest posts. He was about forty-four years old at the time of his election ; which was no sooner confirmed by the senate, than he left *Cilicia*, and returned to *Europe*.

He passed the winter in *Pannonia*, and, early in the spring, He red-set out for *Gaul*, where he fought many successful battles, ces great and is said to have killed four hundred thousand barbarians, part of *Franks*, and other *Germans*, who had over-run that pro-Germany. vince ; and to have obliged the rest to quit the booty they had taken, and save themselves by flight beyond the *Rhine*. He then passed that river at the head of his victorious army, and made war upon the enemy in their own country, with greater success than any of his predecessors had ever done. The following year he marched into *Illyricum*, from whence the *Sarmatians*, who had made an irruption into that province, withdrew, upon the news of his approach ; leaving their booty behind them. From thence he went into *Thrace*, where all the Gothic nations sent ambassadors to him to sue for peace, and court his friendship. He then passed over into *Asia*, and intirely reduced *Isauria*, which had revolted from *Rome*. From *Isauria* he marched into *Syria*, and reduced. defeated the *Blemyes*, a barbarous and very warlike nation, dwelling between *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*. *Varanes*, king of *Perisia*, alarmed at his victories, sent ambassadors to him with rich presents, to sue for peace : but the emperor, not Peace satisfied with their proposals, sent them back ; which so concluded terrified the king, that he concluded a peace with *Probus* with the upon his own terms. *Probus* then returned to *Rome*, which Persians. he entered in triumph.

The whole empire was now at peace : but this general Year of tranquility was soon disturbed by domestic broils, which *Rome* 1028 first broke out in the East, where *S. Julius Saturninus*, a native of *Christ Mauritania*, who had distinguished himself in many 276. wars, was proclaimed emperor. *Probus* sent against him some troops, who obliged him to fly to the citadel of *Apa-Saturninmea*, which they took by storm, and put the whole garrison nus revolts to the sword, together with *Saturninus*.

The next year two usurpers started up in *Gaul*, *Proculus* and *Bonosus*. The former, who was a native of *Albingau-* and *Bono-* num, now *Albenga*, had, in his youth, been a robber, grew sus revolt; immensely rich, and entered into the army, in which he was in *Gaul*, made tribune, and had the command of several legions at the time we are speaking of, when he was proclaimed em-

Probus. peror at *Cologne*. We are told, that, besides his other forces, he armed two thousand slaves of his own when he revolted. *Probus* overcame him, and forced him to take refuge among the *Franks*, who had promised him their assistance ; but, instead of keeping their word, betrayed him to the emperor, who ordered him to be put to death. *Bonosus* was descended of a *Spanish* family, but born in *Britain*, where his father kept a school. He himself entered early into the army, and raised himself from the low rank of a common soldier to the post of general, and was employed, as such, to guard the frontiers of *Rhaetia* : but having suffered the *Germans* to surprise and burn the *Roman* fleet on the *Rhine*, his fear of being punished for that neglect prompted him to assume the sovereignty, which dignity he maintained longer than was expected, fighting several battles with *Probus* ; but being at last reduced to great straits, he chose rather to strangle himself, than fall into the hands of the conqueror.

After this, the empire again enjoyed a profound tranquility, during which, *Probus* took care never to let his troops be idle, but employed them in many useful works, saying, *That, as they were maintained by the public, they ought either to fight or labour for the public*. As *Hannibal*, to employ his soldiers, had formerly filled *Africa* with olive-trees of their planting, so *Probus*, whose valour has made many stile him a second *Hannibal*, employed his troops in planting vines on the hills of *Gaul*, *Pannonia*, and *Moesia* ; and the inhabitants of those countries, as well as the *Spaniards* and *Britons*, were allowed to cultivate as many vineyards as they pleased, which had been denied them ever since the time of *Domitian*. *Probus*, in his short reign, rebuilt or repaired seventy cities. As the city of *Sirmium*, where he was born, stood in a low marshy ground, he set great numbers of his soldiers to work to dig a canal to convey the waters into the sea. This, with the emperor's saying one day, *That he hoped there would shortly be no occasion for soldiers or armies*, from whence they concluded that they should soon be disbanded, incensed them against him to such a degree, that they fell upon him with great fury, as he was marching from one town in *Illyricum* to another, and killed him, after he had lived fifty, and reigned six years and four months. The loss of so good a prince was greatly lamented, not only by the senate and

Probus
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Year of
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278.

people of *Rome*, but by the barbarians themselves, who dreaded his valour, and revered his probity, clemency, and justice. His successors ranked him among the gods; and the whole army, though he had fallen by some of their hands, erected a stately monument to him with the following epitaph : *Here lies the emperor Probus, rightly named PROBUS ; a conqueror of the barbarous, and of usurpers.*

CARUS, and his two SONS.

UPON the death of *Probus*, *Carus*, then captain of the guards, was proclaimed emperor by the army, who looked upon him as the fittest person to succeed so good and war-like a prince. The senate liked *Carus* well; but, dreading the vicious and cruel temper of his son *Carinus*, were unwilling to confirm the choice of the soldiery. However, fearing their power, and unwilling to disturb the present tranquility of the empire, they at length acknowledged him, and gave him all the usual titles and honours. Of his age or family, we know but very little. Some say he was by birth a *Dalmatian*, and by descent an *African*; others, that he was born in *Rome*, and that his father was a *Dalmatian*; and others again, that he was a *Gaul*, and born at *Narbonne*. His election was no sooner confirmed, than he made his two sons, *Carinus* and *Numerian*, his partners in the empire, giving them equal authority with himself. *Carinus*, the eldest, was wicked, dishonest, insolent, and abandoned to every kind of vice: but *Numerian* was valiant, wise, modest, learned, and adorned with many virtues.

The *Sarmatians* no sooner heard of the death of *Probus*, than they broke into *Illyricum* and *Thrace*, over-ran those countries, and threatened *Italy* itself. *Carus*, after some skirmishes, came to a general engagement with them, in which he killed sixteen thousand, took twenty thousand prisoners, and obliged the rest to retire into their own country. After this victory, being informed that the *Perians* were preparing to invade the eastern provinces with a mighty army, leaving the care of the West to his son *Carinus*, and taking *Numerian* with him, he marched into *Mesopotamia*, which the *Perians*, who had already seized that province, abandoned at his approach; and from thence he advanced into *Gains Persia*, laid that country waste wherever he went, and besieged and took *Seleucia*, *Ctesiphon*, and *Coche*, meeting with vantages no opposition, the *Perians* being then engaged in a civil war. His design was utterly to ruin the *Perian* monarchy; and he would probably have done it, so great were the intestine divisions of that people, had he not been prevented by death, which overtook him in the neighbourhood of *Ctesiphon*, while he was preparing to pursue his conquests beyond that city, which the *Romans*, as was pretended, were by an oracle forbidden to do. *Carus* had just begun the second year of his reign, and was consul with his son *Carinus*, when he died.

The whole army immediately renewed their oath of fidelity to *Numerian*, who grieved beyond expression for the death of his father, broke up his camp, and began to retire.

Numerian As his eyes, weakened by the great quantity of tears he had shed, could not bear the light, he was carried in a close litter. *Arrius Aper*, his father-in-law, and captain of the guards, who had free access to him, laid hold of that opportunity to murder him privately, with a design to raise himself to the empire. But not being able to convey away the body of the deceased prince, which was carried three days in the litter, *Aper* all the while telling the soldiers, who wanted to see their emperor, that he could not bear the air; his crime was at length discovered by the smell of the body, and *Aper* was immediately seized. *Numerian* had reigned about eight months.

DIOCLESIAN and MAXIMIAN.

Dioclesian made emperor. UPON the death of *Numerian*, the army, with one voice, proclaimed *Dioclesian* emperor. He was born in *Dalmatia*, of obscure parentage, being, according to some, the son of a notary; according to others, of a slave; and some say, that he had himself been a slave. The name, both of his mother, and of the place where he was born, was *Dioclea*, and he was called *Diocles* till he came to be emperor, when, giving his name a *Latin* termination, he styled himself *Dioclesianus*.

His extraction and character. He entered early into the army, and by degrees raised himself to the highest military employments. He was a great master of civil affairs, prompt at foreseeing events, dexterous atconcerting schemes, naturally inclined to violent measures, but at the same time master of his temper; an enemy to all useless expences, and a great encourager of learning, though he had been brought up in the camp from his youth, and had never applied himself to any study but that of the military art, in which he was equal to the famous commanders in ancient times. Some charge him with want of courage, and others say that he was naturally covetous.

He puts Aper to death. *Dioclesian* was no sooner declared emperor by the army, than he ascended the tribunal, and, after having harangued the soldiers, and solemnly declared upon his oath, that he had been no way privy or accessory to the death of *Numerian*; he caused *Aper* to be brought before him, reproached him in bitter terms for the murder of his prince and son-in-law, and then, descending from the tribunal, drew his sword, and buried it in his breast, saying, *Be proud, Aper, that you fall by so great a hand*; and then crying out, *That he had at length killed the boar*: alluding to the prophecy of a Druidess, who had told him, that he would attain the empire after he had

had killed a boar; which the word *aper* signifies in the Latin *Dioclesian* tongue. At the same time he ordered all the accomplices of *Aper* to be executed.

Dioclesian was proclaimed emperor at *Chalcedon*, on the 17th of September, in the year 284, which he ordered to be of *Dioclesian*. He made the *æra*, or date, from whence the following account *ian*. of times should begin. The Christians observed it till the reign of the emperor *Justinian*, that is, for above 240 years, by the name of the *æra of martyrs*; calling it so on account of this emperor's severity towards them. He was now about thirty-nine or forty years of age. A few days after he had been proclaimed at *Chalcedon*, he made his public entry into *Nicomedia*, and there spent the remainder of the year in making the necessary preparations to oppose *Carinus*, who was hastening into *Illyricum* at the head of a powerful army. The two rivals fought several battles in that province, which, at first, were greatly to the advantage of *Carinus*; but while he was pursuing the enemy, after a victory he had gained near *Margum* in *Upper-Mœsia*, he was killed by *Carinus* some of his own men, stirred up by a tribune whose wife he killed. had debauched.

Dioclesian, now sole master of the empire, marched to *Rome*, and, having established his authority there, set out soon after for *Germany*, where he gained several advantages over the *Alemanni*, who had made an irruption into *Gaul*. The same year, his generals were successful in *Britain*. For these victories he took the surnames of *Germanicus* and *Britannicus*; and from *Illyricum* he returned into the East.

In the second year of his reign he took for his partner in *Dioclesian* the empire *Maximian*, who was born of obscure parents, in takes a village near *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*, but had signalised himself greatly in the army, and was reckoned one of the best for his commanders of his time but; excessively cruel, savage, and partner in wicked. *Maximian* immediately hastened into *Gaul*, to oppose a prodigious multitude of vagabonds, robbers, and peasants, who had assembled there, and proclaimed two commanders, named *Amandus* and *Alianus*, emperors. The rebels were soon quelled, and tranquility was restored. The next year, he utterly defeated and destroyed an incredible number of *Alemanni*, *Burgundians*, *Heruli*, and other *German* nations, who attacked him in *Gaul*; and the year after that, he again did the same, crossed the *Rhine*, laid the enemy's country waste, and returned to *Gaul* loaded with booty. In the mean time *Dioclesian*, who had remained in the East, forced the *Perians* to restore what they had taken from the *Romans*, gained several advantages over the *Saracens*, entered *Germany* on the side of *Rhaetia*, and extended the bounds of the empire to the source of the *Danube*.

While the two emperors were thus employed, *Carausius*, a native of *Gaul*, passed over into *Britain*, took upon him the title of emperor, was acknowledged by all the troops quartered in that island, and at length obliged the *Romans*

Dioclesian to give it up to him, as we have related in our history of
that country.

Year of *Dioclesian* and *Maximian* returning, the former from the
Rome 1040 East, and the latter from *Gaul*, met at *Milan*, and, after
of Christ conferring together, went back to their respective armies ;
288. at which time almost all the barbarians were at war with

one another, and the empire enjoyed peace. But about the tenth year of *Dioclesian's* reign it was in great danger of being torn in pieces both by foreign and domestic enemies. The *Perians* broke into *Mesopotamia*, and threatened *Syria*; five of the nations of *Africa*, entering into a confederacy against the *Romans*, over-ran that country : *Julianus* revolted in *Italy*, and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor; and *Achilleus* assumed the same title at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*. The two emperors, not thinking themselves able to oppose so many enemies at once, resolved each of them to name a *Cæsar*, who should succeed them in the empire, and jointly with them defend it. *Dioclesian* chose *Maximin Galerius*; and *Maximian*, *Constantius*, surname *Chlorus*; who were vested with the tribunitial and proconsular power, and honoured with all the titles peculiar to the sovereignty. To cement their union still more, the two *Cæsars* put away their wives, and married, *Constantius* the daughter-in law of *Maximian*, and *Galerius* the daughter of *Dioclesian*.

The empire divided into four parts. *Dioclesian* had the countries beyond the *Ægean* sea; *Thrace* and *Illyricum* were allotted to *Galerius*; *Italy* and *Africa*, with the adjacent islands, to *Maximian*; and *Gaul*, *Britain*, *Spain*, and *Mauritania* to *Constantius*. Each of these princes was absolute in the provinces that fell to his share: but the other three paid great deference to *Dioclesian*, acknowledging him as the author of their power, and looking upon him as their common father. A perfect union reigned among them, and, from this time, the empire continued almost constantly divided; but, at the same time, each emperor was looked upon as master of the whole, and the names of all were fixed to the decrees of each. But this multiplicity of

Evils attending that division.

princes was soon attended with great inconveniences; for, as each of the four sovereigns would have as many officers, both civil and military, and the same number of forces as when the state was governed only by one emperor; there were more soldiers to pay, than people to supply the necessary sums. The taxes and imposts were consequently increased beyond measure, the provinces reduced to beggary, and the lands left untilled for want of hands.

Galerius, whom *Dioclesian* raised to the dignity of *Cæsar*, was descended from an obscure family in *Dacia*. His mother, whose name was *Romula*, being a bitter enemy to the Christians, inspired her son with the same hatred to them, which chiefly gave rise to the bloody persecution in the latter end of *Dioclesian's* reign. He was no sooner created *Cæsar*,

far, than he marched against the barbarians in the neighbourhood of the *Danube* and *Illyricum*; but performed nothing memorable against them, either in this or the three following years. *Maximian*, this year, passed over into *Africa*, where he gained a complete victory over the five nations, and reduced *Julianus*, who, after being proclaimed emperor in *Italy*, had crossed over into *Africa*, to such straits, that he killed himself.

Constantius hastened into *Gaul*, and took *Gessoriacum*, now *Carausius Boulogne*, into which *Carausius* had put a garrison. What murdered. *Dioclesian* did this year we are not told. In the next, *Carausius* was treacherously murdered by his bosom friend and prime minister *Allectus*, who thereupon caused himself to be proclaimed emperor in *Britain*; and *Constantius*, while a fleet was preparing for him to invade *Britain*, cleared *Batavia* of all the *Franks*, who had seized that country, and transplanted them, and their wives and children, into other parts of the empire, which wanted inhabitants.

Dioclesian spent the two next years in *Illyricum* and *Thrace*, assisting *Galerius* against the barbarians on the other side of the *Danube*; and *Maximian* went to *Gaul*, to defend that province against their incursions; while *Constantius* was employed in *Britain*. The *Carpi*, after having long withstood the utmost efforts of the Roman arms, were, this year, entirely reduced by *Galerius*; and *Dioclesian* transplanted them into *Pannonia*, and some other territories of the empire.

Constantius having settled affairs in *Britain*, returned to *Gaul*, to which province he transplanted great numbers of *Franks*, settling them in the parts that were most destitute of inhabitants, and obliging them to cultivate the lands, pay the usual tributes, and supply the Roman armies with a certain number of troops. The same year, *Dioclesian* recovered *Egypt* from *Achilleus*, who had held that province near *Egypt*. six years. The next year, *Maximian* defeated the rebellious *Moors* in *Africa*, took their castles and strong holds, drove them from their almost inaccessible rocks and mountains, and obliged them to deliver up their arms, and surrender at discretion. The same year, *Narses*, king of *Perisia*, emulating the glory of *Sapor*, entered *Armenia* at the head of a mighty army, reduced that province, and advanced into *Mesopotamia*. *Dioclesian*, intimidated by the fate of the unhappy *Valerian*, instead of marching against him in person, withdrew into *Egypt*, and left the whole management of that dangerous war to *Galerius*, who, meeting the *Perians* in *Mesopotamia*, engaged them with only a few troops compared to their prodigious numbers, and, after bravely disputing the victory for some hours, was forced to give ground, and fly. *Galerius*, enraged at this overthrow, and picqued at the cold reception he met with, in consequence of it, from *Dioclesian*; raised a new army, came up with the enemy, and,

Dioclesian with only twenty-five thousand men, forced their intrenchments, though defended by an innumerable multitude, killed above twenty thousand of them, took an immense booty, and an incredible number of prisoners, among whom were the king's wives, sisters, and children. Narses, king of Persia, in most distant part of his kingdom, and from thence sent Apharban, one of his chief favourites, to conclude a peace with the Romans upon any terms. The Romans demanded, that five of the Persian provinces should be ceded to them, so as to make the Tigris the boundary between the two empires; and the Persians agreeing to this, a peace was concluded, which lasted till the latter end of the reign of Constantine, when the Persians broke it, in hopes of recovering what they now gave up.

Year of Rome 301. Not long after, Constantine gained a great victory over the Alemanni, near Langres in Gaul, cutting sixty thousand of them in pieces. The year in which this happened was remarkable for a great dearth, which prevailed in most provinces of the empire; and the next year, Dioclesian and Galerius, being together in Bithynia, set on foot the most cruel persecution the Christians had yet suffered. This tenth and last general persecution raged ten whole years, with a fury not to be expressed.

Dioclesian's cruelty to the Antiochians. About this time one Eugenius assumed the title of emperor in Syria, and, with about five hundred men, whom he commanded, went strait to Antioch, and entered it that same day, towards the evening, without opposition, there being no garrison in the place, and the inhabitants being quite unapprised of his revolt: but when he began to act as emperor, the whole city rose, and falling upon the rebels, for the most part intoxicated with wine, killed them all to a man before midnight. Thus the empire of Eugenius began and ended the same day. Dioclesian, who ought rather to have rewarded than punished the Antiochians, without any form of law, commanded the chief magistrates of that city, and of Seleucia, from whence Eugenius set out, to be executed, as if they had been privy to the conspiracy; which rendered him infinitely odious to all Syria.

Towards the end of this year, Dioclesian and Maximian, with their two Cæsars, Constantius and Galerius, repaired to Rome, and there enjoyed the honour of a triumph, which the senate had long since decreed them, and their many victories well deserved. From thence Dioclesian returned, soon after, to Nicomedia, where, thinking himself unable to govern any longer, on account of fits, to which he was subject, and which had increased greatly of late, he resolved to resign the empire, and betake himself to a private life: and, as if his own resignation had not been sufficient, he persuaded, and in a manner compelled his associate Maximian to do the same; so that, all things having been settled between them by letters, both the emperors resigned the sovereignty on the same

same day, *Maximian* in *Milan*, and *Dioclesian* in *Nicomedia*, *Dioclesian* after the former had reigned somewhat above eighteen, and *Dioclesian* the latter twenty years. Many authors extol this act of *Dioclesian* as a shining instance of greatness, generosity, and empire. contempt of human grandeur; but *Laetantius*, in a piece lately recovered from darkness, assures us, that this resignation was wholly owing to the contrivances of *Galerius*, who, coming to *Nicomedia* shortly after a great sickness of the emperor's, threatened him with a civil war if he refused to resign, as he had done *Maximian* before; and that *Dioclesian*, finding himself declining in years and authority, most unwillingly complied with his demand. However that may be, we are assured by many, that, after his resignation, he retired to a country seat, in the neighbourhood of *Salona* in *Dalmatia*, and there passed the remainder of his life, that is, near nine years, in such content and happiness, amusing himself with cultivating a garden, that he would often say, *He then began to live, and to see the beauty of the sun*: and when, some time after, *Maximian* and others endeavoured to persuade him to join them, and resume the empire, he returned them this answer: *I wish you would but come to Salona, that I might shew you the colworts which I have planted with my own hands: I am sure you would never more mention the empire to me.* *Dioclesian* was about eighty years old when he died. Death of *Dioclesian* He was deified with the usual solemnities.



C H A P. V.

From the Resignation of Dioclesian, to the Removal of the Imperial Seat to Constantinople, by Constantine the Great; which proved the greatest Step towards the Ruin of the Roman Empire.

CONSTANTIUS AND GALERIUS.

UPON the resignation of *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*, the *Constanti*- two *Cæsars*, *Constantius* and *Galerius*, were universally *us and Ga*- acknowledged emperors. *Constantius* was surnamed *Chlorus*, *Galerius* em- from his paleness, and was married to *Theodora*, daughter-in- perors. law to *Maximian*; and *Galerius* to *Valeria*, daughter to *Dioclesian*. The first was very noble by descent, being nearly al- Their lied to the emperor *Claudius*, virtuous, valiant, affable, and characters merciful. The latter was ignoble, surly, incontinent, cruel, and a barbarous persecutor of the Christians, but at the same time

Constan-
tius.

—
They di-
vide the
empire
between
them.

Galerius
creates *Se-*
verus and
Maximin
Cæsars.

Excellent
qualities
of *Con-*
stantius.

time remarkably brave. While *Dioclesian* reigned, his uncommon prudence preserved peace between them. After his resignation, to prevent all disputes that might arise, they agreed to make a distinct and independent division of the empire between them. *Constantius* had the western parts; namely, *Italy*, *Sicily*, most of *Africa*, *Spain*, *Gaul*, *Britain*, and *Germany*; and *Galerius* the eastern and largest share: viz. *Illyricum*, *Pannonia*, *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, all the provinces of *Greece*, and the *Lesser Asia*; together with *Egypt*, *Syria*, *Judea*, and all the East. *Constantius*, who wished rather to govern well than to govern much, thinking his portion, though the least, still too great a burden for his mild and pacific temper; after this division, voluntarily resigned to *Galerius* *Africa* and *Italy*, and contented himself with *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Britain*, and his part of *Germany*. On the other hand, *Galerius*, finding, by this increase of his dominions, the affairs of the empire become difficult for him to manage with security to himself, made choice of two assistants, and created them *Cæsars*. The one was *Severus*, to whom he allotted the government of *Italy* and *Africa*; and the other, his sister's son *Maximin*, to whom he gave the government of the East in *Asia*; reserving to himself all the provinces belonging to *Illyricum* and *Greece*: so that the world, we may say, was governed by four heads; the emperors *Constantius* and *Galerius*, and the *Cæsars* *Severus* and *Maximin*, who were both dependents on *Galerius*.

Constantius was about fifty-four years of age when he entered upon the government, which he managed to the general satisfaction of all men, preserving his provinces free from all disturbances during his short reign. The *Gauls* almost adored him before he was emperor; for his prudence had sheltered them from the distrustful policy of *Dioclesian*, and the bloody rashes of *Maximian*. His chief desire was, that his subjects should enjoy the fruit of their labour and industry; often saying, *That it was better the wealth of a country should circulate among the people, than be locked up in the coffers of a prince*. He so little affected pomp and splendor, and was so fearful of burdening his people, that, if at any time he gave an entertainment, he was obliged to borrow plate for the use of his table. *Dioclesian*, thinking he carried his tenderness for his subjects too far, sent persons on purpose to reproach him with his poverty in never having any money by him. *Constantius* heard them with patience, and, after desiring them to stay with him a little time, intimated his wants to the people, who, in a few hours, brought him, of their own accord, an immense treasure. He then desired the deputies to relate what they had seen, and to let their master know, *That the love of the people was the richest and surest treasure of the prince*. When they were gone, he sent for those who had so readily assisted him, thanked them, and returned to every one what they had brought. He favoured the Christians,

Christians, not suffering any injury to be offered them. *Constan-*
However, being urged by Galerius, he once politely pre-
tius.
tended to persecute them ; and commanded all the officers of his household, who were Christians, to change their religion. He far-
or quit their employments : but, when some of them did so, yours the
he dismissed them from his service, saying, That those who were Christians
not true to their God, would never be faithful to their prince.

Constantius, in the second year of his reign, passed over passes over
 into *Britain* and resided at *York*; where, falling sick, he began into *Bri-*
 to be much concerned for the safety of his son *Constantine*, who, for several years, had been kept at the court of *Dio-*
cletian, as a pledge of his father's fidelity; and, since his re-
 signation, at that of *Galerius*. *Galerius* hated *Constantius*, and was jealous of his son, whom he would have removed by a violent death, but that he knew the army loved *Constantine*, and would revenge it. He therefore endeavoured to get rid of him by treachery, exposing him, to that end, to several dangers, under various pretences: but Providence preserved him. His father had often sent for him, and had been as often denied; and now, in this sickness, he had renewed his importunity: so that *Galerius*, being ashamed any longer to refuse his reasonable request, gave him leave to go; and, *tine*, fully determined to prevent his ever reaching *Britain*, ordered him to come the next morning to receive his final instructions. But *Constantine*, as soon as *Galerius* was gone to rest, who set out with all possible speed, and, for several days, ham-
 escapes
 stringed, or killed, all the horses he did not make use of, from *Ga-*
 that no one might overtake him. *Galerius* calling for him *lerius* to the next day, and understanding that he was gone, sent several messengers in pursuit of him; but hearing soon after that all the post-horses were disabled, he flew into a violent passion of rage and grief. In the mean time, *Constantine* travelled with the utmost speed, and arrived at *York*, where he found his father past recovery. *Constantius* died a few days after, in the sixty-sixth year of his age, after he had been of *Con-*
Cæsar fifteen years, and emperor almost two. He bequeathed *Constantius*, the empire to his son *Constantine*, who declared he would not accept it without the consent of the other princes, to whom he immediately wrote, acquainting them with the death and the empire last will of his father. But the soldiers, impatient of delay, to *Con-*
 proclaimed him emperor the very day his father died, and, *stantine*.
 the first time he appeared in public, saluted him *Augustus*, and Year of
 forced him to put on the purple.

Rome 1058

CONSTANTINE the Great, GALERIUS, &c.

Constan-
tine the
Great, em-
peror of
the West.

CONSTANTINE, who was thus proclaimed emperor of the West by the unanimous consent of the soldiery in *Britain*, now about thirty-six years of age. He was a prince of most promising virtues and accomplishments, of profound policy and capacity, and no less modest than magnanimous. According to the most general opinion, he was born in *Britain*, of *Helena*, the first wife of *Constantius*, a *British* princess, deservedly extolled by all the Christian, and particularly the ecclesiastical, writers. For a considerable time, he contented himself with the title of *Cæsar*, not immediately assuming that of *Augustus*, or emperor, expecting that the senior emperor would send him that title; but in vain: for, as soon as his image, wreathed with the imperial laurel, was presented to *Galerius*, he was so enraged, that he condemned it and the messenger to the flames; but was dissuaded by his friends from putting that design in execution: and, that *Constantine* might at least seem to hold his authority of him, he sent him the purple, and gave him the title of *Cæsar*: but, at the same time, he created *Severus* emperor, and gave him *Italy* and *Africa*; which he governed with an absolute sway; oppressing the people with endless taxes, and practising unheard of cruelties upon such as were not able to comply with his unjust demands.

Galerius
allows him
only the
title of
Cæsar,
and makes
Severus
emperor.

Maxentius
proclaim-
ed empe-
ror.

Maximian
resumes
the em-
pire.

This occasioned great disturbances in all the cities of *Italy*, but especially at *Rome*: which *Maxentius* laying hold of, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor by the dissatisfied soldiery and people, who hated *Severus*. *Maxentius* was the son of *Maximian*, by one *Eutropia*, a *Syrian*. He was proud, arrogant, cruel, deformed, abandoned to every vice, and hated by all but the soldiers in *Rome*, who loved him because he indulged them in all sorts of outrages and disorders. The news of this revolt no sooner reached the East, where *Galerius* then was, than he dispatched a messenger to *Severus*, enjoining him to hasten with all his forces to *Rome*, to suppress the new usurper. On the other hand, *Maxentius* had recourse to his father *Maximian*, who, tempted by the prospect of recovering the empire, which he had unwillingly resigned, suffered himself to be proclaimed emperor a second time by the senate and people of *Rome*; and received the purple at the hands of his son. In the mean time *Severus*, leaving *Milan*, where he then was, drew towards *Rome* with a powerful army: but, consisting of troops which two years before had belonged to *Maximian*, the father of *Maxentius*, they were easily gained over by the latter, and deserted *Se-*

verus,

verus, who thereupon betook himself to flight, and, with a few only who remained faithful to him, shut himself up in Ravenna, which Maximian immediately invested. The place was well fortified, and might easily have held out till Galerius could have relieved it: but Severus, distrusting his own men, and relying upon the solemn promises of Maximian, surrendered to him the city, and the purple, with which he had been invested about a year and nine months before. Maximian, unmindful of his oaths, carried him to Rome, and, after keeping him prisoner some time, put him to death.

While these things passed in Italy, Constantine was busied in settling the affairs of Britain, Spain, and Gaul, and in defending them against the barbarians. His father, Constantius, had no sooner retired into Britain, than the Franks, forgetful of their oaths, invaded Gaul, and committed dreadful ravages. Constantine, who had before signalised himself under the emperors Dioclesian and Galerius, in their wars with the Germans, Goths, Sarmatians, and Persians, now marched against these new enemies, defeated them in a pitched battle, and took prisoners two of their kings, whom, some say, he caused to be thrown to wild beasts, in order to intimidate that perfidious people, regardless, even then, of the most sacred ties. Eutropius adds, that he treated in the like manner the kings of the Allemans, who were in confederacy with the Franks, and fell into his hands in this war.

Maximian, sensible that Galerius would not let the death of Severus pass unrevenged; and at the same time anxious to regain his former dignity; after trying in vain to engage his old partner Dioclesian in the same enterprize, resolved to strengthen himself with the alliance of Constantine, who now enjoyed a profound peace in Gaul. Having therefore fortified Rome with many new works, and put it in a condition of sustaining a long siege, he left Italy, and went to confer with Constantine in Gaul; where he persuaded him to marry his daughter Fausta, and to change his title of Cæsar into that of Augustus.

In the mean time, Galerius entered Italy with a powerful army, but not sufficient to besiege Rome, as he intended. He was therefore obliged to return back, and in his retreat he laid waste the country far and wide, to prevent the enemy from pursuing him, and allowed his soldiers to commit unheard of cruelties and disorders. Maximian, who was still in Gaul, did all he could to persuade Constantine to pursue him: but finding that prince no way inclined to engage in so dangerous a war, he repassed the Alps, and returned to Rome; where he reigned some time jointly with his son, but was less respected, and not so readily obeyed. Piqued at this, he resolved to deprive Maxentius of the empire; not doubting but the troops which had lately abandoned Severus, and had formerly belonged to him, would favour his attempt. Accordingly

Year of
Rome 1059
of Christ

307.

Constan-
tine.

ingly he tried them : but finding, not only that he was greatly mistaken in his hopes, but that both the soldiery and people were so incensed against him for his unnatural behaviour, that his life was no longer in safety among them, he left *Rome*, and hastened back into *Gaul*; where he complained to *Constantine*, that his son had expelled him. *Constantine* paid little regard to his complaint ; whereupon he repaired to *Galerius*, the declared enemy of his son, to regulate with him, as he pretended, the public affairs : but, in reality, to watch an opportunity of dispatching him, and seizing his provinces; for which, however, no favourable occasion offered. On the contrary, he was obliged to authorize with his presence the promotion of *Licinius*, whom *Galerius* created emperor in the room of *Severus*. *Licinius* was a native of *Dacia*, of mean parentage, though he pretended to derive his pedigree from the emperor *Philip*. He was a declared enemy to all learning ; cruel, violent, haughty, infamously debauched, and infatitably covetous ; but brave, and experienced in the art of war. *Maximin*, nephew to *Galerius*, jealous of this promotion of *Licinius*, pressed his uncle to raise him also to the same rank. *Galerius* could not be prevailed upon to grant his request ; but, to content him, he contrived a new title, ordering, that he and *Constantine* should, for the future, be styled *Fili Augustorum*, sons of emperors. *Maximin* pretended to be satisfied with this new mark of distinction ; but, in the mean time, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor by his army in the East ; assuring his uncle, by letter, that the troops had saluted him *Augustus* without his consent. This gave *Galerius* great uneasiness : but, nevertheless, not thinking it advisable to quarrel with his nephew about the title he had usurped, he confirmed it, and at the same time granted it to *Constantine*, who was thus, through the ambition of another man, acknowledged emperor in all the provinces of the empire ; which, by this means, was governed at the same time by six different princes : namely, *Maximian*, *Galerius*, *Licinius*, *Maximin*, *Constantine*, and *Maxentius*.

Maximin
causes
himself to
be pro-
claimed
emperor.

Constantine ac-
knowl-
ledged
emperor
by *Galeri-*
us.

Shortly after this, *Maximian*, thinking himself neglected by *Galerius*, left *Illyricum*, and privately withdrew to *Constantine*, in *Gaul*, with a design to lay hold of the first opportunity to dispatch him, and cause himself to be acknowledged in his room. The better to deceive him, he quitted the purple a second time, declaring, that he would no longer concern himself with public affairs. His treasonable design was soon discovered ; upon which he fled to *Marseilles*, where he was pursued, besieged, and stripped of his imperial robes by *Constantine* ; who, finding himself daily exposed to new plots and conspiracies, at length could allow him no greater mercy than to chuse his own death ; which, *Laetantius* tells us, was hanging : a fate he had long before deserved for his many cruelties, particularly to the Christians.

The death
of *Maxi-
mian.*

This

This year, the sixth of his reign, *Galerius* was seized with *Constan-*
a most dreadful distemper, an ulcer in his privy parts; which, tine.
increasing daily, in spite of all the art and skill of the best *physicians and surgeons,, became incredibly nauseous both* *Galerius*
to the sight and smell. His thighs putrified by degrees, his seized
belly was consumed, his bowels laid open, the whole mass with a
of his blood corrupted, and he was devoured alive by infinite dreadful
swarms of worms and vermin, with such insupportable tor- distemper.
ments, that he often endeavoured to kill himself, and even
caused some of his physicians to be put to death because their
remedies were ineffectual. He languished in this condition a
full year; during which he began to reflect on his cruelties to
the innocent Christians; and, in consequence thereof, pub-
lished an edict, ordering a stop to be put to the persecution.
*He died at *Sardica*, the metropolis of *New Dacia*, and was His death.*
deified with the usual ceremonies. Before he expired, he
*earnestly recommended to *Licinius* his wife *Valeria*, the daugh- Year of*
*ter of *Dioclesian*; and *Candidianus*, his natural son. The *Rome 1061**

empire was now divided among four; viz. *Constantine*, who had *of Christ*
*Gaul, Spain, Britain, and Germany; *Licinius*, who had 309.*

the provinces of *Illyricum and Greece; *Maximin, Cæsar*, and*

governor of *Asia* and the *East*; and *Maxentius*, usurper of

Italy and Afric.

Licinius was now generally acknowledged emperor in the room of *Galerius*, and peaceably took upon him the same succeeds provinces; while *Constantine* governed *Gaul*, and his division *Galerius* of the empire, with great success and prosperity. Having in the em-reigned about six years, he began to be highly concerned for pire. the city of *Rome*, which was miserably oppresſed by *Maxen-*
tius: and, being strongly follicited by an embafſy from the fe-nate and people of that city, he took a resolution, worthy of so great a mind^d, to march against the tyrant. He had no Constan-sooner determined this, than, like a prudent man, he began tine's ex-to think on ſome assistance beyond the meer strength and peditio courage of his army; and ſeriously revolved within himself againſt what deity he ſhould implore as his guardian and protector, *Maxentius*. He juſtly conſidered the fatal miscarriages of his predeceſſors. who had violently promoted the worship of a multiplicity of gods; the fallaciousneſſ of the oracles by which they had been deluded; and the ſucceſs which had always attended his father *Constantius*, who acknowledg'd only one Supreme Being. At the ſame time he obſerved, that ſuch of his predeceſſors as had perſecuted the Christians, the adorers of this God, had miſcarried in moſt of their undertakings, and periſhed by an untimely end: whereaſ, his father, who coun-tenanced and protected them, had been uncommonly ſucceſful in all his wars, and ended his life in the arms of his chil-dren. He therefore reſolved to have recourse to the God of his father, and adhere to him alone. To Him therefore he addressed himſelf with great humility and fervour, beſeeching Him

Constan-
tine.

A miracu-
lous ap-
pearance.

Constan-
tine em-
braces the
Christian
religion,

enters
Italy, and
incamps
before
Rome:

Him to make Himself known to him, and to assist him in his present expedition. Heaven heard his prayer in a manner altogether miraculous; which, however incredible it may appear to some, *Eusebius* assures us, he received from the emperor's own mouth, who solemnly confirmed the truth of it with his oath. As he was marching at the head of his troops, in the open fields, when the sun was declining, there suddenly appeared in the heavens a pillar of light, in the form of a cross, with this inscription upon, or about, it, *In this conquer*. This was a very surprising sight both to *Constantine* and his whole army; and the commanders and officers, prompted by their priests and soothsayers, looked upon it as an inauspicious omen, portending a very unfortunate expedition: but it made so happy an impression upon the emperor's mind, that, being farther encouraged by visions that night, he caused the next day a royal standard to be made like that which he had seen in the heavens, and to be borne before him in his wars, as an ensign of his victory and safety. After this, he sent for several Christian bishops, in order to be instructed by them in the mysteries of their religion. He hearkened to them with the utmost respect, and believed what they told him of the divinity, incarnation, and death of our Saviour. His example was followed by all his family; and the church of CHRIST was happily delivered from the cruel persecution under which it had groaned for near three hundred years.

The next year, *Constantine* entered Italy at the head of an army of about ninety thousand foot and eighty thousand horse; and, after reducing several cities which opposed him, in a short time advanced almost to the walls of *Rome*, incamping his army in a large plain before that city. This formidable approach roused *Maxentius*, who had given himself up to ease, luxury, and magic, dividing his hours between pleasure and superstition. He never went out of the city, and seldom out of the palace; but was so excessively lazy and inactive, that, to remove only to the *Sallustian* gardens, tho' to enjoy a new scene of pleasure, was accounted a journey and an expedition. But now, finding himself obliged to leave the city, he plied the altars with sacrifices, and commanded the *Sybilline* books to be searched. The answer brought him was, *That the great enemy of Rome would perish that day*: which he understood of *Constantine*, and applied the success to himself. Leaving therefore all things in the best posture he could, he quitted the city, and advanced against *Constantine* with far more numerous forces, his army consisting of one hundred and seventy thousand foot, and eighteen thousand horse; a great part of whom, being *Romans* and *Italians*, and having consequently felt his tyranny, wished no other than to see him fall. However, the engagement was fierce and bloody; till victory, after hovering a while, rested

on

on Constantine's side, for the enemy's cavalry being routed, The de-
the whole army fled, and thinking to escape the nearest seat and
way, by a bridge of boats which Maxentius had built over death of
the Tiber, and had contrived with secret springs and engines, Maxen-
to drown Constantine if he passed that way, were caught in *tus*.
their own snare. Maxentius himself was among those that Year of
fell. His body being found, his head was cut off, and Rome^{1110.}
carried upon a pole before the army. of Christ

Constantine having obtained this glorious victory, with no 308.
great loss on his side, the senator's and people of Rome, Constan-
with their wives and children, came out of the city to re- tine enters
ceive him; and with infinite acclamations stiled him their Rome.
father, their saviour, and author of all their happiness. In
this manner he was conducted into Rome, every one re-
ounding his praises: but he, assuming nothing to himself,
ascribed all the glory of his success to God alone; and in
the right hand of all the statues that were erected to his ho-
nour by decree of the senate, he caused to be placed the fi-
gure of the cross, with the same inscription he had seen in
the heavens: only to one he had likewise an inscription,
intimating, that under the influence of that victorious cross,
Constantine had delivered the city from the yoke of tyranni-
cal power, and had restored to the senate and people of
Rome their ancient splendor and glory. About this time,
we are told, that he commanded, by a public edict, that no
man should for the future suffer the death of the Cross,
which, till then, had been looked upon as the most igno-
minious of all.

Having settled the affairs of the city, and enacted several He pro-
wife and just laws; to shew his gratitude for the power he tects the
had received, he began to bestow many favours and gifts Christians
upon the Christians, building them churches and places of
prayer, and endowing them with revenues and means for
the maintenance of the priests and ministers, and with ne-
cessaries and ornaments for divine service. Shortly after this
victory, he and Licinius, to whom he married his sister Con-
stantia, with one consent issued out their decrees through all
the provinces and cities of the empire, commanding that the
Christians should be eased from all grievances, made free,
and received into all offices and places of authority; which
now put an entire stop to that great persecution begun by
Diocletian ten years before. These decrees being sent into
the East, were likewise obeyed by Maximin, though with
great reluctance; he being a mortal enemy to the Christians.

Puts a stop
to the per-
secution.

Maximin, who governed in the East, seeing himself rich Maximin
and powerful, accounted it a dishonour to him to be in- invades
ferior to Licinius or Constantine; and therefore assuming the the empire
title of Augustus and emperor, and revoking the privileges
granted to the Christians, he began to declare himself an
enemy, especially to Licinius, who commanded in the pro-

A GENERAL HISTORY

is totally defeated by *Licinius*.

His death.

Valens and

Alexander defeated and killed.

Constantine and Licinius remain masters of the empire.

Wicked practices of Licinius.

vinces nearest to his. Trusting to the multitude of his troops, he began a severe war against him, both by sea and land. After several skirmishes, the two armies came to a general battle, in which *Maximin's* forces were overthrown, and pursued with such fury, that most of them were cut in pieces. Those that survived, yielded to *Licinius*. *Maximin* escaped by flight, disguising himself till he could arrive at a place of security. Then, seeing how he had been deluded by his magicians and pagan priests, he put many of them to death, and trying all means to appease the divine vengeance, issued out decrees in favour of the Christians, allowing them liberty to build churches, and to officiate as they thought fit. Having again levied considerable forces, he resolved to try his fortune in a second battle, when heaven was pleased to frustrate all his designs by his death, first afflicting him with excruciating pains and torments all over his body, which lasted several days, during which he could neither eat, drink, nor sleep, and at length his eyes started out of his head, so that he died raging and in despair; a just, but miserable, end for such a bloody tyrant, who had been one of the most barbarous persecutors of the church, which, after this, began to flourish exceedingly, and the Christians, for some time, enjoyed peace and prosperity.

Constantine and *Licinius* now remained sole lords and emperors of the Roman dominions: only the latter met with some opposition in the East from *Valens*, whom the army had made emperor after the death of *Maximin*. But *Licinius* soon put an end to his life and empire; after which, being in full possession of the East, he punished the ministers of *Maximin's* cruelty, and put to death his two sons, whom he had made *Cæsars*. Shortly after this, one *Alexander*, a commander in *Africa*, rebelled, and usurped the title and authority of emperor. *Constantine* sent against him an army from *Rome*, which coming to an engagement, *Alexander* was defeated and killed. By this means the whole empire was under the command of *Constantine* and *Licinius*; but though they were equal in dignity, yet the valour and reputation of *Constantine* was far greater, and he was much more beloved and esteemed by all men, than *Licinius*. *Constantine* resided chiefly at *Rome*, administering justice with wisdom and discretion, reading the Holy Scriptures, and daily enriching and propagating the church of God.

Licinius, who had hitherto dissembled with *Constantine* and the world, having now the whole Eastern empire at his command, began to shew himself in his proper colours, heartily espousing the cause of the Pagans, and expressly forbidding the Christian bishops to visit the houses of the Gentiles, for fear they should promote the propagation of Christianity. Not satisfied with this, he raised a bloody persecution against the Christians, whom he pursued with the most horrid cruelties. He likewise made use of several treacherous

cherous practices against the person of *Constantine*, whom he both envied and hated ; contriving all imaginable methods to destroy him. In compassion to the deplorable condition of the Christians; and to chastise the monstrous inconstancy and ingratitude of *Licinius*, as well as his horrid perfidiousness and hypocrisy, *Constantine* resolved upon an expedition against him. Great preparations were made on both sides : the two emperors and their armies met near *Cibalæ*, in *Pannonia*, and a battle ensued, in which *Licinius* was utterly defeated, with the loss of twenty thousand of his best troops. *Licinius* fled to *Sirmium*, and from thence tare and with his wife, children, and treasures, into *Dacia*, where *Licinius*. he raised to the dignity of *Cæsar* one of his officets, by name *Licinius Martian*. From *Dacia* he passed into *Thrace*, and there as- sembled a second army, far more numerous than the former. Raises a In the mean time *Constantine*, making his sons *Crispus* and *Constantine, Cæsars*, feized on the provinces of *Dacia, Mæcia*, my. *Macedonia*, and others in *Europe*, which were subject to *Li-* Peace con- *cinius*, who now began a second war, which proved very va- cluded between riable and expensive, and was at last terminated by the in- tercession of his wife *Constantia*, sister to *Constantine*. them.

Licinius, still burning with envy, soon commenced a new war, which was carried on with great violence both by sea and land. The two rivals came to a general engagement in the province of *Bithynia*, and *Constantine*, whose royal banner, says *Eusebius*, always triumphed, gained a complete victory. Thirty three thousand of the enemy were killed upon the spot, and the rest fled with great precipitation and disorder. *Licinius*, with what few forces he could rally, escaped in the night to *Byzantium*, and from thence to *Nicomedia*, whither *Constantine* pursued and besieged him. *Con-* Resigns *stantia* interposed again, and prevailed on *Constantine* to grant the em- *Licinius* his life, upon condition that he surrendred the so- vereignty, and agreed to lead a private life. We are told, Is put to that *Constantine* confirmed these conditions by oath, and sent death by *Licinius* to *Theffalonica*: but afterwards fearing a rebellion, Con- for rather, finding him actually engaged in one, he com- manded him to be put to death, with *Martian* whom he had created *Cæsar*: for which he is highly blamed by some au- thors, and excused by others. Such was the fatal end of *Rome 1121* the emperor *Licinius*, after a reign of near sixteen years. of Christ

By the death of *Licinius*, *Constantine* became sole monarch ^{319.} of the *Roman* empire ; and his reign being for some time at- Constan- tended with an universal peace and security, christianity and ^{the} Isle all arts flourished and increased daily. He was generally be- emperor. loved and much honoured by his subjects, for his justice and Clemency ; and no less dreaded by the barbarous nations, for his conduct and valour, but he was most of all esteemed and admired by the Christians in all countries, whose affairs he now promoted with greater vigour than ever. He bestow- ed many extraordinary benefits, privileges, and donations upon

upon the bishops and churches, and, in general, upon all Christians. He entirely abolished all laws and edicts that had ever been made to their prejudice, and expressly forbid the building of any more temples to the Gods of the *Pagans*. He also commanded, that in all the provinces of the empire, the orders of the bishops should be strictly observed; and to such of them as had not a competency for their subsistence, he assigned incomes to maintain them during their lives. He not only took care of the Christians in the empire, but used such methods by his ambassadors and otherwise, that, in *Perſia*, and other countries, they were not oppressed as formerly: so that the gospel was propagated in many parts of the world, by the means of this pious emperor. But in this great prosperity of the church, its peace was highly disturbed, and its purity greatly corrupted, by the heresies and errors of the famous *Arius*, a priest in *Alexandria*, which, in nine or ten years time, became so prevalent in many provinces, that the emperor was obliged to interpose his authority. To this end, he resolved to call in the assistance of the whole Christian church, and, with that view, sent his letters to all parts of the Christian world, summoning the bishops and clergy to meet at an appointed day at *Nice*, the metropolis of *Bithynia* in the lesser *Asia*. This was the first general council commanded by human authority. To it repaired three hundred and eighteen bishops, besides an innumerable company of presbyters and deacons, together with the emperor himself, in great pomp. All this number, except about seventeen, unanimously condemned the heresy of *Arius*, who, proving refractory, was sentenced to banishment, together with several others who would not renounce his tenets.

The first
general
council at
Nice.

Year of
Christ 325

Conſtan-
tine gives
the title of
Caſar to
his ſecond
fon Con-
ſtantius.

In the same year *Conſtantine* conferred the dignity of *Caſar* on his ſon *Conſtantius*, who was the ſecond he had by *Fauſta*, and ſent him into *Gaul*, to defend that nation againſt the incursions of the Barbarians. He likewiſe celebrated his *Vicennalia*, or twentieth year of his reign, both at *Nicomedia* and at *Rome*, and made ſeveral excellent new laws, partiſcularly againſt uſury and extortiōn. And whereas ſeveral complaints were made againſt his favourites and partiſcular friends, he published an edict, this year, allowing and inviting any one to come freely and accuſe them, and promising rewards to ſuch as made good their assertions. However, notwithstanding all the goodness of his administration, we are told that he did, about this time, ſome acts which gave his enemies room greatly to blacken his reputation. These were, his putting to death his ſon *Criſpus*, and his empreſs *Fauſta*, with ſome other friends. *Fauſta*, jealous of the great reputation *Criſpus* had acquired, and piqued to ſee him preferred to her children, falſely accuſed him of having ſolicited her to incest. Some fay, that ſhe charged him with aspiring to the ſovereignty. Be that as it will, *Conſtantine*, giving

giving ear to the accusation, and not only forgetting his usual clemency, but acting contrary to all laws of justice and equity, without examining an accusation of such importance, without giving the accused prince room to clear himself, ordered him to be put to death. Some say he was poisoned; others, that his head was struck off, in the thirtieth, or, as others will have it, only the twenty-fifth year of his age. He was a prince of extraordinary endowments, and universally beloved by the people and soldiery, *tine puts* for his bravery, generosity, and other noble qualities. The *to death* death of *Crispus* was followed by that of young *Licinius*, *Con-* his son *stantine's* nephew, then in the twelfth year of his age; and, *Crispus,* shortly after, by that of *Fausta*, who, being convicted of *his ne-* having accused *Crispus* falsely, and likewise of having profligated herself to persons of the meanest rank, was, by *Con-* *ta.* *stantine's* order, suffocated with the steam of a hot bath. *his em-* *pres Faus*

This excessive cruelty and injustice in *Constantine*, drew down upon his family the vengeance of heaven: for his brothers, his nephews, and his favourite ministers, were, soon after his death, all massacred by *Constantius*, his second son by *Fausta*, whom he loved and cherished above the rest. *Constantine*, his eldest son, was killed by *Constans* the youngest, *Constans* by *Magnentius*, *Gallus* their cousin by *Constantius*, and *Constantius* by *Julian*, the brother of *Gallus*. *Julian* perished in a most miserable manner, and in him ended the numerous family of *Constantine*, which, every one expected, would have furnished the empire with princes for many ages; the emperor having three brothers, four sons, several sisters and daughters, and nine nephews.

The dominions of the Romans being now at perfect peace, *Constantine* resolved to transfer the seat of the empire from *Rome* to some other place. Whether it was, because he had *tine re-* been affronted by the people of *Rome*, for speaking contemptibly of their rites at a festival, as *Zosimus* reports; or the seat of whether, because he would not honour with his court that the emplace, which had been for many ages the chief stage of idolatry, and the scene of martyrdom and persecution; or Year of whether, because he thought the Eastern parts stood in need *Rome 1128* of his presence to defend them, not only against the encroachments of the *Perians*, but likewise against the inroads *326.* of the Northern nations, which, at that time, frequently infested those parts; or whatever else the occasion was, he, fatally for the empire, undertook the building of a new city, for his usual place of residence. The first place he pitched upon was between *Troas* and ancient *Julius*, on the coast of *Asia*: but afterwards changing his mind, upon a vision which he had, or imagined to have had, he resolved to enlarge the ancient city of *Byzantium*, and make it the second, or, if he could, the first of the empire. He extended its *He en-* walls from sea to sea, and, with prodigious cost and labour, *larges and embellished* it with a great number of stately buildings, *a adorn the* *palace city of*

Byzan-
tium.

palace no way inferior, in its magnificence and extent, to that of *Rome*, a capitol, amphitheatre, circus, forums, porticos, and public baths; and then divided the city into fourteen regions, granted the inhabitants great privileges and immunities, and provided for their security by many wholesome laws. By this means *Byzantium* became one of the most flourishing and populous cities of the empire, whole families flocking thither from all parts, especially from *Pontus*, *Thrace*, and *Asia*; *Constantine* having appointed, by a law enacted this year, that such as had lands in those countries, should not be able to dispose of them, nor even leave them at their death to their heirs, unless they had a house in his new city. In imitation of *Rome*, he took in seven hills, by a wall, which, for height, thickness and beauty, was the noblest in the world. Being desirous that the city should be inhabited by none but Christians, he caused all the idols of the *Pagans* to be pulled down, and their temples to be consecrated to the true God. He also built an incredible number of new churches, and erected crosses in all the squares and public places.

*Solemnly
conse-
crates it;*

*equals it
to Rome,
andmakes
it the seat
of empire.*

When most of the buildings were finished, which was the work of about two years, *Constantine*, on the eleventh of *May*, of the year three hundred and thirty, in the twenty-fifth of his reign, caused this new city, by a very solemn dedication, to be consecrated, according to *Cedrenus*, to the Virgin *Mary*; but, according to *Eusebius*, to the God of Martyrs. By a law engraven on a pillar of stone, and placed near his own statue in the *Strategium*, he ordered that the city should be thenceforth called *New Rome*: but, notwithstanding this edict, his name prevailed, and it is to this day called *Constantinople*. At the same time he equalled it to ancient *Rome*, granting it the same rights, immunities, and privileges, as that metropolis enjoyed. He likewise established in it a senate, and other magistrates, with a power and authority equal to that of the *Roman* senate, and it the seat declared *New Rome*, the metropolis of the East, as *Old Rome*, was to the West. He then fixed his residence in this city, and his successors did the same; by which means the Western parts became so neglected, and fell into such decline, that, about one hundred and forty-six years after, they were torn in pieces and destroyed by the barbarous nations, and *Italy* and *Rome* itself, were plundered and entirely possessed by the *Goths*.

*His divi-
sion of the
empire.*

Constantine likewise new modelled the empire, dividing it into four quarters, over which were four principal governors called *Pretorian Praefects*. These contained fourteen dioceses, each governed by a vicar or lieutenant, under the Praefects, residing at the metropolis of the diocese; and the dioceses were divided into one hundred and twenty provinces, each ruled by a president, residing at the chief city of the province. In many other cities was an officer called

Defensor

Defensor Civitatis. In each of these was a bishop; in every chief city of a province was an archbishop; and in the chief city of a diocese, a patriarch. The dioceses were as follow. 1. *Britain*, with great part of *Scotland*, divided into five provinces. 2. *Gaul*, containing the present, *France*, part of the Low-countries, *Germany* and *Italy*, and divided into seventeen provinces. 3. *Hispania*, containing the present *Spain*, *Portugal*, and part of *Barbary*, and divided into seven provinces, these three made up one of the four parts of the empire, and was ruled by a *Prefect* called *Præfetus Prætorio Galliarum*. 4. *Italy*, containing about half the country now called by that name, with part of *Switzerland*, and divided into seven provinces. 5. *Rome*, containing the rest of the present *Italy*, with the islands, and divided into ten provinces. 6. *Africa*, containing the greatest part of the country now called *Barbary*, and divided into six provinces. These three made another of the four parts of the empire, and was ruled by the *Præfetus-prætorio Italiae*. 7. *Illyricum*, containing the modern *Hungary*, *Sclavonia*, *Bosnia*, *Croatia*, *Dalmatia*, and part of *Germany*, divided into seven provinces. 8. *Dacia*, containing the countries now called *Transilvania*, *Walachia*, *Moldavia*, *Bessarabia*, *Servia*, and part of *Bulgaria*, divided into five provinces. 9. *Macedonia* or *Greece*, containing the present *Macedonia*, *Janina*, *Canina*, *Livadia*, *Morea*, and part of *Albania*, and divided into seven provinces. These three made another of the four parts, and was ruled by the *Præfetus-prætorio Illyrici*. 10. *Thrace*, containing *Romania*, and part of *Bulgaria*, divided into six provinces. 11. *Pontus*, containing about half the present *Natolia*, and divided into eleven provinces. 12. *Asia*, containing most of the rest of *Natolia*, and divided into eleven provinces. 13. The *Orient*, containing all the present *Soria*, the *Holy-land*, *Diarbeck*, with part of *Natolia* and *Arabia*, and divided into fifteen provinces. 14. *Egypt*, containing all the modern *Egypt*, with part of *Barbary*, and divided into six provinces. These five dioceses made up the last and greatest of the four parts of the empire, and were governed by the *Prætorian Prefect of the East*.

The End of the FOURTH VOLUME.